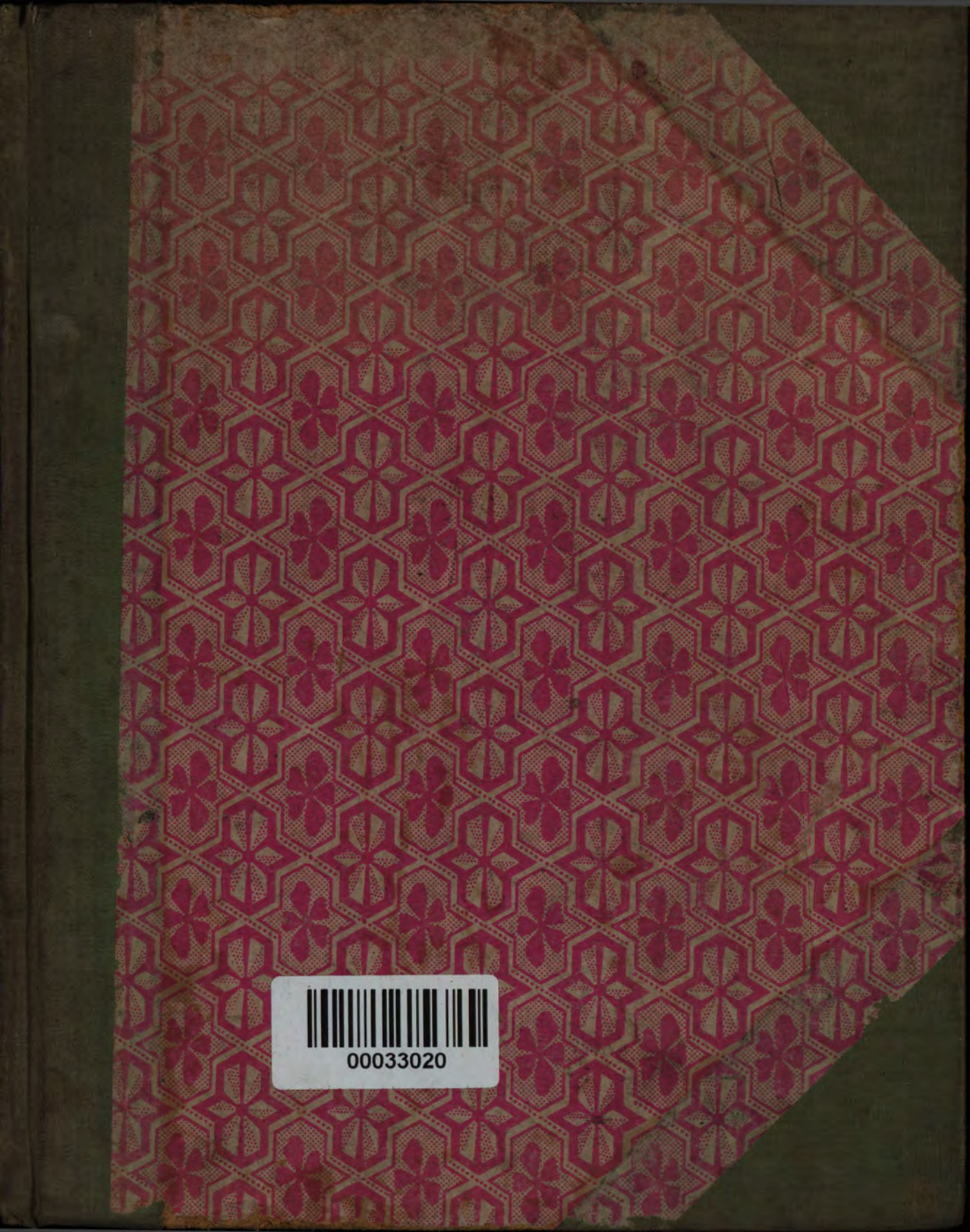
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OF AN

EMBASSY

FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

TO THE

COURT OF AVA

IN THE YEAR 1827.

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE

AT THE

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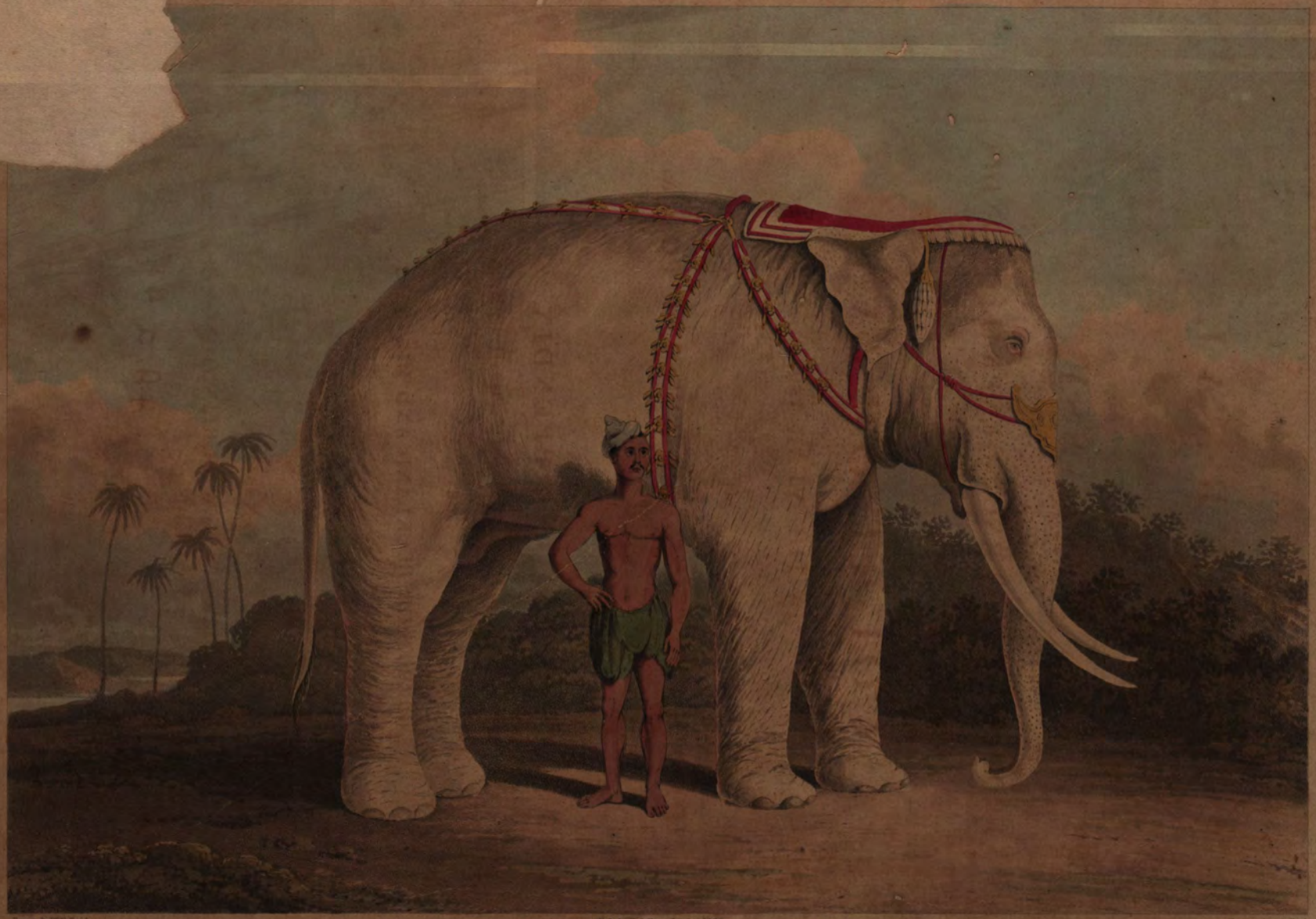

THE WHITE ELEPHANT,

JOURNAL

OF AN

EMBASSY

FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

TO THE

COURT OF AVA,

IN THE YEAR 1827.

BY

JOHN CRAWFURD, ESQ., FRS. FLS. FGS., &c.

LATE ENVOY.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF FOSSIL REMAINS,

BY

PROFESSOR BUCKLAND AND MR. CLIFT.

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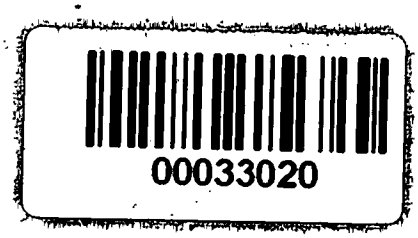

TO

HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE THE FOURTH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY;

I HUMBLY hope that a faithful account of barbarous countries suffering under slavery and superstition may be no unwelcome offering to the Sovereign of the greatest of free nations. In contemplating the unhappy lot of Tyrants, debased and corrupted by the absolute power which they are doomed to exercise, your Majesty may see new reason to be gratified with that constitutional exertion of authority by which you redress the grievances of your subjects, and enlarge the fabric of civil and religious liberty, for the preservation of which the illustrious House of Brunswick was called to the Throne of Great Britain.

May I presume to add that the Dedication of this Work is peculiarly due to Your Majesty, inasmuch as the materials for it were collected in the service of the British Government in India, where a comparison of the condition of the people of the British territories

with that of the subjects of the surrounding States, is sufficient to show the beneficial power of the English Constitution, even in its remote and faint influence; and to awaken sanguine hopes of the blessings which await your Indian subjects, when the benefits of that Constitution shall be fully and directly imparted to them, under your Majesty's paternal administration.

I have the honour to be,

Sire,

Your Majesty's faithful Subject,

JOHN CRAWFURD.

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September 1, 1826.—I HAD resided at Rangoon for above six months, as Civil Commissioner on the part of the British Government, when I received instructions to proceed on an embassy to Ava. My companions were Lieutenant Chester, assistant to the Envoy; Dr. Steward, Medical Officer; Lieutenant Cox, of His Majesty's Service, commanding the escort; Lieutenant de Montmorency, of the Quarter-Master-General's department; and Mr. Judson, of the American Missionary Society, translator and interpreter. I had also the great advantage of the society of Dr. Wallich,

Superintendent of the Government Botanical Garden at Calcutta, deputed to accompany me for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the resources of the forests of Pegu and Ava, as well as of those of our recently acquired possessions to the south of the Saluen river.

The Diana, of about one hundred and thirty tons burthen, the first steam-vessel which ever appeared in India, and which had proved so eminently serviceable during the Burman war, was appointed for our personal accommodation. We had besides, five Burman boats for the accommodation and conveyance of some of the writers and draftsmen, our baggage, and the presents from the Governor-General to the Burmese Court. The escort consisted of twenty-eight picked grenadiers and light infantry of His Majesty's 87th regiment, and fifteen picked Sepoy grenadiers. The Europeans of the escort were accommodated on board the steam-vessel, and the Sepoys on board the native boats. The object of the Mission is sufficiently described in my Instructions, which will be found in the APPENDIX.

The heaviest baggage-boats having proceeded up the river some days, and three of what we supposed the lightest, a few hours before ourselves, we embarked on the Diana, on the afternoon of the 1st of September, and in the course of the evening weighed anchor and commenced our journey. We rested for the night, at a place called, by the English, Pagoda Point. This is a low tongue of land which separates, just at their confluence, the two branches of the Irawadi, those of Lain and Panlang, which form the Rangoon river. It is nearly visible from the town of Rangoon. As a military position, Pagoda Point is remarkably strong, and an enemy of any military skill or spirit might have fortified and defended it in such a manner, as to have rendered this route the only good one to the upper provinces and capital by water, quite impassable for an invading force. The Burmans, shortly after the arrival of our army at Rangoon, had fortified it after their fashion; erecting a stockade on the Point,—one on the right bank of the Panlang, and one on the left

of the Lain river, neither of which streams are here above one hundred and fifty yards broad. Sir A. Campbell attacked these stockades, on the 8th of July 1824, with the gun-boats of the expedition, carrying a detachment of European and native troops. The stockades were cannonaded for some hours. This was the practice in the commencement of the war, until it was found that the Burmese wanted courage to face the close attack of the Europeans, and that they invariably took to flight when closed with. After this discovery, the mode followed was to run up to the stockades at once, place the ladders against them, and scale. A few casualties occurred in the advance; but the scaling-ladders were scarcely placed, when the Burmans abandoned their works, and except when accident prevented their escape, an occurrence which happened on a few occasions only, they sustained little loss. From the personal intrepidity of the European troops, and their physical strength, they were peculiarly well suited for this mode of attack. Neither the moral nor physical energy of the Sepoys was found so suitable. In the attack on Pagoda Point, the European soldiers had scarcely landed, when the Burmans abandoned their stockades, and took to flight. The casualties on our side were very few, nor did the Burmese sustain any considerable loss.

On the same day with the attack on Pagoda Point, the 8th of July, took place one of the most important affairs of the Burmese war, an affair which first convinced the Burmans of their infinite inferiority to European troops. The principal Burman force was encamped at Kamarot, a place about seven miles distant from Rangoon, where they had thrown up a series of stockades. The Kyi Wungyi, the commander in chief, whose tardiness in not driving the invaders out of the country was complained of at Court, had been superseded by Thaongba Wungyi, described as a brave but rash man. He had not been above three days in command of the army, when his entrenched camp was attacked at a moment when he was preparing, according to his own belief, a formidable assault on the British lines. The escalade was so sudden, that the

Burmese had no time to escape, and a great number of them perished, Thaongba Wungyi himself among the number. The report of this affair at Ava, as was afterwards well ascertained, struck the Court with consternation; and then, for the first time, it seemed to repent of its rashness in entering into the war.

Sept. 3.—At day-break yesterday morning we left Pagoda Point, and in the course of the forenoon overtook the boats which had left Rangoon some hours before us, as well as a number of Burman trading-boats, that, on account of the numerous banditti which at the time infested the narrow channel of the Panlang branch of the river, were anxious to take advantage of our safe convoy. At five in the evening we reached the village of Panlang (Panleng), the place which gives name to this branch of the Irawadi. Two small branches of the river, navigable during the rains, strike off at this point: the one running to the East communicating with the Lain branch; and that proceeding to the West, with the river of Bassien. The village of Panlang, at present perhaps not exceeding one hundred houses, is scattered over the several points of land at the bifurcation of these streams. It was the scene of one of the most decisive victories of Alompra over the Peguans, in the year 1755. In February 1825, the place had been strongly stockaded by the Burmese; but, on the approach of General Cotton's division, was abandoned without resistance. Several boats came alongside the steam-vessel; and among our visitors were two chiefs, who had taken an active and friendly part with us during the war. One of them said, that it was unsafe for him to remain in the country, and that he had every thing ready to emigrate, along with the English, to our new settlements to the south of the Saluen river. We anchored for the night a few miles above the village of Panlang. This branch of the Irawadi is notorious for being infested with swarms of musquitoes; they were extremely troublesome last night; and our servants, who had no protection against them, did not get a wink of sleep. We met in the course of the day five gun-boats, and took two of them along

with us as far as Henzada, having on board a detachment of an officer and twenty European soldiers.

Sept. 4.—We had taken in tow two of the luggage-boats; which so greatly impeded the progress of the steam-vessel, that we did not reach the Irawadi until this morning at nine o'clock. Its first appearance is not striking; and even now, in the height of the rains, it scarcely appeared a mile broad. The first village, upon its left bank, is Yangain-chain-yah (Ran-gen-san-ra), now a very trifling place, but before the war a populous village.

The Panlang river, from Pagoda Point to the Irawadi, is about sixty miles in length; has a very tortuous course, and varies in breadth from eighty to one hundred and fifty yards. For about half its course, or to the village of Panlang, the influence of the tides is felt during the freshes, but in the dry season as far as the Irawadi itself. The water, however, at all times is fresh and potable even at Panlang. The least depth which we had, in passing through, was two and a half fathoms, and this was only upon some sand-banks near the point where it issues from the Irawadi. Generally we had from three to four fathoms. In the dry season, the least water upon the sand-banks now mentioned is five feet. This shows that the rise and fall of the river, in this part of its course, is ten feet. The country from Rangoon throughout is a low champaign. As far as the tide reaches, it is covered with a thick forest of moderate-sized trees, among which the most frequent and remarkable are the *Sonneratia Apetala*, and *Heritiera Fomes*. Here and there, there were a few grassy plains. As soon as the influence of the tides ceased, the character of the vegetation altered very greatly. The country was then generally covered with a tall, rushy grass, a species of *Saccharum*, among which were scattered trees of from twenty to sixty feet high, without any underwood. Of these trees, the most common and striking were the *Acacia elata*, the *Lagerstroemia reginæ*, a species of *Butea*, and a species of *Dillenia*. This last was the tree which our countrymen had frequently observed during the war, and, on ac-

count of some resemblance in the size and shape of the leaf, denominated bastard teak.

The appearance of inhabitants and cultivation was extremely scanty. Here and there, on the immediate banks, were a few villages of Talain fishermen. The Karian (Karen) villages, somewhat more frequent, were to be seen now and then in the interior only, with a few patches of rice culture about them. The only culture of any extent was that of the banana, of which we saw extensive groves close to the river-side. The fruit was of a very indifferent quality, and the plant very carelessly grown—being intermixed with the tall grass already mentioned to such a degree, that we at first imagined that it was in a state of nature. There can be no question but the soil is fertile and suited to the production of grain, especially beyond the reach of the tides. The situation also possesses great advantages for irrigation. The banks on both sides are obviously a foot or two above the level of the surrounding country: and thus, in the season of the rains, the circumstance may be taken advantage of for watering the land to a great extent. This, in fact, has been done to some degree towards the north-west extremity of the river, where we saw a number of recently cut canals, carrying a full stream of water to fields in the neighbourhood.

Sept. 5.—At five in the evening we arrived at Donabew (Danubyu), twenty miles above the entrance of the Panlang river. Here we overtook such of our boats as had not already joined us. A little way below this place, we were overtaken by a dispatch-boat from Rangoon, which it had left on the 2nd. On board of her was a Burmese officer, who had brought a letter from the Wungyi, and future Governor of Rangoon, now residing at Henzada, to the British Commissioners. I had the reply with me, and, at his request, delivered it to this person, who would certainly reach before ourselves. The village of Donabew was by far the largest we had seen, and consisted of one long row of houses, extending along the very brink of the river, which here and elsewhere was full to the level of its banks; although the latter, in the

dry season, are twenty feet from the water. Near Donabew was to be seen an extent of rice culture much beyond what I had observed in any other part of Pegu. Below the village, there was one field extending along the river-side for at least two miles, which was in some places a mile in depth. We observed that the practice of transplanting was followed.

At Donabew the British force received the only serious check which it met with during the war. Bandula, the Burman commander, after being repeatedly foiled or beaten before Rangoon, retired to this place in December 1824, and, in the interval between that and the beginning of March following, had erected field-works more formidable and extensive than we had at that time encountered, or indeed did encounter at any future period of the war; and in these he had collected a numerous force. We examined the remains of these works, which were already, in the short space of eighteen months, as much overgrown and obscured by rank weeds, as half a century would have made them in Europe.* The principal work was a square fort of earth, supported by palisades; its river face, and that corresponding to it, being scarcely less than a mile in length. The flanks were probably not above half this extent. This fortification, with the exception of the river face, was surrounded by a ditch of tolerable depth, and about twenty feet broad. The river face was protected by a deep *abattis*, which constituted the strongest part of the works. Within, there were dug numerous pits, covered over with trunks of trees, to protect the besieged from the effects of our shells and rockets. A chain of redoubts, extending for half a mile below the fort, connected it with a group of seven or eight temples. The force which defended these works was estimated at twenty thousand men. Our commanders, unacquainted at the time with the nature of the country, as well as with the movements of the enemy, considered Donabew only as a petty post. Sir A. Campbell had consequently passed it with the main column, and proceeded two marches beyond Sarwah, when he received news of our repulse. The capture of Donabew had been left to Brigadier-general Cotton, with the water-column of the force. On the

7th of March, he attacked the place with about seven hundred men. The group of pagodas was captured; but the European troops, who were less steady than usual, were repulsed in attempting to penetrate the *abattis*, and lost their two commanders, the captains of the flank companies of His Majesty's 89th regiment, who were bravely attempting to lead the troops into the works. General Cotton, upon this repulse, retired to a large island in the Irawadi, a few miles below Donabew, and there continued until the retrograde movement of General Campbell brought him to Donabew in the end of March. The place was then regularly besieged, batteries having been erected on the island within a few hundred yards of the north-east angle of the fort. The fate of Donabew was truly characteristic of the rude warfare of the Burmans, and of the character of the government and people. An accidental shell, one of half a dozen discharged as an experiment to ascertain the range of our mortars, and before our fire had regularly opened, killed Bandula, as he lay reclining upon a couch. The Burman chiefs offered the command to his brother, who refused it; upon which the troops forthwith abandoned the place, and dispersed. Bandula's brother fled to Ava, where he found an order ready for his execution; and was, in fact, put to death for refusing the command, as well as for his flight, within a short half hour of his arrival at his own house in Ava.

Bandula, at the time of his death, was about forty-five years of age. Mr. Judson, who had seen him, described him to me as a man of striking features and handsome person. He had a remarkable character for a Burmese courtier: he was said to be honest, and his military reputation was higher than that of any of the Burmese chiefs. He was a strict disciplinarian, and celebrated amongst the Burmans for what, among all the military virtues, they set incomparably the highest value upon,—skill in stratagem. His military fame was acquired in the conquest of Assam, and latterly by the advantages he gained over our native troops on the Arracan frontier. Flushed with former successes, and totally miscalculating the strength and resources of the new enemy he had to deal with,

he assumed the command of the Burman troops before Rangoon with great confidence; but in the sequel did nothing worthy of his former reputation, or indeed any thing to distinguish him from the crowd of ordinary commanders. Like other Burmese leaders, he no where exposed his person; and after his defeat at Rangoon, on the 9th of December, his flight was so precipitate, that he never halted, but to sleep or eat, until he reached Donabew. At this place he maintained discipline amongst his troops by those brutal and rigorous practices which are so congenial to the character of the Government. One of his principal commanders was a commandant of the palace, an officer of high rank. This person, who had been guilty of some breach of discipline, or disobedience of orders, he caused to be put to death, by sawing him asunder,—the body of the sufferer being, for this purpose, placed between two planks.

Sept. 6.—We stopped all day at Donabew, laying in a supply of firewood, and waiting the arrival of the two gun-boats, which had been unable to keep up with us. At day-break this morning, after writing letters and dispatches for Bengal and Rangoon, we proceeded on our journey. We found the stream rapid, running probably not less than four miles an hour, and had no wind to assist the boats. The weather was generally clear, and we had very little rain. When calm, it was sultry, and the thermometer occasionally rose to ninety degrees. More generally, however, it did not exceed eighty-three degrees, and the nights were cool and agreeable. Impeded in our progress by a heavy accommodation-boat which we had in tow, and finding it dangerous, when it became dark, to approach the shore, for the purpose of avoiding the most rapid part of the current, we were compelled to come to an anchor late in the evening, two miles below the village of Lethakong.

Sept. 7.—Struggling against the stream, this morning, between eight and nine o'clock, we struck upon a sand-bank in the middle of the river; but got off in half an hour, without injury. Yesterday, the range of hills called in our maps Galladzet,—a name not known, however, to the Burmans,—

were in sight, to the east; and to-day both these and branches of the Arracan mountains were visible, the latter lying north-west of us. The breadth of the valley of the Irawadi, even here, is therefore very inconsiderable. From the moutlf of the Panlang river, up to Lethakong, both banks of the Irawadi are covered every where with a narrow belt of the tall reedy grass, already mentioned. Behind this belt is a thick and continuous forest of middling-sized trees, commonly from twenty to forty feet high. The most frequent of these was the *Acacia elata*, already mentioned. Last evening, a Myosaré, or Town-Secretary, in a four-and-twenty-oared boat, came down to us from the Wungyi, to ascertain how far we had got, and when we might be expected at Henzada. To-day another dispatch-boat came for the same purpose.

Sept. 8.—We reached Lethakong (Fine-breeze Hill) yesterday, at about twelve o'clock. This is a small village, of which the immediate neighbourhood is somewhat higher than the surrounding land; whence its name, which, at the present moment, was peculiarly inapplicable; for there was not a breath of air stirring, and the village was flooded by the rise of the river, so that the inhabitants were seen wading from one house to another. At this place we were obliged to remain all day, waiting for the gun-boats and our baggage, which had taken a short cut by a narrow branch of the river, which, commencing about five miles above Donabew, joins the Irawadi at the village of Lethakong. We took the opportunity of this delay to replenish our stock of wood. Old teak was obtained for this purpose at a cheap price; and forms so good a fuel, that our engineers gave it a preference to Indian coals. Our servants brought us from the market a supply of fresh fish, among which was the Cockup,* although we could not be less now than a hundred and twenty miles from the sea; and this is considered a fish of salt water only. Fish in various forms, and of every species, without exception, which the country affords, form an essential portion of the food of all classes of the Burmans. The Irawadi and its branches afford an

* The *Coius vacti* of Buchanan Hamilton.

abundant supply, not only of ordinary kinds, but of several delicate varieties. Besides the cockup, one of the best Indian fishes, there is to be found at Rangoon abundance of mango fish,* from April to September, and what is called whiting in Calcutta,† the Rohu, and the Katla,‡ with the mullet, and abundance of prawns, at all seasons. In some parts of the river, the sable,§ the richest fish‖ of India, is to be found, but not in abundance; or, more probably, the art of taking it is not understood by the Burmese fishermen.

We arrived at Henzada between twelve and one o'clock. A few miles before reaching this place, we were met and escorted by a war-boat, and four accommodation-boats, carrying two chiefs, with gold umbrellas, and their retainers. One of the chiefs was an Ex-Myowun, or governor, of Bassien; and the other, the intended Akunwun, or collector of land revenue, of Henuzawadi, or Pegu. They were importunate in their endeavours to persuade us, on the part of the Wungyi, that we ought to wait at Henzada for a formal invitation from the Court; which might be expected in four or five days, as thirteen days ago intimation of the Mission had been sent to Ava.

Between Donabew and Henzada we saw no marks either of commercial or agricultural industry. The villages are small, and very few in number; and some trifling patches of rice culture only were to be seen here and there. From the nature, however, of this cultivation, as well as of the country in which it is carried on, the vestiges of culture are indeed so much obliterated in a single season, by the rapid growth of the tall reedy grass already mentioned, that its amount might in reality be greater than was apparent to us. In a few spots we saw the grass recently cut down, and the ground just prepared for receiving the seed. Thirty-one years ago, Colonel Symes, and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, whose manuscript journal was beside me, found the country in the same uncultivated state as I now

* *Polynemus risua* of Buchanan Hamilton. † *Bola Pama* of Buchanan Hamilton.

‡ *Cyprinus Rohita* and *Cyprinus Catla* of Buchanan Hamilton.

§ *Clupanodon ilisha* of Buchanan Hamilton.

describe it: so that the causes which operated to the prejudice of industry and improvement in their time, seem not to have ceased to influence it down to the present day. These causes are, without doubt, bad government in a thousand shapes; for the country seems to possess, in an eminent degree, the advantages of a fertile soil, a favourable climate, and ready communication. On the banks of the Menam in Siam, as well as those of the river of Saigun in Kamboja, extensive cultivation commences ten miles above their *embouchures*. At the distance of one hundred and twenty miles from the sea, there is still no such appearance in the Irawadi. One would be tempted to believe, from this circumstance, that the Governments of Siam and Cochin China were less favourable to industry than that of Ava. But in reality, after all, I believe there is no great difference between them, the one being as bad as the other.

In the afternoon we paid a visit to the Wungyi, and were received with marked politeness and attention. A war-boat was sent to convey us. A band of music was playing as we landed, and a set of dancing-girls were exhibiting in the place where we were received. We found the great man seated under a temporary canopy erected for the occasion, surrounded by five or six chiefs, the principal of whom was the intended Myowun, or Governor, of Bassien. The chief advanced to the door to meet us, and shook us cordially by the hand in the English fashion. All the Burmese chiefs, as well as the English gentlemen, were seated on chairs. The Wungyi was a man of forty-five, as he informed us himself. He was tall for a Burman; and, instead of the squat form which distinguishes the race generally, his figure was slender; his complexion, much fairer than usual; and his features, especially the nose, more distinct and better formed than common: his eyes, however, were Chinese. His manner was cheerful, unconstrained, and not undignified. He had, in short, the manners of an Asiatic gentleman. The name, or rather the title, of this personage was Maong-kaing. He had long been an Atwen-wun, or Privy-counsellor, and was raised to the rank of Wungyi towards the close

of the war. In the early part of the contest he was a lieutenant under Bandula, in Arracan; and was afterwards employed in negociating the armistice of Nyaong-ben-saik.. A curtain, behind the place where he sat, concealed the inner apartments from our view; but towards one end of it sat a handsome well-dressed young woman, full in our view, and without making any attempt to conceal her person. This was one of the junior wives of his Excellency. His principal wife had remained with his children at Ava, as a pledge, according to custom, for his loyalty. Our conversation was of a very general nature, and chiefly consisted, on the part of the Wungyi, in attempts to persuade us to remain at Henzada, until express leave was received from the Court for our proceeding. The first question put by him, after we were seated, was an inquiry after the health of His Majesty the King of England,—no mention being then or afterwards made of the Governor-General, who had sent the Mission. This little circumstance evinced sentiments in the Burman Government, notwithstanding their defeats and humiliations, exactly corresponding with what I had experienced on the part of the Siamese and Cochin Chinese Governments. These half-civilized nations, notwithstanding their knowledge of the power of our Eastern empire, feel the utmost repugnance to placing themselves on a level with a mere viceroy. In the discussions which took place under the British cannon at Yandabo, within forty miles of the capital, and when the Government of Ava was humiliated to the last degree, the Burman Commissioners, feigning to forget that they were negociating with the Indian Government, made difficulties about the appointment of resident ambassadors, as provided for in the treaty of peace, alleging the great distance of England from their country! It was necessary to remind them, in language not to be misunderstood, that Calcutta, and not London, was to be the place of residence of the Burman Ambassador.

In my first interview with the Siamese Minister, on my mission to that country in 1822, the servile demeanour of his officers and followers towards him, forcibly struck my companions and myself as highly offensive. In

the demeanour of his officers and retainers towards the Wungyi, upon the present occasion, there was in comparison very little to offend. The former sat on chairs, and, in the discussion which ensued, offered their opinions with perfect freedom; and the latter were seated on the floor, in the usual Oriental posture, without exhibiting any constraint or embarrassment. The only exception to this was, the person charged with his Excellency's spit-box, and who, prostrate in the Siamese fashion, held the precious utensil over his head, without venturing to look upwards.

Among the crowd of inferior officers and dependents seated on the ground, some of our party, who had known him well during the war, recognized the Myosugi, or head man of the town and district of Henzada. Of the few Burman chiefs, all of them of inferior rank, who took part with us in the late contest, this individual was by far the most active. He hoisted a British ensign in his war-boat, put on a British uniform, and frequently attacked parties of Burmans. After the treaty of Yandabo, he repaired to Ava, and made his peace with the King. The amnesty agreed upon in the treaty had hitherto been observed in regard to him; but how long this would continue, it would be difficult to say. He recognized Mr. Montmorency, but did not address him; and I requested that no notice might be taken of him, for fear of exciting the jealousy of his superiors. The secretary of the Lutdau, however, turned round and asked Mr. Montmorency if he knew "that person," pointing to the Myosugi. The latter said he had seen him before, and dropped the conversation.*

Sept. 9.—The Wungyi returned our visit to-day, between eleven and twelve o'clock. He came in great state, in a war-boat of sixty oars, accompanied by three others, and a dozen of ordinary boats. His retinue could not be less than between four and five hundred men. He was received under an awning on the poop of the steam-vessel. He had not been long seated here, when a squall and heavy rain came on. I suggested to

* This person, and several other inferior chiefs, who had joined the English during the war, are understood to have been since, under various pretexts, put to death.

his Excellency the convenience of going below, which he long resisted, under the apprehension of committing his dignity by placing himself in a situation where persons might tread over his head, for this singular antipathy is common to the Burmese and Siamese. The prejudice is more especially directed against the fair sex—a pretty conclusive proof of the estimation in which they are held. His Excellency seriously demanded to know whether any woman had ever trod upon the poop; and being assured in the negative, he consented at length to enter the cabin.

He was no sooner seated here, than he entered upon the discussion of public matters; and being prepared with a written memorandum of the principal objects which he desired to introduce, he placed it on the table before him. He was assisted by a secretary of the Lutdau,* another secretary, and the Akunwun of Pegu; but the first of these took the most active share in the conversation. The first matter brought forward was the character of the Talains, or Peguans. Many of these people, who were compromised on account of the assistance rendered to us during the war, had emigrated, or were preparing to emigrate, to our newly acquired provinces to the South; and the matter, not only on account of the loss of subjects, but probably of the opportunity of revenge or extortion, was a subject of great uneasiness to the Burman Government. His Excellency maligned the character of the Talains in no measured language. He charged them with propagating false reports, tending to interrupt the friendship existing between the English and Burmans; and denounced them generally, as being by nature, and from the earliest times, a disloyal, deceitful, and perfidious people. He condescended to narrate, in illustration, two well-known legends, which did not appear to us very apposite, or judiciously chosen; although it was evident that the Wungyi had deliberately selected them for his present purpose. One of these stories related, that in ancient times a *Western stranger* (Kula), seven feet high, had visited Pegu, and challenged the bravest of the kingdom to meet him in

* Literally, the Royal Hall, or Chamber; but properly, the name of the principal Council of Ministers.

single combat. A Talain champion presented himself. When the parties appeared in the field, the Talain said to his antagonist: "I fear you are going to practise some artifice. Some of your friends are lying in ambush behind you, and I see them there." The giant turned round to look, and the wily Talain took that opportunity to cut his head off. This story and the other, which we did not so well understand, were narrated with a very serious air.

It was an object of the greatest solicitude with the Wungyi, to detain the Mission at Henzada, and prevent its proceeding to the Court, which had from the first shown much reluctance to admit the residence of a permanent diplomatic agent, and especially to the military guard of fifty men, by which such agent, in the terms of the treaty, was to be accompanied. With this view, he expatiated upon the extent of his own authority,—telling us that it extended from the city of Pugan to the sea; and that he was a Wungyi, or Counsellor of State,—Myowun, or Governor, of Pegu, a Generalissimo, and a Commissioner.* He said that he was authorised to treat with us upon any subject whatsoever, even to the conclusion of the commercial convention, provided for in the treaty of peace, and "what need therefore, added he, is there for our going to Ava?" In reply to this, I answered, that I had no authority to treat directly with His Excellency; that I had positive orders to proceed to Ava; that I did so in accordance with an article of the treaty of peace; and that I had a letter to deliver from the Governor-General to His Majesty. The Wungyi intreated us, at all events to wait until an invitation arrived from the Court, which he expected in a few days. This was answered, by saying, that the intention of sending a Mission to Ava, was publicly made known to the Burman Deputies at Rangoon, full three months before; and that the matter was so well understood at Ava, that a house had been already prepared there for our reception.

A singular and unexpected construction was now attempted to be put upon the Seventh Article of the Treaty concluded at Yandabo, providing for the residence of accredited agents on the part of the two Govern-

* Literally, bearer of the "great burthen."

ments, at their respective capitals. In the English copy of the treaty, the words used were, "at each others Durbars." In the Burman version, the seat of Government is called, "the Burman Royal City," (Mrama Myodau,) which one would have supposed sufficiently plain. The Wungyi read one of the memoranda lying before him, which purported to be an explanation of the Seventh Article of the Treaty of Yandabo, and by which it was made to appear, that Rangoon, and not Ava, was the place intended for the residence of the British Agent; or, at least, that it might be Rangoon just as well as Ava, because Rangoon was, according to Burman notions, a Myodau, or Royal city, as well as the capital itself. I explained, that the name of Rangoon had never been mentioned by either party, down to the present moment; and that at the conferences of Yandabo, Ava alone was perfectly well known to every body to be the place intended. I expressed my surprise at the perversion of the Treaty contemplated in this interpretation; and stated, that if it were urged seriously, and the Wungyi did so by authority of his Government, I should think it necessary to request that the embarkation of the British troops might be delayed until a reference were made to Calcutta and Ava. Mr. Judson, who translated the Treaty of Yandabo, and acted as interpreter to the British Commissioners, when its several articles were read over and discussed, warmly expressed his dissent from the interpretation now attempted. The proposal to detain the British force pending farther explanation, greatly alarmed the Wungyi and his friends, who employed various subterfuges and evasions to explain away the construction attempted to be put on the Treaty, and the subject was finally dropped by mutual consent.

Various other propositions were made by the Wungyi, almost every one of them implying, in some shape or another, an infraction of the existing engagement; but from the reception given to that above mentioned, they were not very warmly insisted upon. By the supplementary Convention concluded at Yandabo, it was stipulated that no Burman force should come within forty *taings*, or about eighty miles, from Rangoon,

until the whole British army had embarked. This stipulation, which was much approved of by the Burmese negotiators at the time, as a prudent precaution to prevent the local authorities of the two nations from clashing, became afterwards a subject of much uneasiness, in consequence of the facility which it afforded, in the meanwhile, for the emigration of the discontented, and the danger of insurrectionary movements on the part of the Talains, in the interval between the embarkation of the British troops and the occupation of Rangoon by a Burman force. Various attempts had before been made to evade it; and the Wungyi himself had, about a month previously, made a proposal to the British Commissioners, to share with them the government of the territory within the prescribed limits, and to advance to Rangoon with a force of six hundred men. The proposition was now again brought forward by him, and received the same negative as before. He was informed, however, that an arrangement had been made for putting the Burmans in tranquil possession of Rangoon and its neighbourhood, in order to obviate the dangers which he apprehended; and that for this purpose, due notice would be given of the exact period of our departure, when a Burman force would be allowed to advance, and Rangoon be put in peaceable possession of the Burman authorities on the day of our final embarkation. This explanation was very agreeable to the Wungyi, although it by no means went the length of meeting all the objects which he contemplated.

Upon this, as on other occasions of our intercourse with the Burmese, after the peace, it was found quite unsafe to permit any material deviation from the strict letter of our engagements with them. At the restoration of the Province of Bassien, a more liberal policy on our part was attended by very unpleasant consequences. By encroaching from one step to another, the Burmese had there gradually occupied the whole province first, and finally the town, so as to leave our small detachment only the ground on which it stood. A party of Mohammedan and Chinese merchants, some of whom had settled in the place during our occupation, and who had prepared their boats

to quit along with us, were arrested; and but for the prudent forbearance of Captain Alves, who was in civil charge of the province, serious consequences would have ensued. When the matter was made known to the British Commissioners, they insisted upon the release of the parties arrested, through the Wungyi at Henzada, who immediately complied with their requisition. In the mean time, a heavy contribution had been levied upon them, under various pretexts. From some, arrears of custom-house duties were demanded, during the period that Bassein was in our occupation, although all duties had been taken off. The amount of these contributions was also restored through the demand of the Commissioners. Similar encroachments were even attempted at Rangoon. The opposite town and district of Dalla were claimed for the residence of the Governor and the army which was to accompany him, and heavy contributions began to be levied there in our very sight. A bill was formally sent in, to a British merchant of Rangoon, for the rent of a house belonging to the King, for the two years that the town had been in our possession. When this matter was mentioned to me, I remonstrated with the Rewun* and other Burman deputies then present. They treated the complaint as a fabrication. I produced the bill, bearing the Rewun's signature. They were not at all abashed. They said they were in need of money, and thought this a laudable attempt to *raise the wind!*

The present conference, which lasted two hours and a half, may, I believe, be considered a fair specimen of Burman diplomacy,—importunate, oblique, but childish. The Burmese want the deep artifice and dexterity of the Hindoos and other Asiatics: but as politicians they are not less fraudulent or unprincipled. It is considered wisdom in a Burman negotiator to attempt to overreach his antagonist by every possible artifice. Difficulties are thrown in the way at every step, and in the possible hope of gaining some one point or other, and this too even in cases where it might appear to other people wise and prudent to conciliate or accommodate. Defeat by no means discomfits them, nor are they ashamed when their unreasonable demands are seen through, and their

* Literally, Water Chief; this officer is the deputy of the Myowun, or Governor.

machinations baffled. The possibility of success is sufficient to encourage them to advance any proposition, however extravagant; and they seem to be incapable of taking into account the loss of character and consideration which may ensue, and the distrust and jealousy which must necessarily be excited in their antagonists by this vicious line of conduct.

The Wungyi, throughout the conference, maintained the most tranquil and courteous demeanour; and, notwithstanding the defeat of his projects, parted with us, to all appearance, in perfect good humour. The proposals which he made to us in the conference, were, no doubt, grounded on the general views of the Burman Court. Personal vanity, however, and a desire to display the extent of his authority—which is indeed much greater than that of any previous viceroy of Pegu—before his officers and retainers, had, I think, some share in his proceeding. When I stated that I had no authority to negotiate with him personally, he looked round to his followers, and turned the matter off by saying, "He is only an Envoy (Are-dau-baing, state messenger); he is not a Commissioner (Than-ta-man, one commissioned with state business), and has no authority to treat."

Sept. 10.—Before breakfast this morning I paid another visit to the Wungyi, at his special request. We were received with the same courtesy as before, and with the same ceremonies. Two bands of music, composed of staccatos, flutes, instruments resembling a bassoon, and violins, played during our whole stay. Male and female dancers were also exhibited. Both the vocal and instrumental music of the Burmans is generally more agreeable to the European ear than that of Western India. Upon the present occasion, a young woman sung several airs in so pleasing a manner, as to gain the approbation of all our party; although the accompaniment was far too loud, and often drowned her fine voice. The dancers were all females, and their performance, to say the least of it, was not worse than that of India. Like it, it consists more of movements of the body and hands than of the feet; and there was little to admire in it, for an European, beyond the display which it afforded of the flexibility of fibre which distinguishes the natives of a

tropical from those of a temperate region, and which I have no where seen more remarkable than among the Hindoo Chinese races. In these I have seen the elbow joint bent back in so singular a manner, as to appear like a partial dislocation or malconformation of the part.

No public question was discussed at this meeting, except a few words said respecting the presents for the King, and the number and rank of the persons composing the Mission,—points which were adverted to by the Wungyi with a decorum and delicacy very favourably contrasted with what I had experienced on the same subjects in Siam. During our visit, which lasted an hour and a half, the Wungyi conversed very familiarly on every topic which presented itself. He spoke freely of himself and his situation, and without any Oriental fastidiousness,—for that fastidiousness does not belong to the character of the Burmans,—of his wife and daughter. In speaking of the first, who is said to exercise a great influence over him, he called her the Governess (Men-ga-ta, female governor). His daughter, he told us, was his only child, at least by his wife. He said she had been brought up in the palace from a child, and was now one of the Queens,—naming the town from which she took her title, and from which she derived her revenue. This princess is said to be very handsome, and the father is alleged to owe some share of his promotion to her influence with the King. The impression left upon our minds, from our short acquaintance with the Wungyi Maong-kain, was, that he was a man less remarkable for strength of character or talent, than for respectability and propriety of conduct and demeanour. Mr. Judson, who knew him at Ava, confirmed this impression; but added, that his mind was much beyond the ordinary level of that of a Burman courtier. He was one out of four at the Court, who presumed to think in any thing for themselves, or to extend their views beyond the limits of their own manners, religion, or country. Maong-kain is at least not a zealot in religious matters, and observes no more of that of Gautama than is necessary to the maintenance of his place in society. In a corner of the apartment in which he received us, was a mimic temple of Buddha,

containing a little marble image of the deity; but this was all that was visible to us of his religion. He inquired if we all professed the same faith; and, enumerating the different countries of Europe, showed that he had some notions on the subject of European geography.

I sent the Wungyi yesterday a present to the value of about three hundred rupees, consisting of articles of British manufacture. He made a return present this morning, consisting of one piece of silk and some coarse mats, the value of which was about one-sixth of that which he had received.

Sept. 11.—At three o'clock yesterday we left Henzada. The name of this place is correctly written in Burman orthography Hansa-ta. It is said to be a word composed of the Sanscrit word Hansa, "the Indian goose," or "ruddy goose" of Latham; and the Burman word Ta, "lamentation"—a derivation alleged to be derived from the circumstance of a prince having once accidentally shot one on a sand-bank near this place. The hansa, pronounced henza, is not held sacred by the Burmans; but it was the standard of Pegu, as the peacock is that of Ava. Henzada is the largest place we had seen since leaving Rangoon. It extends in a single row of houses for at least two miles on the right bank of the river, and the posts of most of the houses were at present washed by the inundation. From its appearance, it is probable that it does not contain less than three thousand inhabitants. There are but a few patches of rice culture near the place; and it is evident, therefore, that the inhabitants must be supplied with grain from some other quarter, most probably from the culture of the Karians, carried on in the interior, and not visible to us. It was indeed obvious, from their position and the number of small boats near them, that the inhabitants of the villages which we had hitherto seen were chiefly composed of fishermen.

Kiaungzeip, correctly written Kyaong-saik, meaning "convent, landing-place," mentioned by Syme and Buchanan as being a large place, containing not less than two thousand inhabitants, is but a portion of Henzada. The name is now obsolete.

At five in the afternoon we passed the village of Sarwa, (Tharawa,) smaller but neater than Henzada. It is three miles farther up, and on the opposite bank. There was little or no culture near it, although the country behind was clear of large trees to a considerable extent. From five until eight at night we continued struggling to no purpose against the strongest current which we had yet experienced. We then came to an anchor, but in such deep water, and so exposed to the stream and to irregular eddies, that the vessel tossed about violently. We weighed again therefore at eleven, and dropped down to Sarwa, where we continued for the night well sheltered.

Sept. 12.—Early yesterday morning we tried again to pass the elbow of the river where the current was so rapid, and, after struggling against the stream for four hours, succeeded at last, with the assistance of a light breeze. The steam-vessel's rate of going was six miles an hour; so that the rapidity of the current must have been at least equal to this. In passing the same spot in the steam-vessel last year, Sir A. Campbell was detained four-and-twenty hours, and got through the difficulty at last only by towing the vessel. From quitting Rangoon, until the 8th, we had clear sultry weather and calms. On that day we had a return of the monsoon, with rain and southerly winds, and now ascended the river with a strong breeze in our favour. The thermometer, with this change in the weather, fell to eighty degrees in the daytime. This forenoon we passed two war-boats, with a number of baggage-boats. We communicated with them, and found that they conveyed a second Rewun, for Rangoon, with his wife and family.

In the afternoon, we stopped for a couple of hours at the village of Shue-gain, on the right bank of the river. The name of the place is correctly written Shue-kyen, from Shue, gold, and Kyen, to sift; for here, and in some other places in the neighbourhood, a little gold is obtained by washing the sands of the river when it is low. Two priests, the only ones in the village, paid us a visit. Very much against the rules of their

order, we found them great beggars. They asked for razors, handkerchiefs, rice, and I know not what all. The village, which at one time had been considerable, is at present very paltry, not containing above twenty or thirty houses. Our visitors informed us, that it had been in a state of decay for many years, the inhabitants having gradually abandoned it in consequence of the heavy contributions and exactions to which they were subjected. This is, of course, the real cause of that absence of industry and the poverty which has been so painfully evident hitherto throughout our journey.

In the evening, we passed the villages of Nga-pi-saik, on the west bank, and Re-gyen opposite to it. The first is a petty village, and the three syllables which compose it, mean literally, "pressed fish landing-place." Dr. Buchanan Hamilton renders it "Fish-sauce landing-place," which appears to me to be murdering a Burman idiom, with the view of attaining an English one. This pressed fish, or *Nga-pi*, is a main article of the diet of the Burmans. It is of various qualities and descriptions. In some, the fish is mashed, or pounded, like the *blachang* of the Malays, and the *trasi* of the Javanese, and this description generally consists of prawns. In the coarser sorts, the pieces of fish are entire, half putrid, half pickled. They are all fetid, and offensive to Europeans. Re-gyen means "the water ceased;" in consequence, it is said, either of the tide occasionally coming up as far as this, or from a tradition that it had done so upon some remarkable occasion. This village is in the Province of Sarawadi, at the mouth of a small river navigable in the rains, and by which the teak timber is floated down from the forests of that district, the most abundant, or at least the most conveniently situated for the market, of any in the dominions of Ava. We had not yet seen a single tree of this timber, which, however, grows in abundance, at no great distance from our course, on both banks of the river, especially the eastern. The land column of our army, in its march, passed through extensive forests of it. The Irawadi is here fully more than a mile wide, without a single sand-bank above water. It

presented a very different appearance when Colonel Syme and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton went up in the beginning of June 1795. The latter states, in reference to the day's journey which brought him to Nga-pi-saik, that the sand-banks were so numerous, that by fording a narrow channel, here and there, one might have walked upon them the whole way across. Late in the evening we came to an anchor close to the right bank of the river, and about two miles below Kanaong.

Sept. 13.—At half-past six in the morning we proceeded on our way, sailing within eight or ten yards of the western bank in five fathoms water. We soon found that we were near a considerable population, from the number of fruit-trees with which the bank of the river was covered. About ten o'clock we reached the large village of Kanaong, and at half-past eleven, the much larger one of Myan-aong where we stopped for the day, laying in a supply of fuel. From at least a mile below Kanaong to the same distance beyond Myan-aong, the west bank of the river is one continued grove of fruit-trees, consisting of the mango, the jack, the tamarind, the banana, the Palmyra, and the religious fig, (a tree sacred with the followers of Buddha,) with a few cocoa and areca palms. Scattered houses connect the villages of Kanaong and Myan-aong. Throughout the whole distance now alluded to, perhaps in all about twelve miles, the banks of the river are higher than immediately to the north and south of it, and in some situations were two and even three feet above the highest inundation of the river.

Myan-aong was formerly called Loonzay (Lwan-ze,) and we found that it was still familiar to the natives under this name. Myan-aong means "speedy victory," and is an appellation bestowed upon it by Alompra, who fixed here his head quarters, when, in the year 1754, he was in the full career of his victories over the Peguans. Myan-aong is the largest place we had seen since leaving Rangoon. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton describes it, thirty years ago, as extending two miles along the bank of the river. Its extent now was scarcely less than this; but, like the other villages, it con-

sisted of little more than a single row of houses upon the very bank. The same writer states, that he saw not less than two hundred trading vessels, of not less than sixty tons burthen each, lying at the place. We saw a good many trading boats, but nothing like this number, nor any of the size alluded to. Both Kanaong and this town are, for the Burman dominions, populous places. We certainly had an opportunity of seeing the greater number of their inhabitants; for men, women, and children, without distinction, crowded to the bank, from curiosity to see the steam-vessel. The character of the Burmans, in this respect, is at least less constrained than that of the Hindoos. All are imbued with a lively curiosity, and the women and children are neither shy nor timid. The former swam about in the river, in the evening, near the vessel, without seeming to be in the least abashed or constrained by the presence of strangers. There was a greater appearance of industry about Myan-aong than at any place we had seen. Buffaloes, oxen, and carts, were frequent. Still, there was little cultivation observed, and no neatness, comfort, or general indication of prosperity. A few Kyaongs, or monasteries, were to be seen, and a few temples among the trees, but none of any distinction for magnitude or architecture. Two or three good wooden bridges were noticed, but invariably, as every where else, leading to a monastery or temple. Kanaong, with its district, is the assignment for the maintenance of his Majesty's third queen, who takes her title of Princess of Kanaong from it; for this is the custom with all the members of the royal family. In the month of March last, and after the peace of Yandabo, both Kanaong and Myan-aong were burnt to the ground by banditti. Although in a good measure rebuilt already, we saw them therefore under disadvantage. It must however be observed, that the burning of a town constructed of such cheap and wretched materials as those of Ava, is but a trifling calamity, after all, compared with a similar one in countries where industry and property are better protected. The prosperity or decay of a Burman town is quite ephemeral. A short interval of forbearance or protection, under a moderate governor, brings on an appear-

ance of the former; and a period of oppression still shorter, will induce the latter. The prosperity ascribed to Myan-aong by Syme and Buchanan Hamilton, in 1795, was altered for decay in 1809, as stated by Major Canning; who adds, that the town was totally destroyed by fire in the following year. Yet Mr. Judson, who saw the place in 1819, gives a still brighter picture of its prosperity than that of Syme and Hamilton. Many of the houses were constructed of plank, the acmé of Burman luxury in domestic architecture; and a row of trading boats extended, with little interruption, from the extremity of Myan-aong to that of Kanaong.

At Myan-aong we obtained a supply of poultry and fish; but could not succeed in getting beef, although abundance of buffaloes and oxen was seen. By the construction which the Burmans put on the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the lives of animals seem to be respected pretty much in proportion to their magnitude, under the belief, I imagine, that the larger the animal, the more advanced towards perfection is the soul of which it is the receptacle. Fish are universally destroyed without scruple; poultry are only occasionally spared; but buffaloes, oxen, horses, and elephants, enjoy almost an immunity. However, some calculation of profit and convenience enters into all this. The Burmans could not live without fish; therefore, there is a general dispensation for destroying them. They cannot afford to use the flesh of the larger domestic animals as food; and in regard to them, therefore, it is made a merit to observe the law. The same principle does not extend to wild animals, which are regularly hunted for their flesh, hides, horns, or tusks. In the market of Rangoon, there is almost every day to be had abundance of venison, killed by the legitimate laws of the chase.

The officer of Government, whom we met, with his wife and family, on the river, turned out to be the Myowun of Prome, going to Henzada to have an interview with the Wungyi. He had hailed us as we passed him, and informed us that he was the Pri-wun—that is, the Wun, or Myowun, of Pri, pronounced Pyi, which is the proper name of Prome; and this our

Burman interpreters had understood "Rewun," adding Rangoon upon their own conjecture. On ascertaining who we were, he returned for the purpose of going back to Prome, there to receive the Mission. He now came on board to visit us. I had seen this chief at Rangoon, shortly after the peace, for he was one of a deputation sent down from Ava to confer with the British Commissioners. At the same time, the officer directed by the Wungyi to accompany us to Ava, overtook us and came on board. This person, a man of about sixty, I had also seen at Rangoon before. His name was Maong-l'ha, and he was formerly Governor of Bassien.

Sept. 14.—The Myowun of Prome, and the old Myowun of Bassien, our conductor, had intreated us not to quit Myan-aong until the afternoon of this day, apparently with no other view than that of taking upon themselves the direction of our movements, and making a display of such authority as they believed themselves to possess. Our predecessors for seventy years had been so treated. Our situation, however, was too independent for this; and, to show that it was so, we pursued our course this morning at day-break, at least half an hour earlier than usual. I reperused this morning the account given of Mr. Lester's mission to Alompra in 1757, and could not help contrasting our present situation with that of our countryman, and our Indian power now and in his time. Our numerous party was now pleasantly and independently conveyed on the Irawadi by steam navgation, with every convenience, and many luxuries, and having British grenadiers for our guard. Mr. Lester proceeded alone, in a miserable and sinking boat, in the worst season of the year, and subjected to all the insolence and extortion of the Burman authorities. "I meet," says he, "with many things amongst these people, that would try the most patient man that ever existed; but, as I hope it is for the good of the gentlemen I serve, I shall put up with them and proceed." Upon another occasion, he observes, "This day has been attended with a *hard storm* of *wind* and *rain*. I have nothing to eat but salt beef, which has been on the Island *Negrais* four years—the *Búraghmah King* has not been so good as his promise in sending the provisions."

A few miles above Myan-aong, or Loonzay, and on the same side, is a brook, or rivulet, on which is situated the village of Pashin. This rivulet forms the northern boundary of the Province of Bassien, and also of the ancient kingdom of Pegu, west of the Irawadi. The boundary of Pegu, on the eastern bank, is said to be Tarok-mau, or Chinese Point. The district and forests of Sarawadi are included in Pegu. The Peguans, or Talains, do not differ materially from the Burmans, except in dialect; and even this distinction, in a great measure, ceases as we approach the northern confines of their ancient domain; for here the Burmese language prevails, even with the Peguans.

As we advanced up the Irawadi, the number of islands in its bed increased, and it became broader and shallower. It was seldom, indeed, that we had a view of its whole breadth, on account of the numerous islands in its bed. We had one this morning, however, a little above Myan-aong, when the stream appeared to be not less than two miles in breadth. The islands are almost universally uncultivated and uncleared.

After quitting Myan-aong this morning, we had low hills, about one hundred and fifty feet in height, covered with wood, before us, with which we soon came up. The character of the scenery now became totally altered: we had high-land on both sides; and the banks of the river became bold and steep. The character of the vegetation was also changed. The reedy grass, so often mentioned, the *saccharum spontaneum*, became less tall, rank, and frequent; and now and then there was a good deal of underwood. The Aracan mountains were very distinct to the north-west. With the commencement of the hilly land begins that of the disemboguement of the Irawadi, which, by innumerable ramifications, is connected to the east with the Setang and Martaban rivers, and to the west with that of Bassien, and falls into the sea by a great many mouths, some of them distant from the high land, in a straight line, one hundred and fifty miles. The low and half-inundated champaign, thus abounding in streams and rivers, is the proper country of the Peguan race, as distinguished from the true Burmans.

At three in the afternoon we came to an anchor at Sen-ywa, or Elephant Village; for this was a station of the King's elephants. Here, a good opportunity offering, we completed such a stock of wood as might last us until we should reach Prome. During our short stay, Dr. Wallich's plant gatherers landed, and brought him some new and interesting specimens. Among these I may mention a new *Lagerstroemia*, which he has called *insignis*. The beautiful lilac corolla of this fine plant measured five inches in diameter. Opposite to Sen-ywa is a woody promontory, about one hundred feet high, composed, according to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, of sandstone: its name in Burman is Akaok-taong, or the Hill of Customs. The channel of the river, at this place, is so narrow, as not to exceed three quarters of a mile: it is, however, deep and rapid. In the evening we came to an anchor off the upper end of the village of Nyaong-sare (religious fig scribe); before the war, a station of war-boats. Nyaong-sare is a large village. As we passed along it, very close to the shore, the whole inhabitants, young and old, seemed to be drawn to the bank, through curiosity to see the steam-vessel. They appeared to amount to several hundreds.

Sept. 15.—We left Nyaong-sare very early this morning, pursuing our course along the eastern bank of the river. Pebbles were now for the first time seen; and, soon after, various shelving rocks. Dr. Wallich and I landed for half an hour near the village of Kyaok-taran. The rock which we saw consisted of calcareous sandstone and breccia,*—the pebbles in the latter, which was of a very loose texture, were quartz. Among the fruit-trees, near the village, we found about a dozen teak trees, the first we had observed. The flowers were just disappearing, and the fruit forming. Dr. Wallich informed me, that the flowering season corresponded exactly with that of the teak of the botanical garden at Calcutta. These trees were about forty feet high. The soil appeared

* The calcareous sandstone here mentioned is ascertained to be the calcaire grossiere of the Paris basin.

generally thin and sandy; but in a few spots it was of a better quality; and in the latter were cultivated, in the most slovenly manner imaginable, some indigo and sesamum; which seemed to thrive very well, considering the manner in which they were neglected. The long island, called Shwe-kywan, or Golden Isle, was now between us and the two considerable villages of Peeng-ghee (Pyin-kri, great board), and Sahlaydan (Thalé-tan, either sandy or pomegranate row). About eleven o'clock we passed the large village of Shwe-taong, (golden hill,) which has the rank of a Myo, or town. The bank is here, at present, from ten to fifteen feet above the level of the river; and so steep as to make it necessary to cut steps in it, in order to reach the water conveniently. Here again we saw the teak, the trees much higher than at Kyok-taran. It is probable that at both places they have been planted for shade and ornament, and are not of natural growth. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton states, that in one part of Shwe-taong he observed some young teak-trees. It is not at all improbable but that those which we now observed, and which were sixty feet high, were the identical plants noticed by him thirty-one years before. We were informed that the teak forests were here three or four miles distant from the river. Shwe-taong, and its dependencies, formed the assignment made to the present King and his father, for their maintenance, when they were heirs to the throne. It has consequently enjoyed some peculiar protection; and is, therefore, comparatively a flourishing place. We saw a good number of boats, some of them trading vessels, drawn up along the bank. We imagined, too, that the people had an air of comfort superior to those of the lower country; but this impression may have arisen from the more elevated, and therefore commodious and cleanly, situation of the dwellings. From Shwe-taong to Prome there is nearly one continuous line of villages, occupying the narrow plain, which lies between the river and a range of undulating hills, the highest of which do not appear to exceed two hundred and fifty feet.

Opposite to Shwe-taong is Padaong (Pantaong, flower-demanding); like it, having the rank of a Myo, or town. This was a large place before the war with the British; but in November last, being in the occupation of one of our detachments, a night attack was made upon it by the Burmans, and it was nearly burnt to the ground. It now extends in a single scattered row of houses, as usual, apparently for about two miles and a half along the banks of the river. The teak forests in the neighbourhood of Padaong are more extensive and valuable than those on the eastern side of the river; but still they were not visible to us. From Padaong there is a road, or rather a bad and intricate pathway, leading to Aracan. This was the route pursued by Lieutenant Brown, in the month of March last, after the peace of Yandabo. My Burman interpreter informed me, that when he was at Padaong, about ten years ago, the Akunwan, or collector of land tax of Aracan, accompanied by the Raj Guru, or chief Court Brahmin, and astrologer of the time, arrived there, bringing with them a Hindoo girl, who was described as the daughter of a "Brahmin King." This young woman, probably some person of very low caste, was taken into the seraglio of the late King of Ava, and is still living in the palace. The Akunwun, for this piece of good service, was raised to the rank of Rewun.

Quitting Shwe-taong we skirted along the western shore of a long island, lying nearly in the middle of the river. As soon as we had reached its northern end, a very beautiful and picturesque view presented itself, one of the finest, indeed, which I have ever seen. An amphitheatre of hills nearly surrounded us. On our left was the island of Tet-the, well wooded and raised, contrary to custom, for most of the other islands which we had seen, being subject to inundation, exclude the growth of trees, and are covered with nothing but tall grass. Before us was a distant view of the town of Prome. The river was broad, and, from the nature of the surrounding scenery, it had much the appearance of a fine lake.

We rapidly approached the town of Prome with the advantage of a fair wind, and at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon anchored before

it. In sailing close to the east bank of the river, immediately before arriving at the town, we encountered a disagreeable object—the place of execution. It was situated on the brow of a hill, under a large tamarind tree. On each side of the tree there was a wooden rail, on which were the remains of two human bodies. One of these was tolerably entire, and exhibited the malefactor in the attitude in which he had been executed. The legs and arms were stretched out against the rail to the utmost extent; the head had fallen over on the breast, and the appearance of the body showed plainly that death had been inflicted in the horrid mode of Burman execution by tearing open the abdomen. The Myowun afterwards informed us, that these two men were robbers, caught marauding in the rear of the British army when it was retiring, and that for this offence he had caused them to be executed. I am sorry, for the credit of his veracity, however, that this account was not verified on farther inquiry.

In the evening, Dr. Wallich and I landed on the western bank of the river, opposite to the town. The rock was exposed in a great many situations on the shore, and consisted, wherever we examined it, of a calcareous sandstone, of a pale red colour. The hills on both sides of the river are steep, but I think scarcely any where exceeding two hundred feet high. One cliff, which I attempted to ascend, consisted of red clay, in which was intermixed a large proportion of quartz pebbles. The ground was at once so loose and slippery that I could not succeed in scrambling up. These pebbles are probably the *debris* of a breccia, similar to what we met yesterday. I picked up on the shore the first specimen I had met with of the petrified wood, which is known to be so abundantly scattered over the face of the country between this place and Ava. In one spot on the shore I met with some blue indurated clay, and among it one piece of rolled petroleum, of the appearance and consistence of dark-coloured rosin. In many situations, mango and tamarind-trees, with the *Clitoria ternatea*, balsams, and other exotics, were frequent, from which ap-

pearance there is little doubt but the bank of the river opposite to Prome must have been once inhabited. At present it is one deep forest, very difficult to be penetrated on account of the prevalence of underwood, and totally destitute of habitation or culture.

While I was on this excursion, the Myowun, who had reached Prome an hour before us, came on board to pay me a visit. I regretted that I had missed this opportunity of seeing him.

Sept. 16.—A party landed this morning and visited the great Pagoda, the suburbs, and the Myo, or fort. The Pagoda, which is richly gilded all over, and is a fine object in approaching the town, is distant from the river about half a mile, and lies immediately behind the town, situated upon a hill about one hundred and thirty feet high. It is exactly of the same form and construction as the great Pagoda at Rangoon, but a good deal smaller. The body of the temple, or spire, is surrounded by a terrace, containing many small temples, with images of Buddha, and having a wooden arcade all round, the roof of which is, in some places, very curiously and elaborately carved, but both the extent and execution of this sort of work are much inferior to what I observed in the temples of Siam. There are two approaches to the temple by a flight of brick steps, which have a wooden roof over them. The name of the Prome Pagoda is San-dau, or the Temple of the "Royal Hair," from its being presumed to contain, like the Pagoda of Rangoon, some hairs of Gautama's head. In one of the temples on the terrace there is a K'htora, or impression of the divinity's foot, which we visited and were permitted to examine without hindrance. It was a day of worship, being the full moon according to Burman reckoning. These are the occasions upon which the Burmans appear to the greatest advantage. The most respectable of the inhabitants, men and women, then visit the Pagodas from six to seven o'clock in the morning in their best dresses, and bearing offerings chiefly consisting of fruits and flowers. I had frequently been witness to this scene at Rangoon, and it now appeared to at least equal advantage. The two

roads leading to the Pagoda were crowded with votaries, whose demeanour was extremely decorous, both here and in the performance of their devotions at the temple. The people were sufficiently cheerful, but they were not noisy, and no grotesque or ludicrous ceremonies entered into their devotions. A number of large and handsome bells were suspended between two posts round the area. Each votary, upon making his offering, or completing his devotions, struck these bells three or four times with some large deer's antlers, which lay on the ground near them. What the object of this part of the ceremony was, I know not. The only ludicrous objects presented in the temple were the figures of menials, or servants, representing porters or slaves, receiving, upon a dish placed on the head, the offerings of the pious. These, we observed, were often made of a red sandstone, which is said to be abundant near Prome.

The town of Prome is situated on the right bank of the Irawadi, on a narrow plain lying between the hills and the river. It is composed of the Myo, or fort, being a common square stockade, resembling that of Rangoon, but larger; and of two suburbs, the one lying east and the other west of it, along the banks of the river. As at Rangoon, the suburbs, consisting each of one long street, appear to contain the principal population. The Myo contains two streets, running parallel to each other, and to the river. In these the houses are but few and scattered, and the principal part of the area is occupied by gardens, or rather by patches of ground, occupied by fruit or ornamental trees, or coarse esculent vegetables, such as gourds, pumpkins, and cucumbers, the whole overgrown with rank weeds, and without order or neatness. Behind the town are several marshes. Over one of these is a long wooden bridge, the best I had seen in the country.

Prome is at present a thriving place, and I should suppose, from appearances, fully more populous than Rangoon. It may be estimated, without exaggeration, to contain not less than ten thousand inhabitants. We found the whole bank of the river lined with small trading vessels. The gentlemen of our party, who had seen it last year, when it was in our occu-

pation, and when many of the inhabitants had deserted it, were forcibly struck with the improvement in its condition which they now observed. A great many new houses had been built in the interim, and the monasteries, which had been mutilated or destroyed, were now repairing or reconstructing. All this, as in other cases, depends much upon the personal character of the Myowun, who in the present instance was a respectable and moderate man. A Mohammedan merchant of Rangoon, who had been here a month, assured us, that he had paid strict attention to the amnesty stipulated in the treaty, and that no one had been oppressed or persecuted by him on account of his conduct or opinions during the recent hostilities. Whatever feeling the Burman Government may entertain towards us, it is certain that the people bear us no resentment. When we visited the Pagoda this morning, amidst crowds of the inhabitants of Prome, we met nothing but smiles and good humour--civility, and respectful attention. An European was no longer an object of wonder or curiosity, as during the first mission of Colonel Syme; and many of the people whom we met seemed anxious to recognise us as old acquaintances. Our native servants were treated kindly when they landed; and the European guard even with pointed attention, especially by the Myowun himself. Mr. Judson, who had visited the place in 1819, was now much struck with the change in the demeanour of the people, which, at that time, was by no means respectful towards strangers, especially Europeans. As an example, it may be stated, that we were now encouraged to visit every part of the Pagoda unceremoniously; while towards him they expressed much dissatisfaction at his not taking off his shoes before he ascended the long flight of stairs which leads from the bottom of the hills to the terrace, evincing altogether, as he thought, a sullen and inhospitable disposition.

The name which we give to this town is evidently a corruption of that applied to it by the Mohammedan residents in the country, and which is Pron. According to Burman orthography, the correct name is Pri, always

pronounced Pyi, since the Burmans, with very few exceptions, convert the consonant *r* into the consonant *y*. This place, or rather one lying about six miles to the east of it, is reported to have been the first and the most ancient seat of Burman government. According to Burmese chronology, it was founded by King Twat-ta-paung, a descendant of Gautama, in the 101st year of the sacred era—the 249th of the grand epoch, or 443 years before Christ. For seventy years the descendants of this prince reigned, sometimes at Prome, and sometimes at Maj-ji-ma, understood to be some part of India,—probably Magad'ha or Behar. At the expiration of these seventy years, the seat of government was fixed permanently at Prome, until the year 107 before Christ. Prome, according to this statement, was the seat of Burman government for 336 years. The ancient town was named Sa-re-k'het-ta-ra, which, I presume, is a Pali or Sanscrit word. According to Burman interpretation, it means a bull's hide, and refers to a story similar to that which is related of the foundation of Carthage. Lieutenant De Montmorency had visited the ruins of Sa-re-k'het-ta-ra, now called Ra-se (a saint, or hermit), last year. All that remained of it was a broad earthen wall, of a quadrangular form, and five or six feet in height. The area contained no relics of antiquity, and was overgrown with forest.

Mr. Chester, Mr. Judson, and Dr. Stewart, returned the Myowun's visit after breakfast. In the morning, the Myowun of Shwe-taong arrived at Prome, and in the course of the forenoon came on board. This person is steward of the King's household; literally, "Lord of the Kitchen," a distinguished office. Our soldiers, however, called him "the Cook." He was a little man, and his appearance did not bespeak much talent or energy. He was one of the Kyi Wungyi's lieutenants before Rangoon, and commanded the party which repulsed Colonel Smith and a detachment of Sepoys, with considerable loss, at Kyaikalo, at an early period of the contest in 1824. He commanded also the attacks made on the post of Kemmendine (Kyi-myen-taing), near Rangoon, in the same year, the most spirited and persevering made by the Burmans during the whole course of the war. Afterwards he was beaten

at Padaong, and much more severely near Prome in December last. In conversation, he gave us to understand, that his troops did not want courage; but that they had neither the arms nor discipline of ours, and on this account *only* were unable to contend with us.

The Myowun of Prome came on board in the afternoon, and brought, as a present, a quantity of very bad wax candles; and a large supply of custard-apples, a fruit, for the production of which the neighbourhood of Prome is celebrated. This was in return for a present of ten times the value, which I had sent him in the forenoon. He was extremely anxious that we should prolong our stay at Prome a few days, and mentioned that himself and the Myowun of Shwe-taong were each preparing two war-boats to accompany us, for the protection of our baggage, as far as Meeaday, the confines of his province, as the country to Ava was much infested by robbers. We promised to stay a day longer, and in the evening our baggage-boats came up. The Myowun of Prome, Maong-kun-thaong, we found to be a person of pleasing and unostentatious manners. At Court he was said to possess considerable influence, having a daughter one of the junior queens, and a first cousin second Queen. The latter is known by the title of Princess of Maithila, the name of a township lying north of Tongo, borrowed, it will be observed, from the ancient Sanscrit appellation of the district of Tirhoot, in Behar; the whole of which province is classic land with the followers of Gautama.

Sept. 17.—We took a walk this morning to a distance of two miles inland, from the town, and observed one good road for wheel-carriages. Carts, of a much better construction than those of India, were frequent. The cattle, all oxen, were large, and in excellent condition. They are generally of a reddish-brown colour—rarely black, and seldom or never of the white or light grey, which is so very general in Northern India. They are almost all horned, and without a hump. The Burmans treat their cattle humanely, and never over-work them. The country behind Prome is composed of a series of little hills, with occasional valleys of some extent.

One of the latter was planted with rice, exhibiting the largest culture of this grain which we had yet observed. The soil of the hills is very light, being formed of the *debris* of sand, stone, and breccia, both of which we observed in an advanced state of decomposition, in sections of the hills formed in making a road last year for our artillery. A hill, on which a battery of eighteen pounders had been erected by our army, commanded an extensive prospect of the neighbouring country, which was generally uncultivated, and covered with a low forest. It was evident that the country, at no distant period, had been much better cultivated than at present; for, in the tract we passed over in our walk, we discovered several plants almost in a wild state, which are common objects of culture, such as indigo, gourds, and two or three species of millet. But the most striking proof of former industry was afforded by the remains, a short way from the town, of an embankment, to all appearance a mile in length, and which, with the neighbouring hills, formed a Tank, constructed seemingly for the purpose of irrigation. It was now out of repair, and contained no water, although it was the height of the rainy season. The people treated us in our walk to-day with the same kindness and civility as yesterday. Not a rude or offensive word or gesture escaped from any one. At the bottom of the range of hills, in a very pretty spot, shaded by some noble tamarind trees, which are frequent near Prome, we passed through the burying-ground, which contains the bodies of many of our countrymen who had fallen at Prome, from wounds or sickness, during our long residence there of seven months. The graves were unmolested.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Prome.—Curiosity of the inhabitants to see the steam-vessel.—Promontory of Napadi.—Actions fought here, and in the neighbourhood, between the British and Burmese. — Tong-taong, or Lime-hill.—Meeaday.—Island of Loongie.—Patanago and Melloon.—Action fought here between British and Burmese.— Monument to a Burmese King.—Village of Wet-ma-sut.—Striking change in the appearance of the country.— Fossil wood.—Visit to the Petroleum wells, and account of them.—Sembeghewn.—High road to Arracan, through the fertile district of Salen.—March of a British detachment by it.—Village of Sillah.—Town of Pugan.—Action fought in its neighbourhood between British and Burmese. —Description of the remarkable ruins of Pugan.

Sept. 18.—NOTWITHSTANDING that heavy rains had fallen for some days after we quitted Henzada, and that southerly winds and occasional showers still prevailed, the river had fallen at least six feet. The commencement of this fall our Burman pilot dated from the 10th instant. It is ascertained, indeed, that the river rises and falls several times during the months of August and September. This implies heavy falls of rain in the upper country at considerable intervals, and would seem also to indicate that the source of the Irawadi is not very distant, nor the body of water, that is affected by such temporary or local causes, very great.

At half-past three yesterday afternoon we quitted Prome. Although many of the inhabitants had seen the steam-vessel during the war, a more lively curiosity was evinced now, to view her under weigh, than I had ever before observed in any eastern people upon any occasion. The banks of the river, the boats, which were moored to the shore, the verandahs of houses, their tops, and many parts of the stockade, were crowded with people, anxious to see the spectacle. We soon passed the stockade, which,

besides the ordinary wooden palisades, has two brick bastions of a rude form, and in a dilapidated state. One angle of the stockade is upon a high point of land jutting a considerable way into the river. On the opposite shore, a hill projects into the river also, leaving the breadth of the stream not above eight hundred yards. This was a strong position; but the Burmans were panic-struck after the affair of Donabew, and permitted Sir A. Campbell to occupy Prome without opposition.

At six in the evening, we came to a narrow part of the river, not exceeding six hundred yards in breadth. On the eastern side, the hills terminate in the promontory of Napadi (Nat-padi, rosary of the Nats). There is a corresponding promontory on the west side, being the termination of a hill, called Po-u-taong, full two hundred feet high. A little farther up the river than these promontories, and in the middle of the stream, is an island. In the possession of an enemy of any military knowledge or courage, this would have proved a difficult or impregnable position. After the expiration of the armistice of Yaong-ben-saik, the Burman force, to the amount, according to the estimate of our scouts, of more than fifty thousand men, began to close in upon Prome, and the principal body occupied the narrow pass of the river which I have just described; the Kyi Wungyi, the chief commander, being posted on the western bank, and the Sa-dau-wun, or steward of the household, on the eastern. The position of the Kyi Wungyi was forced on the 2d of December last. The European troops advanced upon this occasion with such impetuosity, and the works were so precipitately abandoned by the Burmans, that only eleven of the enemy lost their lives in the stockades. They fired upon the assailants until the latter had reached the works, and then ran away. This was their constant practice, especially in the last campaign. The Kyi Wungyi himself, as upon former occasions, was one of the first to quit the field. This indeed seems to be the established practice of the Burman leaders; and even Bandula, as already stated, was no exception. Thaongba-wungyi, who commanded at the seven stockades on the 8th of July 1824,

behaved gallantly, and lost his life. When the King heard this, he is said to have exclaimed, "Why did not the fool run away?" If such be the precepts of the Monarch and the example of his generals, it is hardly reasonable to expect that the soldiers should stand and fight for them. On the 5th of December last, the position of the Sa-dau-wun was forced and abandoned with equal precipitation as the other. By an unexpected accident, a portion of the Burman troops was on this occasion surrounded, and three hundred of them lost their lives. The other portion of the Burman force had been routed at Simbike, on the 1st of December, by General Cotton. Simbike was a stockade eleven miles distant from Prome, situated on the left bank of the Nawaine (Na-wen) river, a small stream which falls into the Irawadi, a little above the town of Prome, and on the same side. The place was taken by a similar assault, and after a similar defence, with the other positions. Two hundred of the enemy were left dead in the stockade; for here also, by an unlooked-for accident, part of the enemy were hemmed in, and unable to effect their escape. Among these was Maha Nemiau (Nemyo, descendant of the Sun), the commander, a fine old man, seventy-five years of age. The troops which defended Simbike were of the people called by the Burmans, Shans; the same who are called by the Siamese, and after them by Europeans, Lao, or Laos. They composed the same force which a few weeks before had beaten four battalions of Sepoys, at the stockade of Watigon (Wet-ti-kan, boar's tank). Their courage at Simbike does not appear to have been fortified by this success.

In reference to the actions now alluded to, a singular fact has been ascertained, which affords a curious specimen of the superstition, credulity, and folly of the Burmese and their Government. Finding that all their ordinary efforts to make head against the invaders were unavailing, they had recourse to magic; and among other projects of this nature, sent down to their army before Prome, all the women at Ava who had the reputation of having a familiar spirit, in order to put a spell on the foreigners, and, as it was said, *unman* them. These females, who rather

labour under some mental derangement than are impostors, are called by the Burmans Nat-kadau, or female nats. They profess to hold an intercourse with the demigods of that name, and to be inspired by them with supernatural powers. The presence of such persons was known to the British army; and among the wounded, after the action at Simbike, there was found a young girl of fifteen or sixteen years of age, dressed in male attire, believed to be one of them. Her sex was recognised, and attention was paid to her; but she expired in half an hour after being taken prisoner. Lieutenant Montmorency told me, that he had seen this poor creature; that she had received wounds in the neck and head, and held up both her hands, making a *shiko*, or Burman obeisance, to every one that from pity or curiosity came to see her.

We anchored last night ten miles above Prome. This morning, at eight o'clock, we passed the village of Kama, on the western bank, (Pali, desire) which formed the line of demarcation between the English and Burmese armies during the armistice which took place at this time last year. A road, not much frequented however, leads from hence to the Aracan mountains. At ten o'clock we passed the village of Nyaong-ben-saik, (holy fig-tree landing-place,) the spot where the conferences were held between the British and Burman commanders, which led to the armistice just mentioned. The fig-tree which gives name to this village is conspicuous upon the extremity of a point of land, its roots being now washed by the water of the river. Behind Nyaong-ben-saik is an extensive plain,—for here the hills, which all the way from Prome approached to the very water's edge, recede for several miles. At one o'clock we came again to a narrow part of the river, which on the right bank takes the name of Palo, and on the left that of Puto. Both were strongly fortified by the Burmans, after their manner, subsequent to the defeats sustained in the first days of December; but they wanted the resolution to defend them, and abandoned them without the slightest attempt at resistance. The works on the left bank were five miles in extent, and

some of them were still standing. Early in the evening we came to an anchor at Tong-taong, (lime-hill,) a little village which may be considered as a sort of suburb to Tharet-myo. We landed at this place, and made a short excursion into the village and its neighbourhood. The banks here are high, and the place lies north of a hill about three hundred feet high. The land surrounding the village is elevated and undulating. On the river side the rock was exposed, and consisted of the same calcareous sandstone and coarse breccia, which we had observed at Prome. This was also the case at the promontory of Napadi, and in an intermediate situation, which we examined early this morning, but the name of which I did not ascertain. The high hill, however, appears to consist of primitive limestone, and gives name to the place. Heaps of this material were found near the villages, close to the kilns, where it was to be burnt. The soil of the undulating ground appeared sandy, with here and there an intermixture of gravel, and having but a very thin covering of vegetable mould. I should not have thought it fertile; but, in this matter, practice is our only guide. We found indigo, sesamum, and *crotollaria juncea*, or Indian hemp, growing in these situations vigorously, although much neglected. The indigo was four feet high, and the sesamum at least six. In one valley, nearly level with the river, we observed a Tank, or rather small natural lake, and close to it some good fields of rice, which it appeared to irrigate. Grazing near the village was a large herd of black cattle in high condition, indicating that the pasture was of a good quality. Leading from the village into the country were two tolerably good cart-roads. These, the inhabitants informed us, communicated with Maintom, Padain, Taing-tah, and Ngape, places which have the rank of towns, or Myos, and are all of them situated at no great distance from the foot of the Aracan mountains.

In the course of this day's journey, the hills, never at any considerable distance, often form the bank of the river: when this was the case, the stream was narrow, deep, and clear of islets. When they receded, it

widened, and the bed of the river abounded in islands covered with the *saccharum spontaneum*. The villages were few, and far distant, and the general impression conveyed was that of a country little cultivated and thinly inhabited. The hills are universally covered with a forest of considerable size. In this, from Prome inclusive, upwards, the teak-tree, tolerably frequent, could be recognised by its blossoms occasionally coming down almost to the water's edge. At any other than the flowering season, we should not have been able to detect it. Accordingly it had not been noticed by the officers of the army, or other travellers who had passed, when the tree, which is deciduous, was not only out of flower but leaf. We did not expect to find the teak-tree so thinly interspersed in the common forest, until we had an opportunity of determining, by personal examination, that this was the case in the hills before Prome. In what is properly called a teak forest, the teak prevails over all other trees, sometimes nearly to their entire exclusion.

Sept. 19.—We left Tong-taong early this morning, and soon reached the village of Tharet (the Mango), which is situated on the west bank, and has the rank of a Myo. This was one of the largest places we had yet seen, and to all appearance the most thriving. A great number of boats were moored along the bank. Judging by the concourse of people who came down to gaze at the steam-vessel, it must contain several thousand inhabitants. The houses, as every where else, consisted of a light and frail fabric of bamboos, grass, or palm-leaves. Such a house is seldom worth more than forty current ticals, or 4*l.*, and it is a splendid mansion that costs 400 or 40*l.* With very few exceptions, there exists no substantial structures in the country, except those which are dedicated to religious purposes. The insecurity of property forbids that the matter should be otherwise. If a Burman becomes possessed of wealth, temple-building is the only luxury in which he can safely expend it. Hence the prosperity of a place, which is never more than temporary, is to be judged of in this country, not by the comforts or luxuries of the inhabitants, or

the reputable appearance of their habitations, but by the number, magnitude, splendour, and actual condition of its temples and monasteries. On these are wasted substantial materials, labour, and even ingenuity, equal to the construction of respectable towns and villages, calculated to last for generations. Tharet and its dependencies form, with the district of Sarawadi, the assignment for the maintenance of the King's only full brother, who takes his title from the last-named place.

At half-past eight o'clock we passed Meeaday, (Myédé, land within,) on the east bank of the river. This place is considered by Burman travellers to be half-way between Ava and Rangoon. It is but a small village in comparison with Tharet, but has also the rank of a Myo. This was the head-quarters of the Burman army for six months, and the place of their eventual retreat after their defeats near Prome. Here they were attacked by fever, dysentery, and the spasmodic cholera. These and the wounds received in the late actions carried off great numbers. The ground was highly offensive when our troops passed it, and on the banks and islands were found many recent graves, for there was no time to burn the dead. This place, like the other positions of the Burman army, was strongly stockaded on both sides of the river; but the Burmans again fled at our approach, and offered no resistance. In the afternoon we had before us the wooded island of Loongee (Lwan-k'hi), and at five o'clock we anchored opposite the little village of Ang-lap (middle fish-pond.) On the opposite bank of the river, (the island intervening,) is the village of S'han-baong-wé, (elephant boat whirlpool,) which is prettily situated on a projecting point of land. The scenery altogether in this situation is exceedingly romantic. Colonel Syme and his companions were particularly struck with its beauty, and longed for the pencil of Mr. Daniel to delineate it; but it did not appear to us that there were objects in it sufficiently distinct and prominent to constitute the subject of a fine landscape.

At Loongee, Dr. Wallich and I landed on a promontory where the rock was exposed. This was about fifty feet high. On the shore we found the calcareous sandstone as before. On examining the cliff farther up, I found the

lowest stratum to be a slate clay much decomposed. Above it was the sandstone, and above all a hard calcareous limestone. In the thick wood in the valleys, several of the common fowl, in a wild state, were seen, and the crowing of the cocks all round was incessant, showing that this species of game is very plentiful. A party which went to the village saw a hare, the first that had been observed, for this animal is not found in the delta of the Irawadi. The banks of the river to-day had been somewhat lower than yesterday; the hills encroaching less upon the river, the river itself being wider, and the islands more numerous. Villages were more frequent, but still the country appeared very poorly inhabited, and the marks of culture were trifling in the extreme.

Sept. 20.—This morning we passed Mi-kyaong-re, a considerable village on the east bank of the river. From this place there is a road for wheel-carriage to the town of Tongo on the Setang river, and nearly in the parallel of Prome. The distance is but ten days' travel for caravans or carts. At twelve o'clock we reached Melloon, pronounced Malun, but written Melwan. Immediately, on turning a sharp elbow of the river, which is here only six hundred yards broad, we came upon Melloon on the west, and Patanago on the east bank, fronting each other, where the stream expands to a breadth of nine hundred yards. During the negotiations which terminated in a renewal of hostilities, the British army was encamped at Patanago, and the Burman entrenched at Melloon, the river only separating the adverse parties. The Burman army, alleged to amount to 20,000 men, was commanded by Prince Memiabo (Men-myat-pu), a half-brother of the King, and a youth without any experience. Under him was the chief Kaulen Mengyi, one of the Burman negotiators, a suspicious niggardly old man, who had never commanded an army before, or even had any knowledge of the art of war as practised by the Burmans themselves. Mr. Judson, who was taken out of irons and sent down from Ava to Melloon, to act as interpreter to the Prince, had an opportunity of observing personally the miserable manner in which things were conducted, and the dismay and consternation with which the Burmans had been seized. Old

Kaulen Mengyi meted out the gunpowder to the soldiers in person, as if he had been making disbursements from the public treasury; and his parsimony was conspicuous in every department, while he neglected all the essential objects of the war. Mr. Judson had received from the Burman government, for himself and two followers, the sum of twenty ticals, which with much economy lasted for a month. Kaulen Mengyi, upon being petitioned, in official form, for another supply, told him that his habits were extravagant, and appointed a Burman officer to control his expenditure.

We landed on the spot where the Burman works had been escaladed. The greater part of these were still remaining. They had consisted of a double abattis and an earthen wall of no great height, crowned by a palisade. This surrounded a conical hill of easy ascent, and about one hundred feet high, to the extent of two thousand yards. There was no ditch. Nothing could have been more unskilfully chosen than this position, for the Burman army was exposed from head to foot to the artillery from the opposite bank, and the only protection it had against our shells and rockets, the practice of which was excellent throughout the war, consisted in pits covered by planks, in which the besieged hid themselves. Similar pits, indeed, were found in almost all the stockades which were taken, for the dread of our artillery was extreme. After a cannonade of two hours, our storming party crossed the river in boats in broad day; and as soon as it had gained the foot of the works, these were, as usual, abandoned without resistance, the Prince and his Lieutenant being among the first to give the example of flight. The principal loss sustained by us, took place in crossing the river; but it was very trifling, for the fire of the enemy was as disorderly and ill-directed as usual. An officer who had the best means of ascertaining this last fact, informed me, that at Donabew, after their success, and when they were in high spirits, the Burman artillery-men, independent of not levelling their guns properly, or at all, did not fire any one piece oftener than once in twenty minutes.

In passing over the ground within the stockade, we saw the skeletons

of several of the Burmese warriors, who had been killed in the action, lying neglected among the rank weeds. The performance of funeral obsequies among the Burmans is, under all circumstances, dictated less by a regard to the memory of the dead, than the belief that it is a work of religious merit in the survivors.

Melloon is a very poor place, and is described as having been so thirty years ago, in the journal of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, who observes, that the number of temples is out of all proportion to the population. This was still the case; and it may be safely asserted, that the temples and monasteries were more numerous than the houses. We found three new temples, two of them richly gilt. One of the latter had been built by a Myosugi, or chief of the district of Melloon, and the other by a Burman merchant; the third was built, during the war, by the Prince Memiaboo, when in command of the army. We passed through the village, and found the inhabitants, as elsewhere, suffering from a scarcity. The price of rice was five ticals of flowered silver, or about thirteen shillings per basket, of half a hundred weight, which was from three to four hundred per cent. beyond the price of ordinary seasons. Little or none, however, was procurable at any price. The poor inhabitants, generally, had recourse to wild roots as a substitute. We saw several baskets of fresh roots of a wild *arum*, brought from the marshes, and some that had been prepared. In coming up the river, we observed, in several places, the same root under preparation. It is first sliced, then macerated for a couple of days, after which the women tread it in tubs with their feet, and when it is dried in the sun it is fit for use. We noticed that another root, still less palatable, was also had recourse to, but were unable to determine what it was. During the two years that the war continued, no scarcity was felt, although undoubtedly agricultural labour was greatly interrupted by the flight and dispersion of the inhabitants, the depredations of marauders, and the conscriptions which were raised. It was not until two or three months after the cessation of hostilities, that a general scarcity began to

prevail throughout every part of the country, with the exception of the districts ceded to the British Government. From this it may be inferred, that there had existed in the country a stock of corn considerably beyond the average consumption of the inhabitants. Independent of this general cause of distress, the people of Melloon suffered peculiarly during the war. Mr. Judson, in his walk, met a group of the inhabitants, and had a long conversation with them, in which they informed him, that the levy raised in the district had been engaged with our troops at Donabew, on the 7th of March, and suffered severely in that affair, not one-half of those who had joined the army having ever returned.

In the evening we crossed over to Patanago, which is still smaller than Melloon. Close to it is a narrow lake, two miles in length; and we were informed that a second, of larger extent, exists at no great distance. In the cold season, these lakes had been covered with a multitude of ducks and other water-fowl; but these, which are migratory, had not yet made their appearance. A short way above Patanago is a cliff, which exposes a section of the rock and soil. The rock is calcareous sandstone in strata, nearly horizontal. The greater part of it is so decomposed, that I found it difficult to get specimens sufficiently hard for preservation. Intermixed with the softer strata, and alternating with them, were thinner strata of a hard and tough rock, which I suspect to be calcareous limestone. I found none of the blue slatey clay upon this occasion which I met below the sandstone at Loongee. The soil was composed of sand and yellow clay, intermixed with large pebbles of flint, white quartz, and common quartz. On the Meloon side I traced the sandstone to the highest hill. From Prome, up to this place, Dr. Wallich had been eminently successful in his botanical researches, having discovered several new *genera*, and many new species.

Meloon and its districts constitute the estate of the Prince of M'het, k'ha-rá (Pali?) one of the King's uncles. Here the old Myowun of Bassien overtook us.

Sept. 21.—We quitted Melloon by break of day this morning, and at a place called Myen-ka-taong, a few miles above it, on the same side, a little pagoda was pointed out to us upon an elevated cliff on the very verge of the bank, and threatened every season to be carried away by the river. This had in itself nothing remarkable; for it was but one out of a great many similar pagodas crowning the tops of the most conspicuous hills and eminences on both sides of the river, ever since entering the hilly country; but it was connected with an era in Burman history, and this gave it some interest. At the spot where it is erected, a Burman king of Pugan, of the name of Chau-lu, or Sau-lu, is said to have been assassinated by one of his generals. On looking into a chronological list of the Burman kings, with which I had the good fortune to be provided, this prince is stated to have ascended the throne in the year 1030 of the Christian era, and his successor in 1056, which last is probably the date of his death. Monuments to the memory of the dead are not very frequent amongst the Burmans, and those in commemoration of remarkable events still rarer. When a monument is erected over the ashes of the dead, it is in the ordinary pyramidal form, and ought not, according to the priests, to be crowned with the *Ti*, or iron umbrella. However, there is a difference of opinion on this point between the priesthood and the Court—the people taking part with the former. The affair is generally compromised by making the structure at the same time a monument to the dead, and consecrating it to Gautama; so that, in fact, the priests gain their cause, as there is nothing in such a building to distinguish it from an ordinary zidi, or temple.

In the course of the day, we passed the village of Myan-kwan, a very considerable one on the east bank of the river and Ma-kwé, one of the largest and finest we had seen on the same side. A temple, on a hill near this last, has the reputation of containing the bed of Gautama: the name of it is Mya-thalon, or, "the temple of the emerald bed." On the opposite side of the river, and farther up than Ma-kwé, is another

large village, called Menbu, (Men-pu). The Trawadi is here at least two miles broad, and in its bed are many low islands, covered with long grass nowhere to be seen on the banks of the river, which are far too high to be ever inundated—a circumstance apparently necessary to the growth of this plant. The higher ranges of hills on both sides of the river had ceased—that on the western, at Melloon; and that on the eastern, a little sooner; but the country was still hilly in its general aspect. For the last two days, the teak had disappeared from the forest, of which the trees were now generally of a more stunted growth and less luxuriant foliage. In the evening, the range of Aracan mountains was distinctly seen running north and south. They did not appear to be above fifty miles distant, and we estimated the most elevated portions to be about six thousand feet in height. North-east of us, the high, conical, and insulated mountain of Poupa was seen for the first time.

Sept. 22.—At ten o'clock we passed the large village of Wet-ma-sut (the boar dry), which consists of three portions, and lies on the east bank of the river. A few miles below this place, the aspect of the country is remarkably altered. The banks of the river are naked, steep, and indeed generally almost perpendicular. The land consists of a succession of little hills, crowded upon each other, with frequent ravines, and no plains or valleys. The trees are of stunted growth, and thinly scattered, leaving the bare sand frequently exposed. At Wet-ma-sut we examined the rock, and found it, as before, composed of sandstone. At one o'clock, a strong current being against us, we reached the village of Re-nan-k'hyaung. usually pronounced Ye-nan-gyaung. This compound word means literally "odorous water rivulet:" but Re-nan is the term applied to the petroleum, or earth oil, of which this village is the mart. About two miles before reaching Re-nan-k'hyaung, Dr. Wallich, Dr. Stewart, and Lieutenant Coxe, landed, and walked along the narrow beach until close to the village, and succeeded in procuring some interesting and remarkable specimens of petrifactions. Some of these resembled stalactites, and were only incrus-

tations of sand, of the form of the substance which composed the matrix, being of a soft and loose texture. By far the greater number consisted of masses of wood of considerable size, impregnated with chert, or hornstone. In these, not only the external form, but the appearance of the fibre and bark, are often accurately preserved. All these specimens of petrified wood were more or less impregnated with iron. The most curious petrifaction, however, which we met, was obtained by Dr. Wallich—a fossil bone, which, from its appearance, we judged at the time to be the lower part of the femur, or thigh-bone, of an elephant. The cells of the bone, like the fibre in the wood, was accurately preserved.

At three in the afternoon, our whole party proceeded to the celebrated Petroleum Wells. Those which we visited cannot be farther than three miles from the village, for we walked to them in forty minutes. The cart-road which leads to them is tolerably good, at least for a foot traveller. The wells occupy altogether a space of about sixteen square miles. The country here is a series of sand-hills and ravines,—the latter, torrents after a fall of rain, as we now experienced, and the former either covered with a very thin soil or altogether bare. The trees, which were rather more numerous than we looked for, did not rise beyond twenty feet in height. The surface gave no indication that we could detect of the existence of the petroleum. On the spot which we reached, there were eight or ten wells, and we examined one of the best. The shaft was of a square form, and its dimensions about four feet to a side. It was formed by sinking a frame of wood, composed of beams of the *Mimosa catechu*, which affords a durable timber. Our conductor, the son of the Myosugi of the village, informed us that the wells were commonly from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty cubits deep, and that their greatest depth in any case was two hundred. He informed us that the one we were examining, was the private property of his father—that it was considered very productive, and that its exact depth was one hundred and forty cubits. We measured it with a good lead-line, and ascertained its depth to be two hundred and ten feet;

thus corresponding exactly with the report of our conductor—a matter which we did not look for, considering the extraordinary carelessness of the Burmans in all matters of this description. A pot of the oil was taken up, and a good thermometer being immediately plunged into it, indicated a temperature of ninety degrees. That of the air, when we left the ship an hour before, was eighty-two degrees. To make the experiment perfectly accurate, we ought to have brought a second thermometer along with us; but this was neglected. We looked into one or two of the wells, and could discern the bottom. The liquid seemed as if boiling; but whether from the emission of gaseous fluids, or simply from the escape of the oil itself from the ground, we had no means of determining. The formation, where the wells are sunk, consisted of sand, loose sandstone, and blue clay. When a well is dug to a considerable extent, the labourers informed us that brown coal was occasionally found. Unfortunately we could obtain no specimens of this mineral on the spot, but I afterwards obtained some good ones in the village. The petroleum itself, when first taken out of the well, is of a thin watery consistence, but thickens by keeping, and in the cold weather it coagulates. Its colour, at all times, is a dirty green, not much unlike that of stagnant water. It has a pungent aromatic odour, offensive to most people. The wells are worked by the simplest contrivance imaginable. There is over each well a cross-beam, supported by two rude stanchions. At the centre of the cross-beam, and embracing it, is a hollow revolving cylinder, with a channel to receive a drag-rope, to which is appended a common earthen pot that is let down into the well, and brought up full by the assistance of two persons pulling the rope down an inclined plane by the side of the well. The contents of the pot are deposited for the time in a cistern. Two persons are employed in raising the oil, making the whole number of persons engaged on each well, only four. The oil is carried to the village or port in carts drawn by a pair of bullocks, each cart conveying from ten to fourteen pots of ten viss each, or from 265 to 371 pounds avoirdupois of the commodity. The proprietors

store the oil in their houses at the village, and there vend it to the exporters. The price, according to the demand, varies from four ticals of flowered silver, to six ticals per 1000 viss; which is from five-pence to seven-pence halfpenny per cwt. The carriage of so bulky a commodity, and the brokage to which the pots are so liable, enhance the price, in the most distant parts to which the article is transported, to fifty ticals per 1000 viss. Sesamum oil will cost at the same place, not less than three hundred ticals for an equal weight; but it lasts longer, gives a better light, and is more agreeable than the petroleum, which in burning emits an immense quantity of black smoke, which soils every object near it. The cheapness, however, of this article is so great, that it must be considered as conducing much to the convenience and comfort of the Burmans.

Petroleum is used by the Burmans for the purpose of burning in lamps; and smearing timber, to protect it against insects, especially the white ant, which will not approach it. It is said that about two-thirds of it is used for burning; and that its consumption is universal, until its price reach that of sesamum oil, the only one which is used in the country for burning. Its consumption, therefore, is universal wherever there is water-carriage to convey it; that is, in all the country watered by the Irawadi, its tributary streams, and its branches. It includes Bassien, but excludes Martaban, Tavoy and Mergui, Aracan, Tongo, and all the northern and southern tributary states. The quantity exported to foreign parts is a mere trifle, not worth noticing. It is considered that a consumption of thirty viss per annum for each family of five and a half persons is a moderate average. If it were practicable, therefore, to ascertain the real quantity produced at the wells, we should be possessed of the means of making a tolerable estimate of the inhabitants who make use of this commodity, constituting the larger part of the population of the kingdom.

With the view of collecting data for this estimate, I made such enquiry into the nature of the trade as my short stay would admit. The

number of boats waiting for cargoes of oil was correctly taken, and found to amount to one hundred and eighty-three, of very various sizes, some carrying only one thousand viss, and others fourteen thousand. According to the Burmese, whom I consulted, the average burthen of the vessels employed in this traffic, was considered to be about four thousand viss. The number now mentioned is not considered unusual; and it has been reckoned that, one with another, they complete their cargoes in fifteen days; they are therefore renewed twenty-four times in the course of the year; and the exportation of oil, according to this estimate, will be 17,568,000 viss. Deducting a third from this amount, that is, the quantity estimated to be used for other purposes than burning, and we have at the annual consumption of thirty viss, for a family of five and a half individuals, a population of 2,147,200.

Of the actual produce of the wells, we received accounts not easily reconcilable to each other. The Burmans, less perhaps from a disposition to impose than from incapacity to state any facts of this nature with precision, could not be relied upon, and we had no registers to consult. The daily produce of the wells was stated, according to goodness, to vary from thirty to five hundred, the average giving about two hundred and thirty-five viss; and the number of wells was sometimes given as low as fifty, and sometimes as high as four hundred. The average made about two hundred; and considering that they are spread over sixteen square miles, as well as that the oil is well known to be a very general article of consumption throughout the country, I do not think this number exaggerated. This estimate will make the consumers of petroleum for burning amount to 2,066,721.

In the narrative of one of my predecessors, Captain Cox, the number of wells is given as high as 520, and the average daily produce of each well is reckoned at 300 viss, which makes the whole annual produce 56,940,000. Calculating as before, this produce will give a population of 6,959,331. This is a much higher estimate than my rough data afford; but

even this, it will be observed, gives but a very low estimate of the probable population of the empire. Calculations formed from such crude materials, and which would be justly disregarded where means of gaining more accurate information are within reach, have their value in a country in which exact details are never procurable upon any question of statistics.*

Re-nan-k'hyaung is but a petty village. It is situated in a narrow dell on the river-side, the sand-hills forming a sort of amphitheatre behind it. About a mile below it is a small village where coarse earthen pots are manufactured for the petroleum; and a short way above it a second village, which is also a port for exportation. At this last we counted twenty-three boats.

Sept. 23.—We left Re-nan-k'hyaung at daylight, and at the distance of about three miles above it came to the Pen river, a little stream which here falls into the Irawadi on its eastern bank. There is a village of the same name at its mouth. At two o'clock, favoured by a strong southerly breeze, we reached Pa-k'han-nge, or little Pa-k'han, a very pretty village, and of considerable size. Opposite to it, on the western bank, is a straggling village, which is four miles distant from the larger one of Sembeghewn (Sen-p'hyu-kywan, white elephant island), and has the same name. This is the best and most frequented route from the banks of the Irawadi to Aracan, and that by which Major Ross, with a battalion of Sepoys, and a large portion of the elephants and cattle of the army, proceeded in the month of March last. The route within the plains was no more than six days' moderate march; so that the direct distance to the foot of the hills does not probably exceed forty miles. The late King constructed the excellent road which leads to the Aracan mountains. The principal town of this district, called Salen, or Chalen, is about twelve miles from the Irawadi. An interesting account of this town and its district, which constitutes at present the estate of the King's brother-in-law and favourite, has been given by an officer of Major Ross's detachment. Round the town are the remains of a fortifica-

* More accurate details were afterwards obtained in Ava, and will be given in the sequel.

tion, the brick walls of which are still, in some situations, fifty feet high. This is said to have been constructed when Pugan was the capital of the empire, not less than fifteen hundred years back, which would correspond with the reign of a prince named Pok-san-lan, who ascended the throne in the year of Christ 324. The district of Salen proved to be by far the most populous and cultivated which had been seen by the English since entering the Burman dominions. Numerous villages were observed, and in some places the rice culture extended as far as the eye could see. This advantage it seems to owe to the Salen river, which is dammed by the inhabitants for the purpose of irrigation, and fertilizes the country in its whole course. It is probable, that wherever such streams exist in other parts of the country, population and agricultural industry will be found to prevail; but I do not imagine they are numerous, judging from the small number we have observed falling into the Irawadi. The banks of this river itself, before it commences its disemboguement, are generally too steep and hilly to allow of the neighbouring country being cheaply irrigated from it; and this circumstance, independent of the insecurity of property, will go a great way towards accounting for the general absence of agricultural industry which we had hitherto observed. Even the boasted culture and population of Salen, which, not only from the statement of the English officers, but from its being the estate of the favourite, we may presume to be one of the finest in the kingdom, will bear no comparison with some of the choice districts of Bengal. In the printed account, it is stated to contain six hundred square miles, and to have a population of two hundred thousand inhabitants, which gives about three hundred and thirty-three to the square mile; whereas some of the Bengal districts have four, five, and even six hundred inhabitants.

At five in the evening we reached Sillah Mew, (Sa-lé,) on the east bank of the river. From Wet-ma-sut up to this place, after which it narrows, the Irawadi has a great breadth. In some situations, to all appearance, it was not less than four miles across. In this part of its course, it is full of

large islands. The principal channel, all the way from Melloon, had been close to the eastern bank; and we had, therefore, little opportunity of observing the western. We landed at Salé, and inspected the village and its immediate neighbourhood. A great part of it had been destroyed during the war, and it had not yet recovered. The inhabitants, indeed, had at one time abandoned the place, and returned only three months ago. Notwithstanding this, they showed no symptoms of timidity, but came down in numbers to the bank to see the steam-vessel; and a crowd of them accompanied us in our walk, behaving in the most kind and respectful manner. Joy at the return of peace, indeed, and a deprecation of all war, seemed to be the universal feelings of the lower classes throughout the country. Salé contains 200 houses, and its population, therefore, may amount to 1000 or 1200 inhabitants. It is the principal place of a considerable district, situated on both sides of the river, the portion on the western bank being by far the most fertile—an observation which applies to all the country, from Wet-ma-sut to Salé. Salé has a neat appearance, and differs from the villages farther down, in having the houses built on the ground, instead of being raised on posts. Near the village, as usual, are several considerable temples and monasteries. Immediately above it are the ruins of a brick fort, which, we were told, was constructed by the Burmans to resist the last invasion of the Talains; yet it has an appearance of much greater antiquity. Close to it is a stone with an inscription, standing on its end, and resembling a rude tombstone in a country churchyard in England. This is of sandstone, and the inscription not legible. There is enough, however, to show that it is not the character at present used by the Burmans. The country around is eminently sterile, consisting of little else than sand, on the surface of which are strewed large pebbles of quartz, and fragments of petrified wood. The inhabitants complained that little or no rain had fallen, and apprehended a famine.

We counted eighty trading boats at this place, some of them the largest we had seen. The trade consists in palm-sugar, terra japonica,

onions, capsicum, and cotton. Salé has always been a place of considerable traffic. It was the only one in the country where the shopkeepers were in the habit of coming to passing travellers to hawk their goods. This mark of prosperity was now no longer visible.

Sept. 24.—At half-past three in the afternoon, we reached Pagham-mew (Pugan). In our journey we had a range of hills along the west bank of the river, from two hundred to four hundred feet high. The eastern bank was much less elevated, and here a low country, with occasional gentle swellings, extended, as far as the eye could see, to the south-east. Inland from Pugan, there is an insulated range of rugged and bleak-looking hills.

The rock formation, wherever we had an opportunity of examining it, consisted of nothing else than sandstone and breccia; the soil being composed of the *debris* of these materials, with little or no vegetable mould. The hills were but partly covered with trees, and these were little better than brushwood. In the narrow belt intervening between the hills and the river alone, the soil being somewhat better, trees of considerable size were to be seen, such as the sacred fig, the tamarind, palmyra, and mango.

As we approached Pugan, we had a view of the last field on which the Burmans had tried the fortune of war with our troops. A Chief of the name of Zé-ya-thuran, (Jaya-sura, bold in victory, Pali,) of the rank of a Wundok, had long importuned the King of Ava to put him in command of the army. When the hard conditions of the treaty concluded at Patanago were announced to the Court, the King, who was reluctant to comply with them, was at length brought to yield to the wishes of Zé-ya-thuran, who accordingly received the command of the army. He took with him such troops as could be collected at Ava, and with these and the fugitives from Melloon, posted himself to the south of Pugan, where the extensive Pagodas and other ruins of this ancient

capital commence. Zé-ya-thuran, whose force was supposed to amount to 16,000 men, instead of acting on the defensive, in field-works or stockades, like his predecessors, attempted a mode of warfare apparently more judicious—that of opposing our army, step by step, by desultory attacks and bush-fighting, for which the extensive ruins of Pugan, and the low woods on the bank of the river, which characterised the scene of action, were well suited. But the Burman troops refused to fight, and took to flight on the first assault. A post on the bank of the river was entered by our troops at the charge. The Burmese, who occupied it, precipitated themselves into the river, and here three hundred of them are said to have been bayoneted or drowned. Zé-ya-thuran fled to Ava after his defeat, and had the indiscretion, on his first audience of the King, to ask for reinforcements, and to tender fresh promises of victory. The King, provoked at his assurance, and angry with himself for having broken off the negotiations, which he felt must now be renewed to a disadvantage, ordered his vanquished general for immediate execution. Zé-ya-thuran was disliked by his fellow-courtiers, and odious to the people as a notorious oppressor. In the hour of need he had therefore no one to befriend him. He was dragged from the Hall of Audience by the hair of the head and conducted to prison, where he remained only one hour, when he was led to the place of execution, and beheaded. Mr. Judson told me, that he happened by accident to be present when he was dragged to prison, and afterwards when he was taken to the place of execution. The Burmese jailers and executioners, for they are one and the same, are all pardoned criminals; and upon this occasion displayed the most savage ferocity, knowing it was safe to do so towards a man who had not only incurred the King's displeasure, but against whom also the public hatred was particularly directed. In leading him to the prison, he was dragged along the ground and stripped naked, the executioners disputing with each other for the different articles of his dress. When led to execution, he was pinioned as usual,

and for a distance of two miles was goaded with spears, and otherwise maltreated to such a degree, that he was nearly dead before suffering decapitation.

Immediately after dinner we landed, and strolled for two or three hours among the ruins of Pugan, the most remarkable and interesting remains of antiquity in the Burman dominions, and for twelve centuries the seat of government. We ascended one of the largest temples, and from this had a commanding prospect of the surrounding country and ruins; the latter extending for at least eight miles along the bank of the river, and being in depth often three or four miles. In this space, the number of temples is quite surprising. When the Burmans themselves talk of things that are countless, it is a favourite figure to say that they are as numerous as the temples of Pugan. They are of all sizes, and in various states of preservation. Some have been restored, and are still used as places of worship; others are tolerably complete, though neglected; but many are mere ruins, and a considerable number are but heaps of mouldering brick.

In the evening, when I returned to the steam-vessel, I found the old Myowun of Bassien waiting for me. He had with him the royal order for the approach of the Mission to Ava. This was, according to custom, a narrow palm leaf, about three feet long, pointed at both ends—a shape which marks a royal mandate, and the forging of which is an act of high treason. The following is a literal translation of this document.

" Ne-myo-men-k'haong Kyan-the.* In regard to conducting to the golden feet the English chief, he being an envoy who has come from a far country, you are to proceed along with him, sending a boat and people at the end of every two stages, saying what day you left Henzada, and at what place, and by how many stages you have arrived, and how many more stages will bring you to the presence."—" The writing of the Great Wuns."

Sept. 25.—We repeated our visit this morning to the ruins of Pugan. This place is stated, in Burman chronology, to have been founded

* The name of our conductor, the ex-Governor of Bassien.

by a king named Sa-mud-da-raj* in the year of the grand æra 799, of Gautama 651, of Salivana, called by the Burmans Sumundri, 29, corresponding with the year of Christ 107. It was destroyed in the year of Christ 1356, but appears to have ceased to be the seat of government in favour of Chit-kaing thirty-four years earlier. In this long interval of one thousand two hundred and fifteen years there reigned fifty-seven kings, giving an average to each reign of more than twenty-one years. These reigns, long in a barbarous state of society, would seem to imply that order and tranquillity generally prevailed while the seat of government was at Pu-gan; and that this was the case may perhaps appear probable, from the frequent mention made in the chronological list of sons and grandsons succeeding fathers and grandfathers, and brothers succeeding brothers, while there were but few changes of dynasty.

The oldest of the temples pointed out to us, dated in the reign of King Pyan-byá, or from 846 to 864. Nine temples are ascribed by tradition to this prince; but all of them small, in a ruinous state, and without any interesting relics. The first temple which we visited had the appellation of Thapin-nyu, or "the Omniscient," which is an epithet of Gautama. It is one of the finest, has been restored, and is occasionally used as a place of worship. A short account of this will suffice to convey a notion of the style, character, and extent of all the large temples, for the whole of these are upon the same model. They are built of brick and lime; and the freestone, which is so abundant in the country, and apparently so easily worked, is generally to be seen only in the pavement of the ground-floor and court-yard, or in the construction of stairs. The bricks are well burnt, and commonly about fourteen or fifteen inches long, and eight broad. The form of the temple is an equilateral quadrangle, having on each side four large wings, also of a quadrangular form. In these last are the entrances, and they contain the principal images of Gautama. Each side of the temple measures about two hundred and thirty feet. The whole consists of four stages, or stories, di-

* This is a Pali corruption of the Sanscrit words Samudra raja, or red king,—a name which suggests the probability of a foreign lineage.

minishing in size as they ascend. The ground story only has wings. The centre of the building consists of a solid mass of masonry: over this, and rising from the last story of the building, is a steeple, in form not unlike a mitre, ending in a thin spire, which is crowned with an iron umbrella, as in the modern temples. Round each stage of the building is an arched corridor, and on one side a flight of stairs leads all the way to the last story. We ascended by this flight, and found it to consist of a hundred and sixty steps, giving a height which may be estimated at eighty feet. The whole height of the building, including the spire, we were informed by our guides, was a hundred and thirty-five cubits, or about two hundred and ten feet. Round this temple, like all the rest, there is a court fenced by a brick wall, with gateways. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this temple, as well as of almost all the other buildings of Pugan, is the prevalence of the arch. The gateways, the doors, the galleries, and the roofs of all smaller temples, are invariably formed by a well-turned Gothic arch. It had been alleged, that the art of turning an arch has been lost by the modern Burmans. There is no foundation for this opinion; for, in the vicinity of Rangoon, I have seen several very good arches in buildings of recent structure. The truth is, that their modern buildings, consisting generally of masses of solid masonry, or of wood, necessarily exclude the use of the arch. The temple of Thappin-nyu contains some modern images of Gautama, of an enormous size, composed of common brick and plaster, gilt over, but very rudely and clumsily executed. Its construction is ascribed to Alaum-chao-su, a prince of Pugan, whose reign commenced in 1081, and ended in 1151 of Christ.

From the temple of Thapin-nyu we proceeded to another large one, called, after Anandá, the favourite disciple of Gautama. This is in a much more complete state of repair, and the spire has been lately gilt over. These improvements were effected by the father of his present Majesty, and were in progress during Colonel Syme's visit to the country. As a place of worship, it has the highest reputation of any of the tem-

ples of Pugan. We found here a number of persons at their devotions, and among them a party of men and women of respectable appearance, who had come from Ava for this express purpose. Each angle of this temple was found to measure two hundred and twenty-five feet, and the spire was reported by our guides to be one hundred and seven cubits, or one hundred and sixty feet and a half in height. The temple contains many huge images of Gautama, of the usual structure and form, but no relick of antiquity. Its building is ascribed to Kyan-Thak-sa, who reigned in Pugan from 1056 of Christ, to 1081. He was the grandfather and immediate predecessor of Alaun-Chau-sù, who built Thapin-nyu.

Not far from the temple of Ananda there are some good Kyaungs, or monasteries, here, as in other places, built of wood, and tiled: connected with them is a small building of masonry, the inside of the wall of which is covered with rude paintings, representing the Burman hell, called Nga-ra, probably a corruption of the Pali Naraka, and of the country or paradise of Nats. The punishments in the first are various—all of them physical; such as having the entrails torn out by vultures—decapitations—knocking the brains out with a hammer, and similar evils. Ease—idleness—high seats, and numerous attendants, are, to judge from the paintings of this place, among the principal joys of the paradise of Nats. According to the Burman creed, the Nats, like all other beings, are liable to evil and to change; the only exception is in favour of those admitted into Nibban, where there is neither joy, nor grief—pleasure or pain; a state, which if it does not amount to absolute annihilation, approaches as near to it as can well be imagined.

In passing from the temple of Ananda to the next, and close to an old and massy gateway, which belonged to the ancient fortification of Pugan, we came upon the first inscriptions which we had seen. These were on two square columns of sandstone, each about seven feet high above the ground, and much like the massy posts of a gate, although they had certainly not been used for this purpose. The four sides of

these pillars were completely covered with writing, which appeared quite distinct and perfect. The character is not legible to the present race of inhabitants, or at least we could find no person at Pugan who could understand it. A person lately deceased, it was stated, made himself master of it; and his son, now at Ava, is said to have inherited his knowledge. The Pali writings of the Burman priests and laity are in the common character of the country, in which they differ from the Siamese, Kambojans, and, I believe, Cingalese, whose sacred writings are invariably in the ancient Pali character, or, as it is frequently denominated, that of Magad'ha. The only exception amongst the Burmans is one short book of a few leaves, commonly written on sheets of ivory, called Kamawa; and the form of the character in this instance, although essentially the same, varies a good deal from that in use among the Siamese.

The next temple which we reached has the name of Baúd'hi, a Pali name of the sacred fig. This is of the same general form as the rest, but wants the wings, and is altogether much smaller. It is in good order, and is a neat and pretty building, having at a little distance much the look of an English village church. On the outside of it frequent images of Budd'ha appear in niches, and the spire especially is crowded with them. We thought this the best specimen of Burman architecture we had any where seen. The accompanying drawing will convey a better notion of it than I can give in writing. We had been informed, that in a portico of this temple had been collected a great number of stones with inscriptions on them. These accordingly we found, and to the number of no less than fifty-three. These stones were always small slabs of sandstone, exactly resembling, as I have said of those which we saw at Sa-lé, a tombstone in an English country churchyard at the head of a grave. Some were mutilated, and in others the character was a good deal defaced or obliterated; but in general, both material and character were perfect. The writing appeared exactly the same as in the two columns already mentioned, some allowance being made for

ANCIENT TEMPLE AT PUGET.

variety in handwriting. I may also add, that it appeared to me to be the same with that which is found in ancient inscriptions in Java. The character is even not so remote from the modern Javanese, but that I could make out several letters without difficulty. After the experience we have had of Indian inscriptions, it is not to be expected that much useful historical information would be obtained from those of Pugan, if they were translated. Among so many, however, we might reckon on finding a few names and dates to corroborate the accounts which the Burmans give of their own story, or even some facts to illustrate their ancient manners, religion, and institutions. The temple of Baúd'hi, according to the tradition given of it, is the most recent of the ancient structures of Pugan, having been built by Zé-ya-sinha (Jaya-sin'ha, Victorious Lion, Pali), who reigned from 1190 to 1212. This prince is surnamed Nang-toung-mya-mang, or the King of many-ear-jewels.

We proceeded from this temple to a small one named Shwe-ku, or the golden gourd. This is distinguished from the rest, by being built upon a high terrace; and it therefore makes, though small, a very good appearance. It has no wings, but a porch leads to it, and it consists of a single chamber, the roof of which is a dome, having over it a spire, as in the larger temples, an ornament indeed inseparable from all these buildings. In the wall of this temple, before entering the chamber, we saw the only inscription in modern Burman which we met with. It is, as elsewhere, written on sandstone. The character differs a little from that at present in use, and the language is somewhat obsolete; but these presented no great difficulties, and Mr. Judson easily made a translation, which is as follows:—"In the year Má-k'ha 913, on the 2095 year after the Omniscient God passed into *Nibban*, in the reign of the elder brother and monarch, Lord of the World, he emancipated the disciples—the inherited property of the monasteries throughout his dominions.* He also

* Prisoners of war and others, are frequently condemned to be hereditary slaves for the service of the temples, and this class of persons seems here to be alluded to. According to this practice,

caused that the duties should be levied at the receipts of customs, and landing-place, according to established usage. If any Kings, or Nobles, or Landlords,* shall levy beyond the accustomed rate, let them be said to have destroyed Gods, religion, the priests, and the people of the land."

On referring to the chronological list, the prince referred to is ascertained to have been Na-ra-pa-ti-gan, a king who reigned at Ava from the year 1551 to 1554 of Christ. The year alluded to is the first of his reign, and the inscription was, no doubt, intended to commemorate one of those professions of justice and liberality which Eastern monarchs are accustomed to make in the beginning of their rule. The inscription is dated one hundred and ninety-eight years after the destruction of Pugan. In this interval it may be presumed that the common Burman character, nearly in its present form, began to supersede the recondite character of the sacred language.

On each side of the door, and within the chamber, we found two long inscriptions on stones in the wall. These stones were covered with a black shining varnish, with the exception of the character, which was very distinct. This, like all but the last mentioned, was Pali. We had first imagined the stone to be black marble, but on examination it proved to be only sandstone shining from the recent varnish.

After quitting this temple, we came accidentally to a small ruinous one, not distinguished by any particular name. It consisted of a single arched chamber. Here alone the doorway, instead of being arched as in the rest of the temples, was formed of blocks of freestone, both lintel and posts being composed of this material. Here I was a good deal

we found at Rangoon a large body of Talains under a chief of their own, who were considered slaves to the Shwé-dagong Pagoda.

* Kye-sa, the term here translated landlord, for want of better, is the same at present in use, and means, literally, "eater" or "consumer" of the district, or land; by which is intended, the public officer, or favourite, for whose maintenance the town, district, or rather allotment of land, is assigned by the Government.

surprised to discover decided evidence of the Brahminical religion. In niches, on the outer side of the wall, were several small figures in sandstone, which were generally too much mutilated to be easily identified. One, however, was evidently Hanuman, the monkey general of Rama. Within the chamber were two good images in sandstone, and sculptured in high relief. One of these was Vishnu, or Krishna, sitting on his *garuda;* and the other Siwa, the destroying power, with his *trisula*, or trident, in one hand, and a mallet in the other. They were lying neglected on the floor. Our Burman guides pointing to the tallest figure, that of Siwa, said that he was a Nat, or demi-god, under an interdict for slaying cattle. The Nats, according to the Burmans, are an order of beings superior to mankind; of which some are mischievous, and others beneficent. Such of the Hindoo gods as are known to them are considered to be Nats, some good and some bad. In short, they seem to have made as free at least with Hindoo mythology, as the Mohammedans have done with that of the Jews and Christians.

This temple afforded the only evidence of Hinduism which we observed at Pugan, with the exception of a small oval tile found at a large temple, which I did not visit, called Gau-da-palen, (the throne of Gau-da, a celebrated Nat,) in size and structure similar to that of Thapin-nyu. This has upon it a figure of Budd'ha, in relief, under which was an inscription of three lines, in the Deva Nagari character, which I suppose to be Sanscrit.* The temple containing the Hindoo images which I have just mentioned, is ascribed to Nau-ra-tha-chau, whose reign commenced at Pugan in the year of Christ 997, and terminated in 1030. If these images were the principal objects of worship in the temple, as is probable, and not warders, a situation in which they nowhere else appear at Pugan, it may be strongly

* The inscription was afterwards examined at Calcutta by Mr. Horace Wilson; but although the writing was good legible Nagari, the meaning could not be made out. The language therefore was certainly not Sanscrit, or even Pali, but in all likelihood some provincial dialect of India.

suspected that the Budd'hism of the Burmans, eight hundred years ago, differed materially in form from that which is at present established; and that it was intermixed with the Brahminical worship, as is suspected to have been the case in Java. The Hindoo form of the temples at Pugan, and the existence of writings in the Deva Nagari character, would seem, at least, to give support to such a conjecture.

The last temple which we visited is called Damma-ran-kri, the etymology of which I have not been able to ascertain. This temple is the largest which we saw, and had certainly been the finest; but it was now in a state of much dilapidation, although still frequented as a place of worship, and having some coarse modern figures of Gautama in the wings, one of which represented the deity reclining at full length, his head resting on a pillow, an attitude which is much less frequent than the sitting posture. The form of this temple was the same with that first described, but it was much larger, each angle measuring two hundred and seventy feet. The masonry was carefully and skilfully executed; and to strengthen the corners, there were throughout, at regular intervals of about six feet, blocks of hewn freestone. A strong well-built brick wall, twelve feet high, still perfect in many places, surrounded the court-yard. In this wall, fronting the doors of the temple, there are four massy and handsome arched gateways. Every thing connected with it, in short, conveyed the impression of a superior order of building. In the gallery of the ground-floor we found two large stones, containing inscriptions in a character similar to all the others. The building of this handsome edifice is ascribed to a king who reigned in Pugan from 1151 of Christ to 1154, and who is commonly known in Burman story by the epithet of Kula-kya. Kula is a term applied by the Burmans to the inhabitants of every country lying west of their own, whether European or Asiatic, and, in the sense in which they use it, is not very remote from the word Barbarian, as it was applied by the Greeks to strangers. Kya is, to fall, or be dethroned; and it is stated that the epithet is derived from the circumstance of this prince having lost his life and throne by the

hands of a foreigner from the West, and, we may suspect, most probably by those of some Hindoo adventurer.

There are some circumstances connected with these curious remains, which require a few words of explanation. The antiquity ascribed to them may at first view be doubted, when the perishable nature of the materials of which they are composed is considered. It must be remembered, however, that those that are in the best state of preservation have been carefully attended to, and bear evidence of having been repaired or restored. The materials also are excellent of their kind; and the arch, which so frequently prevails, is well suited to give them stability. The climate also, although a tropical one, is, from the nature of the soil, well calculated to give durability to buildings. The temples may be said to stand on a rock; and such is the sterility of the soil, that the buildings have suffered little or no injury from trees or smaller vegetables insinuating their roots or branches into the walls. In tropical countries generally, the greatest destroyers of neglected buildings are the banyan, the sacred and other fig-trees; but among the ruins of Pugan we did not see a single example of these plants having insinuated themselves. From demolition by the hand of man, these temples have been sufficiently secured by the superstition of the people, who still profess the same religion with their founders.

The vast extent of the ruins of Pugan, and the extent and splendour of its religious edifices, may be considered by some as proofs of considerable civilization and wealth among the Ancient Burmans; but I am convinced there is no foundation whatever for such an inference. The building of a temple among the Burmans is not only a work of piety, but the chief species of luxury and ostentation, in which those who have become possessed of wealth either by industry or extortion, are permitted to indulge; and at Pugan we have the accumulated labour of twelve centuries so expended.

In returning home, after spending four hours among the ruins, a small temple was pointed out to us on the bank of the river. This, to which

we paid a visit, has nothing remarkable in its form, and is evidently now a modern structure in very good order. It was stated to us however by our guides, that the original temple on this spot was the first ever built at Pugan, and that it was constructed by Phru Chau-ti, the third king of Pugan, whose reign began in the year of Christ 167, and ended in 242.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Pugan. — The large trading village of Pa-k'hok-ko, formerly the estate of the King's buffoon.—Junction of the Kyen Dwen River with the Irawadi. Orthography of Burman names of places.—Character of the Burmese Government.—Village of Samaikom.—Manufacture of Saltpetre.—Village of Ra-pa-tong.—Wreck of the Burman army assembled here after its last defeat.—Village of Kyauk-ta-long.—Arrival of a deputation from the Court.—Village of Paok-to.— Husbandry.— Tenure of Land.—Another deputation from the Court.—Arrival at Ava, and first reception.—Navigation of the Irawadi.

We left Pugan at three o'clock, but having to make the circuit of a long sand-bank, we did not reach Nyaung-ngu (Fig-tree promontory) until sunset, although the latter place is not above three or four miles distant from the former. Nyaung-ngu is but a continuation of Pugan; occasional houses and numerous temples occurring all the way between them, and the last even for a mile farther up the river. We landed, but as the evening was fast closing, we had time only for a very short excursion. We proceeded inland to a hill, on which we perceived the ruins of a temple or monastery. This eminence was about one hundred feet high, and composed of breccia. A flight of steps, consisting of blocks of sandstone of great length, led to it. The building, which had stood upon the hill, was a confused ruin, of which nothing could be made. It was said to have been a monastery. The face of the country was prettily diversified with swelling grounds, and near the town were, as usual, many fine fig-trees, tamarinds, and palmyras. There was a good deal of cultivation, divided into small fields, surrounded by a hedge, composed of the dead branches of a thorny tree, the Indian plum, or *zizyphus jujuba.*

The soil, both here and at Pugan, is singularly sterile, consisting of little else than sand and gravel, with occasional fragments of petrified wood. Even at this season the surface was covered with very little vegetation, but the little grass there was seemed of a good quality. At Pugan we had seen in the morning the peasantry at work in the fields which lay among the ruins: their labour was harrowing,—the implement used consisting of a large rake, dragged by from three to four oxen abreast, which were managed by one man sitting on a cross-beam raised on two stanchions over the rake, his weight thus giving more effect to the operation. The objects intended to be cultivated in these fields were cucumbers, pumpkins, and sesamum.

Sept. 26.—The country before us, and on each side, appeared now nearly an open champaign, with a few insulated hills, or short hilly ranges, scattered over it here and there, at a long interval from each other. Among these by far the most remarkable was Paopa, which, in some aspects, had much the look of a volcanic cone, but this disappeared when we came abreast of it. I should conjecture that this mountain cannot be less than five thousand feet high. The Aracan range of hills was daily in sight, and diminished greatly in height as we advanced northwards. At twelve o'clock we were abreast of Pa-k'hok-ko, on the western side of the river, a place of considerable extent and population. The inhabitants poured out to the bank to see the steam-vessel, and formed such a concourse as we had nowhere seen unless at Prome. Pa-k'hok-ko is a place of great trade, and a kind of emporium for the commerce between Ava and the lower country; many large boats, which cannot proceed to the former in the dry season, taking in their cargoes at this place. We counted one hundred and fifty trading vessels, of which twenty-one were of the largest size of Burman merchant-boats. The articles exported consist of silk and cotton cloths, but especially the latter, which is extensively manufactured in the vicinity; terra-japonica, sesamum-oil, palm-sugar, gram (*cicer arietinum*), and tobacco. Ten miles inland from Pa-k'hok-ko, is the town of Pugan-gyi (Puk'han-kri), or great Puk'han, a populous place, surrounded

by a brick wall, and containing some remains of antiquity; among others, some inscriptions on stone, said to be similar to those of Pugan. Pa-k'hok-ko, and the domain annexed to it, lately constituted the estate assigned to Maung-shué-nyan, a celebrated actor. This person, a native of Rangoon, gained the present King's favour by his professional talents, his quickness at repartee, and his accomplishments as a buffoon; and he received a title of nobility, with an estate, as marks of royal favour. During the war, he had a small command, but disgraced himself by a precipitate flight. He was in the stockade where Thongba Wungyi was killed on the 7th of July 1824. After this, he fell into disgrace, quarrelled with some of the principal courtiers, and was discovered to be an atrocious oppressor, having put several persons on his estate to death. The King discovered his mistake in promoting him, imprisoned him twice as a correctional punishment; but finding him irreclaimable, he deprived him of his estate, and confiscated his personal property.

In the evening, we came to an anchor under an island about two miles below a village on the western bank, called Nga-m'hya-ng*a* (the little fish-hook).

Sept. 27.—At half-past eleven o'clock this forenoon we were abreast of Tarup-Myo, or Chinese Town, which is distant from the river, on its eastern bank, about two miles: the spires of its temples only were visible. At twelve o'clock we passed the confluence of the Irawadi (Irawati) and Kyen-dwen rivers. The prospect afforded by their junction is not, as we expected to find it, imposing. Both rivers are here confined to a comparatively narrow bed; and the tongue of land which divides them is so low and covered with reeds, that it may be easily mistaken for an island, and consequently the smaller river, the Kyen-dwen, for a branch of the larger one. The proper orthography of the Kyen-dwen is Kyang-twang, pronounced Kyen-dwen. I may take this opportunity of explaining one difficulty in rendering Burman words into Roman letters. The sound given to a final consonant is regulated by rules of euphony, which are per-

fectly regular, but it is necessary to know them. Colonel Wood, the officer who gave the name as it now stands in our maps, took the sounds as he heard them. I after an, or ng, is pronounced as d. After the name, the word river, or *mit*, would have been given to him by the natives. In this case the final n, or ng, of twang, is sounded as m; and hence the name, as written down, abounds in errors. Another example is afforded in the Burman word for Chinese, just mentioned, which is correctly written Tarut, but may be pronounced also Tarug, or Taruk, or Tarup, according to the consonant which follows it. In these cases consistency cannot be attained, except by adhering to the original orthography of the words as written by the Burmans themselves, as far as this is practicable, through the use of Roman letters, and an approximation to it may be made in almost every case. The words Kyang-twang-mit imply the river that is within the country of the people called Kyang, this nation chiefly inhabiting its banks. This stream is also known by the name of the Thanlawati, or, perhaps more correctly, Sanlawati, if it be a Sanscrit name, which is likely.

We were now in a flat country, the nearest ranges of hills, to the east, being at least thirty miles distant, and the Aracan mountains, to the west, not less than fifty in the nearest part, and sixty or seventy in the most distant. The villages and cultivation were here very considerable, but still the appearance of industry was not striking, and, judging from the prospect on the banks of the river, the soil, although better, was still thin, sandy, and remote from fertile. Of the cultivation, the most remarkable feature is immense groves of palmyra-trees, grown for the manufacture of sugar, which, judging from the vast number of these palms, must be an extensive article of consumption. The price at Pa-k'hok-ko, which is the great mart for it, does not, on an average, exceed ten current ticals per hundred viss, which, in English money and weights, is less than a penny a-pound.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, we reached Yandabo (Ran-ta-po), near which we stayed two hours, laying in a stock of wood, sufficient for our con-

sumption to Ava. Here, for the first time, we met a country extensively cultivated and clear of forest, extending from the banks of the river to a low range of hills lying south-east of it. This is the place at which the conferences were held, and the treaty of peace concluded, in February last. The large tree was pointed out to us, under which was the tent of the Commander of the British army, and in which the negotiations were conducted. The place will be memorable in Burman annals. The Burmese Court changed its tone as our army advanced upon the capital. When our troops first landed at Rangoon, it spoke of the affair as a predatory excursion, and was in great haste lest the invaders might escape. Before reaching Prome, it refused to negotiate. At this place it entered into an armistice, to gain time. After its defeats in December last, it at length consented to negotiate; but the negotiators insisted that the conferences should be held in a Burman vessel lying in the river between the two armies. It was evident that they had not yet been sufficiently humiliated, and therefore fortunate, that at this period they broke the treaty. At Yandabo, Sir A. Campbell dictated that the conferences should be held in his tent, and every point demanded was yielded without difficulty; the customary equivocations and procrastination of the Burman statesman yielding on every occasion to a threat to advance the army. At this period the Burman Court made a faint attempt to hide its humiliation from its own subjects. The instalment of the money paid at Yandabo was first brought down clandestinely at night, and the inhabitants directed, at the peril of their lives, to keep within doors, that they might not witness the shame of their Government. Even this subterfuge was at length abandoned; and before the instalment was completed, the money was openly brought from Ava in broad day. The Burman, peculiarly a Government of fear and violence, seems to have little hold of the affections of its subjects, and the support of its authority chiefly depends upon its maintaining a character of infallibility. Much of its system of administration consists in a juggle to impress this character upon the minds of its subjects, and its assumed preeminence is perhaps founded as much upon policy, as upon national vanity and miscalculation

of its own strength. Under such circumstances, it may seem surprising that no formidable insurrection broke out during the progress of the contest with the British. The countries actually occupied by our army, submitted, indeed, peaceably to our rule; and, had we determined on permanent conquest, would in all likelihood have been easily maintained. Against the sovereign, however, humbled as he was, there was but one plot at Court, and the evidence even of this is doubtful. The case alluded to was as follows:—The Pakan Wun, or Governor of Pakan, had, towards the conclusion of the war, become a favourite: he was vested with the command of the army, and nearly with the powers of a dictator. He was a man of bad character, and the same who contemplated the murder of the European and American prisoners. By his insolence in his new elevation, he incurred the enmity of several members of the royal family, and of the officers of Government who plotted for his destruction. It was given out that he aimed at the throne, and that certain insignia of royalty had been discovered in his house. In less than an hour he was deprived of his dignities, his property was confiscated, and he was beheaded. The forbearance evinced by the people and chiefs during the war, is, I am told, ascribed mainly to the popular character of the King, who is universally considered by them as a man of good dispositions, having the happiness of the people at heart, although from weakness often misled by bad counsel. A very moderate share of merit, indeed, seems to be sufficient to make an Asiatic prince popular.

In the evening we anchored a short way above the village of Samai-kom. This is a place from which cotton is exported for the Chinese market, and here and at several other places within the district of Tarut saltpetre is manufactured: the price on the spot is fifteen current ticals, or about thirty rupees the hundred viss, which is greatly dearer than the same article in the market of Calcutta.

Sept. 28.—After passing Samai-kom, we came to the termination of the largest island which we had met in the Irawadi, and which extends all the

way from the confluence of the two rivers to the place we were now at: it is called Ala-kyun, or middle island: it is high and generally cultivated. After this the Irawadi expands to a breadth which was at present not less than four miles: it is full of low islands, evidently inundated during the highest rise of the water,—therefore uncultivated, and covered with the same tall grass which we had traced, under similar circumstances, throughout our whole progress: the *saccharum spontaneum.*

At one o'clock we passed Ra-patong, a village on the east bank. This was the spot at which the Burmans contemplated making their last effort, had the British army not been arrested in its progress by the Treaty of Yandabo. Mr. Judson told me, that on his way down, he here found the Burman force encamped, under the old Chief Kaulen Mengyi, who had been defeated at Melun. The Chiefs, he said, were quite dejected and dispirited, and their troops did not exceed one thousand men, composed principally of their personal retainers—in disorder, and without equipments. Our march to Ava, had it been necessary to advance, would have been easy, and through a country much superior to any which the army had passed over.

We reached the village of Kyauk-ta-long (single rock) about four o'clock in the evening, where we stopped for the night. A few miles below Kyauk-ta-long we found a deputation sent from Ava to meet us. The chief of it was a Saré-d'haukri, commonly pronounced Saye-d'haugyi, which means a Royal Secretary of the Lutd'hau. This was a person of some rank, wearing a gold chain of *nine strings*, and having a title of *four syllables*. I mention these particulars, because such matters are of high importance with the Burmans, and chiefly determine the rank of parties. The smallest number of chains is three, and the greatest for a subject twelve, the intermediate ones being six and nine. Four-and-twenty strings to the chain are worn by the royal family only. With respect to the number of syllables in a title, although much depends upon this, still some small allowance also is made for sense; and it is especially of importance that the title should commence with the Pali word, Maha, or Great, when a sub-

ject is referred to; or Thato, of which I do not know the meaning, when the individual is a member of the royal family. The late King's title (of his own selection, of course,) consisted of twenty-one syllables; and as no word in the Burman language exceeds two syllables, and the greater proportion are of one only, it may readily be imagined what an assemblage of virtues and high qualities it must have embraced. The Saye-d'haugyis was Men-ten-si-thu. He was accompanied by two other chiefs, the old Governor of the province of Myit-sin, and the "North Commandant of Horse." They came on board, after ascertaining, by a previous message sent from the shore, that the promised Envoy was present. The conduct of Men-ten-si-thu and his associates was extremely civil and decorous: they put few questions, and no improper ones, and showed none of the importunity to which I had been too much accustomed at Siam, and even Cochin China, under similar circumstances. A writer sat behind the officers of the deputation, and the chief dictated a report to him on the spot, which, when we arrived at Kyauk-ta-long, was immediately dispatched to Ava by a horseman.

Sept. 29.—Last night and this morning we made excursions into the country about Kyauk-ta-long. Several roads for wheel-carriages lead from it,—one of them to Ava: these are of a deep sand, and so narrow that two carts cannot pass abreast. The country on both sides of the river had been far better cultivated in the course of our journey to-day, than we had yet seen it. Still, a hilly range ran not far from both banks of the river, leaving the amount of level ground for cultivation very inconsiderable. These hills at Kyauk-ta-long came almost to the river-side. We ascended them, and found them from fifty to one hundred feet high, composed of sandstone in various states of induration, with embedded breccia and indurated clay, some of the last of a slatey texture. The rock had a more distinct stratification than we had before observed, the strata from the river side appearing at an angle of about fifteen degrees. Nothing in a tropical climate, at least, can be imagined more bleak and barren than these hills.

The bare rocks, even in this season of general verdure elsewhere, are constantly visible, and in the interstices between them the sand and gravel give birth only to patches of brushwood. The narrow valleys are however cultivated, and in these were growing rice, cotton, and sesamum, but in a very scanty soil. We met large flocks of very fine black cattle returning from pasture. The males are generally emasculated, and these alone are used for labour, the females being exclusively reserved for breeding. They are seldom milked, as the Burmans generally do not use this article for diet. This circumstance may probably account for the general superiority of the Burman cattle over those of Bengal. They are fed upon rice, chopped straw, and oil-cake; but, considering the scantiness of the vegetation, they must be poorly off in the dry season. During that time, I am told that the leaves of the fig and other trees are had recourse to for fodder. The price of a pair of bullocks at Kyauk-ta-long varies, according to quality, from thirty ticals up to one hundred, each tical of one rupee, or two shillings. A cow does not cost above eight or ten ticals, and a bull may be had at from five to nine. At Kyauk-ta-long, and a few other places close to the capital, *ghee*, or clarified butter, for the consumption of strangers residing at Ava and Rangoon, is prepared in small quantity. The principal place where this is done is the village of Ngazwan, four or five miles below Kyauk-ta-long, on the same side of the river. Many of its inhabitants are a colony of Hindoos from the Coromandel coast, dressing as Burmans, using the Burman language, but still following the religion of their own country. On the opposite side of the river to this Hindoo colony, I may notice that there are five or six villages of Catholic Christians under a pastor, who was called to us Don Joseph, and who is an European Italian. These Christians were carried off by Alompra, when he took Syrian in the year 1757. He placed them here, where they have continued ever since, dressing in the Burman costume, and chiefly occupied in cultivating the soil.

Having put the steam-vessel in such order as to make a respectable

appearance on our arrival at the capital, we quitted Kyauk-ta-long at half-past ten o'clock this morning. The officers of the Burman deputation showed the utmost anxiety to detain us until an answer should be received to their dispatch, and farther instructions obtained from the Court. I wished to show them that the Mission came as a matter of right, in virtue of the treaty, and that no order could be expected but one inviting us to proceed, which we should certainly meet on our way. After we had proceeded a few miles, the expected instructions met us. The following is a translation of the written order, which shows the minute attention paid by the Burman Court to the trifles of etiquette:—"Men-ten-si-thu, Royal Secretary, &c. It is necessary that the Chiefs and Officers who have arrived at Kyauk-ta-long, should be received suitably. Let them wait where they may have arrived on receipt of this, and let the old Governor of Myit-sin and the North Commandant of Horse be sent up to report the day, the hour, and the place of their arrival." Being assured that preparations were making to give us a handsome reception, and that a second deputation, consisting of officers of superior rank, was coming down to meet us, we came to an anchor, at half-past one o'clock, off the east bank of the river, at a place pointed out as a suitable one by the Burman deputies. This was at a small village named Paok-to, about six miles from Ava, and facing a stupendous temple, called Kaong-m'hu-d'hau, on the opposite bank of the river: this differed in shape from all we had seen, being something between that of a bell and a beehive, with a small cupola at the top. Kaong-m'hu means, in the Burman language, "good act," or "meritorious deed," and has become an appellative for any religious building. When, for example, inquiry is made respecting the foundation of any particular temple, it is a common phrase to say, "Whose deed of merit is this?" or words to that effect. The present temple means the royal deed of merit, so called *par excellence*. The scene which now presented itself was extremely picturesque and imposing: at six miles distance from us we had the spires and temples of Ava on the east bank of the river, and those of Sagaing on the west. To the south-

east, behind Ava, we could plainly distinguish four ranges of hills, gradually rising one above another: the nearest did not appear to be above ten miles from Ava; but the most distant seemed at least fifty or sixty miles off, and these last were to all appearance higher than any portion of the Aracan range which we had seen.

Sept. 30.—We made excursions into the village yesterday afternoon and this morning. The country is here a low champaign, running from the bank of the river, for at least fifteen miles, to a low range of hills to the east. The whole of this plain was in a state of culture, with the necessary exception of some lakes; two of which, not far from the river, we visited. The soil, as before, was thin and sandy, perceptibly undulating, and of course improving in fertility on the borders of the lakes. The peasantry were engaged in their labour, and we found them extremely civil, communicative, and not wanting in intelligence. I conversed with them chiefly through my interpreter, Maongno, a Burman of Rangoon, who had acquired some knowledge of English and Hindi at Madras, and who, with much intelligence, had a very conciliating manner. The land produces rice towards the lakes, and in the higher grounds various pulses. Three crops of rice are generally produced yearly, and always two. The best crop is obtained with the assistance of the periodical rains: this is of white rice of the finest quality. The next two crops are obtained by the assistance of irrigation from the lakes, and consist of coarse red rice, used only by the peasantry, and little esteemed. The produce of rice for the seed sown, appears at the highest to be twenty-five fold, but, on an average, does not exceed ten. This is the lowest production in this grain which I have ever heard of. In Pegu, the produce seldom falls short of fifty, and often comes up to eighty-fold. In some of the lands now alluded to, the husbandry followed is, to take a crop of rice in the wet season, and a crop of pulses in the dry. Under this management, the average produce of rice is fifteen-fold; and when the pulse sown is the *Cicer arietinum*, the pea given as common food to horses throughout the Bengal provinces, the produce is as much as forty-fold. With

pulses less productive, but more esteemed for food, several species of *Phaseolus* and *Dolichos*, it is no more than fifteen or twenty-fold. We measured one field, which was to be sown with one of the pulses most esteemed for food in India, the *Phaseolus max.* The owner told us that he expected it would yield three hundred viss of grain. This would give five hundred and fifty viss, or about one thousand four hundred and fifty-seven pounds per acre. The unproductiveness of the soil is in some measure balanced by the little labour required in tilling it, on account of its loose and sandy texture. The implements of husbandry consist of a plough and harrow, both of them extremely rude, and, with the exception of the ploughshare, which is of iron, and commonly imported from China, all of wood. The most substantial parts of these implements are of the timber of the *Mimosa catechu.* The plough is considered worth two current ticals, or four shillings; and the harrow, a rake of from four to eight teeth, according to the nature of the soil and the grain cultivated, about half as much: these are drawn by a pair of bullocks, the most expensive part of the husbandman's stock, and which, according to our inquiries, were worth forty ticals. The ground commonly receives a harrowing before it is ploughed, by which means the scanty vegetation on the surface of a loose soil is removed, which amounts to a good weeding. Rice is first sown in beds, and afterwards transplanted; which is contrary to the usual practice of the lower country, where it is sown broad-cast, and not afterwards removed. One of the cultivators informed us that the field he was tilling was the property of his father, and had been inherited by him from his ancestors. It was at present, he said, mortgaged along with the contiguous field, altogether estimated at one acre, for the sum of sixty ticals; the mortgagee receiving no interest, but being put in possession of the land, and deriving all profits from it from the date of the loan,—the ground to be forfeited in three years if the debt were not liquidated. He also said that no portion of the produce was paid to the King, nor to the person who held the domain as a temporary estate. In lieu of a

land-tax, he added, that the latter personage assessed each family in the village at an arbitrary rate, which, for the same family, varied from fifty to one hundred ticals yearly, besides *corvées*. Another husbandman informed us that the ground he was engaged in cultivating was the property of another; that he rented it, and paid the proprietor half the produce, himself supplying seed, cattle, and implements of husbandry. When I came on board, the Sayedaugyi told me that the village of Pauk-to was one of thirty constituting the district of Tapé; that it paid its lord ten thousand ticals yearly,—five thousand of this arising from the rent of five lakes, of which we saw two, and the remainder from the tax on families. From this amount, he makes a present to the King amounting to a tenth, but sometimes to twice as much; for in this, as in every thing else, there is nothing determinate, which is one of the main evils of the Burman Government. The peasantry, on estates given away, like the present, are sometimes called upon for extraordinary contributions to the crown, besides the revenue paid to the lord. Thus, when the King out of caprice changed the seat of government from Amarapura to Ava, each family paid one hundred and fifty ticals to assist in constructing the fortifications and palaces of the new city. By far the largest proportion of the land of the kingdom is given away in estates to the royal family, public officers, and favourites. The rest is a royal domain,—the King standing in the same relation to it that the lord does in other cases. This, I believe, may be considered as a fair statement of the condition of the tenure of cultivated land, at least in the most populous parts of the kingdom. The lord of the domain of Tapé is the Akyok-won, which, for propriety's sake, may be rendered Keeper of the Wardrobe, or Chamberlain; but Akyok literally means a tailor,—and the joint words, "Ruler of the Tailors." This personage, however, is not only chief of all the tailors in his Majesty's employ, but of the goldsmiths, the cutlers, &c., and he is also charged with the care of the royal wardrobe,—of scenic dresses, masks, &c.: in fact, he is a person of considerable rank and importance. The lakes, which we visited, are, as already stated, fisheries of considerable

value. They abound in small shell-fish, some of which are used by the inhabitants as food: these, dead and alive, are found abundantly on the shores; and being left when the water recedes, no doubt contribute greatly to fertilize the banks. In the cold season the lakes are much frequented by water-fowl, which are generally birds of passage. We saw a few ducks and geese even at this early period of the season, besides great numbers of curlews. There is little in the botanical department which can escape the activity and skill of Dr. Wallich. He here discovered a new aquatic genus of the family of *Hydrocharides*, nearly allied to the European plant which has given name to the natural order. He named the genus *Abildgoordia*, in compliment to the memory of his friend and preceptor, Professor Abildgoord, of Copenhagen.

Last night, a Wundauk* and three Sayedaugyis arrived as a deputation from Ava to receive us, and, immediately after my return from our walk, they came on board in three royal barges, covered all over, not excepting the oars, with gold, and having each forty rowers. These boats are themselves exceedingly neat and handsome, but the rowers were not uniformly dressed; and, upon the whole, this parade made by no means so good an appearance as the royal barges in Cochin China. The Wundauk and his associates were received on the poop of the steam-vessel. They put very few questions, and their demeanour altogether was unexceptionably frank and civil. They requested us to move up to Ava as soon as we were disposed, and that they would accompany us, expressing regret that we had disappointed them of the pleasure of meeting us at Pugan, as it was the intention of the King to send them so far, had we not come up so expeditiously. The Wundauk himself was a young man, of about eight-and-twenty, one of the handsomest Burmans I ever saw. He had been promoted to this high rank, which is equal to that of an Atwen-wun, and next to that of a Wungyi, on account of his

* From *Wun*, a burden, and *tauk*, a prop; which may be rendered, in English, assistant, or deputy; the Wun-tauk being, in fact, a deputy to the Wungyi. The letter *t* is here euphonically pronounced *d*, as in many other cases.

father, Maong-shwe-men, who was also a Wundauk, and killed on the 7th of July 1824, along with Thongba Wungyi, in the action of which I have already given some account.

At ten o'clock we quitted Pauk-to, and at noon arrived at Ava, anchoring opposite to the house constructed for our reception. An Atwen-wun* came on board almost immediately, to compliment us, and attend us ashore to our house, where a Wungyi was ready to receive us. The Atwen-wun in question proved to be Maung-pa-rauk, the same who had signed the treaty of Yandabo, but who now discharges the office of Kyi-wun, or Lord of the Granaries. Our party landed, and entered an inclosure formed by a bamboo railing. At the front gate of this we were met by the Wungyi Maun-lá-kaing, who handed me to a large temporary house in the centre of the inclosure, where chairs were ready for us. The conversation which ensued was not of a very interesting nature; but, upon the part of the Burman chiefs, it was dictated by a spirit of conciliation and politeness. As usual, they inquired first after the health of the King of England, and of the Royal Family in general. On our side, we inquired after the health of his Burman Majesty, after that of the Queen, the young Prince, and the favourite Princess. Inquiries after the female branches of their families, it should be observed, are considered by the Burmans as marks of civility; in which respect they differ entirely from the inhabitants of Hindostan and other countries of Western Asia, among whom such questions would be considered as betraying the utmost indelicacy. The Burman chiefs informed us, that "the glorious King," as they repeatedly called him, had directed the house we were now in to be constructed for our accommodation; and that he desired we would be at our ease and happy, since friendship was restored between the two countries. They told us, that a guard of eighty men, twenty to each of the four gates of the inclosure, were appointed to keep the populace from intruding upon us. All this preparation was a show of keeping up the usage of the Burman

* From *Atwen*, interior, and *wun*, a burden. The word may be translated Privy Counsellor; while the term Wungyi may be rendered Secretary of State.

Court, and indeed that of all the nations to the eastward of Hindostan,—of placing foreign ambassadors under a certain restraint, until a public presentation. This was intimated with much delicacy; and it seemed that the rule, in regard to us, was not to be much insisted upon. Maung-lá-kaing, so called from his estate, was the same Wungyi who signed the treaty of peace; and the choice of the two officers who brought this event about, seemed an indication of good feeling on the part of the Court, and was, at all events, certainly dictated by good taste. Maung-lá-kaing was a feeble-looking old man, and extremely emaciated. His manners were gentle, affable, and courteous. He told us his age, which was fifty-eight, although he seemed to us full seventy. He asked all of ours: there is no incivility in doing so among the Burmans; on the contrary, to question their new acquaintances respecting their age implies that they take some interest in their welfare. After sitting for half an hour, the Burman chiefs left us, and we inspected our new habitation: it consisted of one large house in the centre, surrounded, at the distance of the railing, by five smaller ones, with a large open shed for the accommodation of the Burman officers and attendants;—these temporary dwellings were all raised, according to the custom of the country, on posts a foot high, and had bamboo floors, walls of plaited bamboo, and roofs thatched with grass. Some of us preferred continuing on board, but the younger members of the party took possession of the house; and I sent the European guard ashore, where their comfort could be more attended to.

When we arrived, a great concourse of people, notwithstanding the attempts of the officers to keep them away, had crowded down to the bank to see the steam-vessel and the strangers. Their behaviour, as we passed through the crowd in landing, as well as before and after this, was entirely decorous and respectful. Indeed, not a single indication had occurred of an unfriendly or hostile spirit, on the part of the people, from our quitting Rangoon until our arrival at the capital. Among the spectators were a great many priests; although the indulgence of curiosity, laudable or otherwise, is a thing expressly forbidden by the rules of their order.

We performed the journey from Rangoon to Ava in thirty days, and might have made it in about twenty, without difficulty, had we not been detained for the first few days by towing a heavy boat, and halted frequently. The distance, according to Colonel Wood's map, is four hundred and forty-six miles. According to the vessel's log, we ran two hundred and sixteen hours; and taking our average rate of going at five and a-half knots, with an allowance of three knots an hour for the current, the actual distance travelled will have been five hundred and forty miles. At the height of the freshes, a war-boat, proceeding day and night, has been known to go to Rangoon in four days. In the dry season, a war-boat, proceeding in the same manner, will come from Rangoon to Ava in eight days, and in the season of the rains in ten.

October 1.—The Burmese chiefs yesterday informed us, that the King had issued orders for supplying the Mission with every necessary, and that he would not allow that we should be put to any expense. He had ordered, as we understand, four thousand ticals to be disbursed for our current expenses—a large sum, according to Burman notions. To carry his orders into effect on this head, a crowd of officers were in waiting, among whom were a Sarégyi, or principal Secretary; an Athòng-saré, or Comptroller of expenses; an Amin-d'hau-ré, or Barrister of the Lut-d'hau; a Ta-ra-ma-thu-gyi, or Assessor of the City Court, or Rong-d'hau; and a She-ne, or Barrister of the same Court. Fruit, milk, and butter, were supplied in large quantities; and poultry, sheep, and beef, in defiance of religious prejudices.

CHAPTER IV.

Excursions to the neighbourhood of our residence.—Husbandry and tenures of land among the Burmese.—Visit from Dr. Price, an American Missionary.—Chinese settlers residing in Ava.—Visit from a Burman deputation.—Mr. Lanciego, a Spanish gentleman residing in Ava.—Burman husbandry, and wages of labour.—Wheat grown near Ava.—Commencement of the negotiation.—Festival of the boat-races.—Town of Ava.—Second conference.—Visit to the town of Sagaing.—Water excursion round Ava.

Oct. 2.—ALTHOUGH our residence was watched by a Burman guard, we were not precluded from going abroad, and therefore made morning and evening excursions into the fields in our neighbourhood, where the farmers were at work preparing the land for the cold-weather crops: these crops consisted of onions, capsicums, tobacco, maize, and pulses. We found the cultivators communicative and intelligent, as I have before mentioned. The result of our inquiries was as follows:—the common land measure is denominated Pé, and is a square of twenty-five bamboos to a side, each bamboo being of seven cubits: at this rate the Pé contains seven thousand five hundred and sixty-nine yards, or three hundred and nine square yards more than an English acre and a half. One Pé of land planted with tobacco seedlings, will yield, in good soil, from four hundred to six hundred viss of tobacco leaves; but the crop is an uncertain one. This tobacco, which is of middling quality, is worth from thirty to fifty current ticals. The produce in maize is reckoned from sixty to one hundred for the seed; which is very small, this being the most productive of all the cereal grasses. The return in pulses is averaged at

fifty-fold. Of rice, it was only given at twelve-fold. Some of the cultivators whom we interrogated were themselves the proprietors of the land, and others rented it. We found the yearly rent to be, according to the quality of the soil, from three to six ticals of flowered silver, each worth about 2*s.* 9*d.* sterling. When rent is paid in kind, it amounts to from one-fourth to one-half of the gross produce, according to the quality and circumstances of the soil. The land is rarely sold, but often mortgaged. The usual period is for three years; the mortgagee being put in possession of the land, and deriving all profits from it from the period of making the loan, but receiving no interest. The sum which can be raised by mortgage upon a Pé of land varies, according to its quality, from twenty to sixty ticals of flowered silver, or in sterling money from 2*l.* 15*s.* to 8*l.* 5*s.* All these lands are close upon the river-side. Notwithstanding the comparatively high prices now quoted, a considerable extent of unreclaimed land lies close at hand, and not two miles from the walls of the city. This is generally lower than the cultivated land, rather marshy, and covered with brushwood, consisting chiefly of a species of *combretum*, with narrow leaves. If too moist for cultivation, as is no doubt the case, a very trifling capital would suffice to drain it; as there is a lake close at hand, and the river not half a mile distant. The peasants informed us that there was enough of land without it, and that the weeds and bushes grew up too rank and fast to allow of its being cultivated with advantage. They stated, that any one might clear and cultivate it, enjoying the profits; but that they were liable to be dispossessed when the proprietors presented themselves; from which we inferred, that all the lands in the vicinity of the capital were appropriated. The lands which we examined are the estate of the Sito-myan-wun, or the Master of the King's Stud. Five villages are appropriated to this personage, containing between them about four hundred and fifty houses, or families. With respect to the tax on houses or families, some are altogether exempted from the payment of taxes to the Myo-sa, or lord; and others pay from six to twenty

ticals of flowered silver. Upon what principle this various assessment is made we could not learn. Most probably it is dictated chiefly by favouritism. Its inequality is, at all events, an obvious evil. Within the estate there is a small lake, which we understood to be the hereditary property of one of the villagers. The fishery of it is very poor, and will not rent for more than forty ticals of flowered silver a-year. In our walk down the banks of the Irawadi we encountered a river, about fifty yards broad, called the Myit-tha, which runs to the south of the city: it unites with another, called the Myit-nge, which falls into the Irawadi, above Ava. In this manner the site of the city is an island. The Myit-nge, literally the Little River, is in the Pali named Duta-wati. Boats going up and down the Myit-tha pay no toll; but there is a ferry at the spot, which we visited this morning, where a small toll is paid of, according to circumstances, one-eighth or one-sixteenth of a tical. We saw goods, passengers, and carts transported in considerable numbers. The toll rents for sixty ticals a-year. Half the brick, mortar, and labour in any of the considerable Pagodas would have made an excellent bridge over this river; but such is not the mode in which Burman capital is expended.

In our excursions we met many persons going to the market of the town with their goods and wares, the greater number of whom were women carrying heavy burdens on their heads. The principal articles, we observed, were cotton, fire-wood, and a variety of coarse esculent greens, evidently not the result of cultivation, but culled from the marshes or forests. Among other articles, we noticed considerable quantities of natron, which in this country is in general use instead of soap. The price of this was given to us at half a current tical the basket, of sixteen viss, which will make about *2s. 6d.* the hundred weight.

On our return from our walk, we found Dr. Price on board, who had come to pay us a visit. This gentleman is a native of America, a physician, and also a minister of the Baptist Mission. He had been near six years in the country, was married to a Burmese lady, had studied the Burman lan-

guage, and spoke it with extraordinary facility. Like all other European and American residents in the country, he was imprisoned and fettered during the war; for no logic could convince the Burmans, but that all men with white skins had a common political interest. In their utmost need, however, they did not fail to apply to this gentleman and to Mr. Judson for advice and assistance; and it was in a great measure through their influence in surmounting the unspeakable distrust, jealousy, and, it may be added, incapacity of the Burman chiefs, that the peace was ultimately brought about. Dr. Price was now in favour with the King, had received a title from him, and attended the daily levees at the palace. Through him the disbursements were made on account of the Mission, as far as regarded the slaying of animals,—a task in which no Burman connected with the Government could, with any regard for his character, engage.

The first evening of our arrival, two Chinese, natives of Canton, came on board, offering their services as provisioners and brokers. These persons spoke English, and had made voyages to England, to our principal settlements in India, and to the European ports in the Malay Islands. These industrious people are to be found in every part of the East, where there is room for the exercise of their useful industry, and, wherever they are found, are always superior to the inhabitants of the countries in which they sojourn. There are a great many residing at the Burman capital, and some of them natives of parts of China, never seen in the European settlements in India. We accepted the services of our visitors; but yesterday they were told that they were infringing the laws of the country, and ordered, at their peril, to discontinue their visits until after our presentation.

Oct. 3.—The Kyi-wun, or Lord of the Granaries, paid us a visit this morning. He made some difficulty about coming on board, wishing that I should go on shore and meet him at the house constructed by order of the King for our reception. As I was not residing there, but on board, and as the place itself was meant only as a temporary residence, I declined doing so in conformity with the custom of the country. The Atwen-wun then came

on board, accompanied by two Secretaries of the Palace,* and the Commandant of the Guard of Swordsmen,† and Don Gansalez de Lanciego, a Spanish gentleman, who had resided in the Burman dominions thirty years, and who, before the war, held the situation of Akau-wun, or Collector of Customs, at Rangoon, the only appointment under the Burman Government which has been occasionally held by a foreigner.

The history of this gentleman, who was now about fifty years of age, was sufficiently varied and singular. He was by birth a Spaniard, and born of a noble family. When a boy he was sent to Paris, where he received his education, and continued to reside for many years. At the commencement of the Revolution he came out to the Isle of Bourbon, of which his maternal uncle was governor. From this place, along with a number of young men of family, he fitted out a privateer to cruize against the English trade. After leading this life of adventure, hardship, and danger for several years, the privateer was driven into the river of Bassein by stress of weather. Here Mr. Lanciego left her, and eventually found his way to Rangoon, and became a trader. He afterwards married the daughter of Mr. Jhansey, an Indian-Portuguese, who was for many years Intendant of the Port of Rangoon, and whose other daughter is his present Majesty's fourth Queen. From Rangoon, Mr. Lanciego went to the capital, became a first-rate afvourite with the present King, then heir-apparent, and through his influence was appointed Intendant or Collector of Rangoon. When the Burmans resolved upon a war with the British, which he always deprecated, he was on his annual visit at Ava with the produce of the customs of Rangoon. The personal attachment of the King, his known partialities to the French interest, and his family relation with the sovereign, did not exempt him from the universal suspicion which fell upon all Europeans. One or two

* The name or title of these officers is Than-d'hau-sen, which means, "voice royal descend." They are Secretaries to the Privy Council, of which the Atwen-wuns are members.

† This officer is named Shwe-da-m'hu, which literally means, "Chief of the Golden Sword." He commands that portion of the King's Guard which is armed with swords.

letters from English merchants at Rangoon reached him, confined wholly to matters of business. This was enough. He was clapped into a dungeon, in fetters. One or two other letters from the same quarter, and of a similar tenour, arrived. The enemies of Mr. Lanciego now framed a plot against him. He was represented as holding a correspondence with the English, and persons were found to swear that his emissaries had been seen in the enemy's camp. The King issued the order that he should be examined "in the usual manner." He was accordingly sent for from prison, put to the torture, and his property confiscated. At the peace of Yandabo, but not until then, he was released, but his property was not restored, and he had ever since been excluded from the palace; the only justice done to him being the acknowledgment of his innocence, and the punishment of his false accusers. It seems that his services were now thought necessary in the ensuing negotiation; and he was to-day, for the first time, to be admitted to the palace. This accounted for his visit to us, in company with the Burman officers. I was happy to think that the presence of the British Mission should, even indirectly, hold out a prospect of improving the situation of Mr. Lanciego, a gentleman who was represented, by all who knew him, as a man of honour and probity. His situation was the more to be pitied, since he was not permitted to quit the country, either alone, or with his family. He knew, in fact, too many of the secrets of the Burman Government, and this excited their keenest jealousy and apprehension.

Our Burman visitors of rank now, and upon former occasions, were becomingly and neatly attired. The lower garment, covering the waist and loins, was a silk tartan, and this alone was Burman manufacture. The rest of the dress, consisting of a vest, a loose mantle, and a turban, or rather handkerchief binding the head, consisted of white English cotton cloth; the mantle and turban being of the description called book-muslin, a favourite article of consumption with the Burmese. Over the left shoulder, and hanging under the right, the massy gold chains of their orders of nobility made a good appearance. The Kyi-wun was of a very dark complexion, and very far from being hand-

some; but his manner was animated, he was a great speaker, and desirous to please. He aimed indeed at being an orator, and favoured us with several specimens of his skill: when he had any thing particular to say, he stood up, rested his hands upon the table, and, thus prepared, commenced his speech. The following is a specimen, as rendered to me by Dr. Price; it being premised, that the object of his address was to express a hope that the peace subsisting between the two nations might be perpetual. "The most glorious Monarch, the Lord of the Golden Palace, the Sun-rising King, holds dominion over that part of the world* which lies towards the rising sun: the great and powerful Monarch, the King of England, rules over the whole of that portion of the world which lies towards the setting sun. The same glorious sun enlightens the one and the other. Thus may peace continue between the two countries, and for ever impart mutual blessings to both. Let no cloud intervene or mist arise to obscure its genial rays." The Kyi-wun was by no means sparing in panegyric, and dealt it all round to our party with a liberal hand. He was equally solicitous to become the subject of our praises, and put a number of direct questions with this view; implying less tact and discretion than might have been looked for in an old courtier. The subject of business was introduced, after much preparation. The first point touched upon was that of the presents from the Governor-General to the King. This was done with delicacy and moderation, instead of the indecorum and rapacity which I had experienced on the same subject from the courtiers of Siam. It was simply hinted by the Kyi-wun, that he would like to gratify the King's curiosity by mentioning to him the names of two or three of the most curious articles. I named two or three, and voluntarily furnished a complete list of the whole. The Kyi-wun then asked me when the British army was to quit Rangoon. I answered, that when I left that place the whole of the second instalment due by the Burmese Government had not been discharged; that the pe-

* The word is Jam-pu-di-pa, in Pali,—corrupted in the Burman into Zam-pu-dik.

riod of payment had been exceeded on the part of the Burman Government by three months; and that Sir A. Campbell, if he found it convenient, might delay the embarkation of the troops for three months also, without any infringement of the treaty. He said, "Among friends there is no necessity for so strict a punctuality." In reply, I remarked that we had assumed a strict adherence to the conditions of the treaty as the rule of our conduct, and would continue to do so. The Kyi-wun referred to the conversations which had passed on this subject between the Wungyi-Maung-kaing and myself at Henzada; asserting that, according to the report made to the Burman Government by the Wungyi, I had assured him that I had written to Sir A. Campbell, requesting him immediately to embark the troops. I explained that so unreasonable a request had not been made of me, and that such an assurance had never been given. He changed the conversation immediately to some other topic, and I did not insist upon continuing it.

The appearance of a British Mission at Ava, although specifically provided for by the Treaty of Peace, had excited a good deal of uneasiness on the part of the Court, and much alarm among the people. Our little party of less than thirty Europeans had been magnified by rumour into some hundreds, and from such a force the capital itself was scarcely thought to be safe—so deep an impression had the superiority of European arms produced upon the nation at large! In reference to this subject, the Kyi-wun observed with some adroitness, that it would be agreeable to his Majesty to know the particular purpose of our "friendly visit." Aware of the alarm which existed, I had been anxious for an opportunity of explaining the objects which the Mission had in view, and said at once, that we had come for the purpose of presenting a friendly letter to the King, and of making a convention for regulating the commerce of the two countries upon terms of reciprocal advantage, as provided for in the Treaty of Yandabo; and that we had no other object whatever. The Kyi-wun, his associates, and their followers, received this declaration with a joy

which they could not conceal. An involuntary and general exclamation burst from the whole party, as if they had been relieved from some mighty load. The Kyi-wun compared the declaration now made with the official statements he had received from Rangoon and from Henzada, as well as with the rumours which had reached the Government from other quarters. Without such corroboration, our assurances would have had little weight; for Burman courtiers, eminently destitute of candour and integrity themselves, are little disposed to attribute these qualities to others.

After visiting every part of the steam-vessel, and examining the machinery, the deputation left us in very good humour, having made a visit of at least three hours. I sent Mr. Chester and Mr. Montmorency to accompany them ashore, as a mark of attention.

Oct. 4.—We continued our walks morning and evening into the country, prosecuting our inquiries respecting the state of agriculture. A considerable portion of the land in the neighbourhood of the capital is the property of the King, clearly distinguished from that which is the property of individuals. We were to-day informed, that his Majesty had of late years made several purchases of lands, and some of them were pointed out. This seems to leave the existence of a private right in the soil clear and unquestionable. Land which belongs to private persons, it appears, never pays a land-tax, either directly to the Crown, or to public officers, holding it as an estate. Crown-lands, on the contrary, as far as our experience went, always pay a tax; but this seems nowhere to form a subject of direct revenue to the State, as the lands in question were, in every case in which we had observed them, held as a temporary domain by some public officer, member of the royal family, or favourite. The rents of the lands which we examined this morning, for example, were assigned for the maintenance of the young heir-apparent's establishment of elephants. Some inferior grounds which we noticed, and which belonged to the King, produced only one crop a-year, and this of pulse, at the rate of twenty-five baskets, or about three hundred viss the Pé. These were rented at two ticals and a half of what is

called twenty-five per cent. silver, each of which is worth about one shilling and tenpence sterling. Better lands were rented at from three to six ticals. At present the fences, which are only dry bushes of the prickly *ziziphus jujuba*, and meant only to protect the crops against cattle, are all removed, and heaped together for future use. The fields were all divided by low dykes of a few inches high, which served the double purpose of boundaries, and of keeping the land duly watered when necessary. In some dry lands, which we examined in the course of the morning, and which are not fit for the production of rice, although for other purposes they are reckoned good, the ground was preparing for crops of Indian corn. One of the farmers of this land stated that he expected that the produce of one Pé in Indian corn he would be able to sell for from one hundred and sixty to two hundred ticals of coarse silver, each tical worth about one shilling and tenpence sterling. A portion of the same land was preparing for pulse *(Cicer arietinum)*. The owner stated that he expected a return of from fifty to sixty-five fold. One Pé of his land required eight viss of seed, and the produce he estimated at from twenty to twenty-five baskets, of sixteen viss each. In the vicinity of the capital, as in other parts of the upper provinces, the common palmyra, or borassus flabelliformis, is extensively cultivated. This tree, in good soil, comes to maturity in thirty years, but in an indifferent one it takes forty. The male and female trees are nearly in equal proportion. The first afford juice for three months in the year, and the last for eight, the daily produce being the same for both. The unproductive months are in the rainy season. During the time they are yielding, each tree gives daily at the rate of from five to six viss of juice. This is sold by the owner at the rate of one-eighth of a tical of ten per cent. silver per viss, or about threepence sterling. Near the capital no sugar is manufactured, the juice being sold for consumption as it comes fresh from the tree, the most profitable means of disposing of it. We inquired into the wages of agricultural labour, and found them to be from forty to fifty ticals a-year, each tical of one shilling and tenpence sterling;

with food, but no clothing. It is considered that a labourer requires twelve baskets of rice a-year, of fifty-six pounds each; the basket being worth at Ava about a rupee and a half. He gets besides, *ngapi*, vegetables, and spiceries, being always fed with his employer and family. The whole expense of his food is not reckoned less than three rupees and a half a-month, making his actual wages about seven rupees. This is more than double the wages in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, or of any native city in Hindostan or the Peninsula; a proof that the supply of labour is less in proportion to the demand in Ava than in India, and that the condition of the labourer is more comfortable, since there is no great difference in the cost of the necessaries of life.

Oct. 8.—We had little or no rain since our arrival. The periodical rains, indeed, generally cease at Ava in the middle of September, although they continue a month later in the lower provinces. We had the weather hot, and the sky cloudless. The nights and mornings, however, were pleasant. At sunrise, the thermometer, for some days back, had been at 78 degrees: in the course of the day it rose to 88°, and was occasionally as high as 92°. The air at the same time was dry and pure, and favourably contrasted with the damp and sultry atmosphere of Calcutta at the same season.

The cultivators in our neighbourhood were very busy ploughing and harrowing. We counted yesterday morning twenty ploughs and harrows at work within the space of a few hundred acres. The harrow, it appears, is very much used for breaking and pulverizing the soil, as well as for removing grass and weeds. The plough, with the assistance of an iron share, the only respectable part of the implement, and which, as I have already said, is imported from China or Lao, turns up the soil well, but does not cut deeper than four inches. In the common husbandry of the country, manure is never used, and indeed I believe in no case except occasionally with betel-vine gardens. Reaping is performed with the sickle; corn is separated from the straw by the treading of oxen; and the straw is carefully preserved for fodder. The cultivators, who are generally either the

proprietors or renters of the fields they till, for hired servants are not often had recourse to, we found at their labour every morning before sunrise. Their toil is interrupted at ten o'clock, and in the heat of the day no out-door labour is performed. They are at their work again at three o'clock in the afternoon, and continue at it until sunset, so that they labour for about seven hours a day.

In our walks to-day and yesterday we found that wheat was cultivated in the vicinity of Ava in considerable quantity. The land on which it is grown appears to be the same as that in which Indian corn and pulse are produced, that is, dry lands, incapable of producing rice, because they cannot be flooded. The produce was given to us generally at such high rates as seem almost incredible. It was stated at as much as forty-fifty, and even sixty-four for the seed. The most moderate estimates made it from ten to twenty-five seeds. The lands on which wheat is grown are under water during the height of the inundation, and no other crop is taken from them in the course of the year. The grain is sown broadcast, and ripens in from three to four months. Wheat is called by the Burmans *G'hyun Sampá*, and *Kula Sampá;* words which mean wheat-rice, and Western foreigners' rice. The word G'hyun is from the Hindi, or mixed modern dialect of Hindostan, and not Sanscrit. It may probably be inferred from this, that wheat has been introduced among the Burmans in times comparatively modern; and it proves, at all events, that it is not an indigenous grain. The Burmans do not use it as bread, nor to any great extent in any way. The most frequent mode of using it is to boil the entire corn, and then mix it up with coarse sugar and oil, to make sweet cakes. In the market of Ava, the price is about one-third less than that of rice, or from one rupee to one rupee and a quarter for a basket, or from two shillings to two shillings and sixpence sterling per Winchester bushel. This is as low as the market-price at Patna, from which the principal supply is derived at Calcutta, both for consumption and exportation. Specimens of the grain were brought to us in the course of the morning: it is large, plump, and heavy, and the bread made from it,

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which we have used since our arrival, is well tasted, and remarkable for its whiteness. We compared the grain with the Patna wheat which we had along with us, and it was greatly superior both in size and colour. The only objection to it which we could observe was, that it was mixed with a few grains of barley. This last grain is not known to the natives; and when we pointed it out, they imagined it to be unripe grains of wheat. It was introduced, therefore, in all likelihood, with the first seed wheat, perhaps some centuries back, and accidentally propagated ever since through the carelessness of the natives. It is evident, from the lower price of wheat than rice, that the lands near Ava are better suited for the growth of the former than of the latter; and it seems remarkable, therefore, that it does not constitute the chief-bread corn of the inhabitants. This however, as already mentioned, is by no means the case; for all their prejudices run in favour of rice, to which they are fully as much attached as the inhabitants of the Delta, to whom wheat is unknown except as a foreign commodity. Considering the excellence of the Burman wheat, the cheapness with which it is grown, the facility of water communication to the sea, and the convenience of the port of Rangoon, it ought, under favourable circumstances, to be a material article of exportation; but it is the policy of the Burman Government to prohibit the export of every species of grain, and there is little hope of any improvement in this respect.

Oct. 10.—We had yesterday a visit from the Kyi-wun and his associates, the two Secretaries of the Palace, accompanied by Mr. Lanciego. This last gentleman, as we suspected, had been admitted to the palace. In discussing the terms of a commercial treaty, his assistance was indispensable, for there was not another individual at the capital who had the slightest knowledge of the external commerce of the country. One of the Wungyis, as if by accident, introduced the name of Mr. Lanciego to the King, stating that he was excluded from the palace, as he had been in fetters. The King simply observed, "Who has excluded him? What prevents him from coming?" On the faith of this hint he was presented last

night. It is necessary to explain, that no one who has been once in fetters can appear in the Royal presence without a special sanction. He is considered as having been dishonoured by that punishment, whether guilty or innocent, and therefore an unfit object to appear in the King's sight. A hint of the Royal approbation is considered a sufficient purification.—The present visit was ostensibly one of ceremony, but in reality of business. The following is the substance of what took place during a conversation of several hours. We desired to know when we should be presented to the King. The Kyi-wun observed, that this was a matter of "much importance," and would be discussed with all proper attention to form and ceremony, and that in the meanwhile the commercial treaty might be settled. I readily embraced the proposal of discussing the terms of the commercial treaty, without loss of time; and said that I had already prepared the draft of such a treaty, in English and Burman. The difficulties encountered on former occasions in negotiating with officers of the Burman Government not duly authorized, induced me to request that any person or persons appointed to negotiate with us now, might be vested with full authority to treat. The Burman officers replied, that the negotiators, on their side, would be vested with such powers as were given at Yandabo. He first proposed this day as the first for entering upon the negotiations, but afterwards suggested that the 11th would be more convenient. He explained, that on that day business would be transacted, and that the three following days would be devoted to the annual exhibition of boat-races, at which his Majesty and Court would all be present, and to which we were invited. The negotiation, he continued, would be renewed on the 15th and 16th, shortly after which the Mission would be introduced to the King. In fact, it was determined that we should be presented on the first day of the new moon, which is a Burman festival, at which the public officers and tributary princes offer presents to his Majesty. I acquiesced in this arrangement, unaware, at the time, of the object which the Burman Court had in view.

The Kyi-wun and his coadjutors, not satisfied with the assurances made

to them at our last meeting, that the Mission had come for no other purpose than to present a letter and presents to the King, and to conclude a commercial treaty, again begged to know whether we had any farther demands to make. I reassured them on this subject, and begged them to be satisfied with what I had already said. The Kyi-wun then entreated that I would, in confidence and "as a friend," mention to him the principal heads of the draft of the treaty to which I alluded. I answered, that the terms were moderate, and the document very short, consisting of seven articles only. As the Burman negotiators would come better prepared to enter upon the actual negotiation, I saw some advantage in exhibiting the document, and therefore produced it. The Burman officers read it one after another in their own language, and Mr. Lanciego in English. Objections were offered to two or three of the articles; but as no doubt they would afterwards be urged in a more public manner, it is not necessary at present to enumerate them. The majority of the provisions of the treaty, but not the most essential, seemed to be approved of. The Kyi-wun begged to have a copy. This I refused. The draft was then reperused by each individual officer separately, and finally read aloud. The Kyi-wun then formally returned thanks for our being so obliging as to furnish him with the perusal of the draft. He added, that the Burman Government, on its part, had several propositions to offer, to which we might probably object; and that, under such circumstances, he hoped no offence would be taken at any objections which might be urged by the Burman negotiators against propositions brought forward by us. I answered, that I hoped every point would be freely discussed on both sides; that the Burman Government would, of course, bring forward any propositions they might think proper, and that I would enter into negotiation upon them as far as my powers extended: I added, however, that if they were not of a commercial nature, they ought not to be mixed up with this particular subject, for which a separate and specific arrangement had been made in the Treaty of Yandabo.

The Kyi-wun, before coming on board, sent me a present of a small ruby

ring, and sent another to Mr. Judson, still smaller. On coming on board, he made each of the gentlemen, seven in number, a present of a gold cup. Mine weighed eleven rupees and a half, and those of the other gentlemen nearly seven each.*

Oct. 12.—According to the promise held out in the interview which I had with the Kyi-wun on the 9th, the Burman Commissioners came to our residence at twelve o'clock yesterday. The apartments occupied by Mr. Chester had been prepared for the conference: carpets had been spread, chairs and tables placed, and every thing was in readiness. We went ashore immediately upon their arrival, having previously ascertained, by sending Mr. Judson, that they were vested with powers to treat. We found that they had taken their places under a large open shed, commonly occupied by the Shwé-da-mhu, or Chief of the Guard of Swordsmen, and other officers in daily attendance. The house which we had got ready for them, because the dwelling of Mr. Chester, was objected to by the Burman officers, although the very place where we had been received by the Wungyi and Atwen-wun on the first day of our arrival, and selected by themselves for that purpose. Upon this point the Burmans are punctilious to an absurd and very troublesome degree. No chief will enter the house of an inferior, or even of an equal; for to do so, either implies a derogation of dignity, or an extraordinary condescension. The King never enters the house of a subject, not even of his brothers; although with the latter he is familiar, and will often be seen walking arm-in-arm in the courts before their dwellings. A Wungyi never enters the house of an Atwen-wun or Wundauk, the next persons in rank to him, and so on in succession. We conformed to this prejudice, and accordingly made difficulties about meeting the Burman Commissioners under the shed where they wished to hold the conference. I insisted that they should come over to receive us, which they readily complied with; and meeting us half-way from the house, they con-

* It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that all presents of this description are regularly delivered over to the Government, according to an useful and necessary regulation.

ducted us to the shed, where we were all seated upon chairs, and the conference commenced. The principal Burman officers, seven in number, were habited in their dresses of ceremony, and wore their chains, and other badges of nobility. Their dress consisted of a crimson velvet cloak, with loose sleeves, having abundance of gold lace, and of caps of the same fabric and colour, in form not unlike those worn by the Armenians, and covered with a profusion of gold ornaments. In front of this cap there was a thin gold plate, on which were written, in large characters, the titles of the individual. Mr. Lanciego appeared upon this occasion officially, and, like the Burman officers, was habited in a velvet cloak; but instead of the cap he wore a round hat, ornamented after the same fashion. This was not in keeping with the rest of the dress, and, in truth, had a very grotesque appearance. The fact was, that Mr. Lanciego, in consideration of his European prejudices, was allowed to wear his hat; but as to the gold ornaments and orders, these were far too important to be dispensed with. The Burman full dress, as now described, is extremely cumbersome and inconvenient, especially the cap. The negotiators, on the present occasion, groaned under the load of their honours, and during the conference repeatedly complained of the inconvenience.

The Burman officers were, first, two Atwen-wuns, appointed Commissioners to negotiate the treaty: one of these was the Kyi-wun, and another, the senior of the two, Maong-M'ha, the Wun, or Lord, of Sau. After these came a Wundauk, who was followed by a Than-d'hau-sen, or Secretary of the Palace; a Than-d'hau-gan*, or reporter; a Nákan-d'hau, or King's listener†; and an A-we-rauk‡, or examiner: writers or secretaries sat behind the principal officers, and from the dictation of the latter appeared to take down a minute account of every thing that transpired. The senior Atwen-wun generally spoke for the rest, and came prepared with a set of written questions, which he put with great formality. The first inquiries made

* "The Royal voice-receiver." † "The Royal ear-listener."

‡ Literally, "from a distance arriving." The office of this person is to examine petitions, and persons coming from distant parts.

regarded the health of the Governor-General, that of Lady Amherst, and of his Lordship's family generally. This was the first occasion on which the name of the Governor-General was introduced. He was styled now, and throughout the conferences, the English Chief, or Prince, (for the word may mean either,) who rules India (India Taing Ko-ok-so-thau-Englit-men). Whatever might be the real opinion of the Burman Court, the results of the late contest with the British power in India, and the necessity of treating with it upon equal terms, made it now very anxious to consider the Governor-General as exercising an independent sovereign power. Inquiries after the health of his Majesty and the Royal Family, the nobility, and officers of the Government of England, followed—the Burmans, in all this taking it for granted throughout, that matters must be exactly on the same footing with us as with themselves. The standing question respecting the age of the parties was as usual prominent: on one occasion it was omitted; but the senior Atwen-wun, afterwards recollecting himself, apologized for this unintentional want of politeness. His Majesty the King was throughout called King of Wi-lat, a slight corruption of the Arabic term for a foreign country, and commonly applied by the Asiatic nations to Europe especially. The Burmans know little of the other potentates of Europe, and have a vague notion that the King of England rules over the greater part of it.

Notwithstanding that the discussion of the Commercial Treaty was the immediate object of the meeting, it was evident that the Burman officers did not come prepared to enter upon a serious negotiation, but had distinct views, of which I had received no intimation from them. These regarded the appointment of the Mission, the letter of the Governor-General, &c. On these subjects the following conversation ensued.*

* Throughout the whole of the negotiation, notes were carefully taken down on the spot. On our parts, the questions, whenever this was practicable, were written down, and handed to the interpreters for translation; and the questions and answers of the Burmese negotiators were taken down, generally word for word as they were rendered into English. Mr. Judson, in general,

B. When did you receive your orders to come upon the present Mission?—*E.* On the 11th of August.

B. When did you quit Rangoon?—*E.* On the 1st of September.

B. You have a letter from the Governor-General, have you not?—*E.* Yes.

B. Will you permit us to see the letter from the Governor-General to the King?—*E.* I came here to-day, by appointment, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial treaty with officers accredited by his Burman Majesty. I beg to know whether you have written authority to enter upon such a negotiation?

B. Yes, we have such an authority with us; and we take this opportunity of expressing our happiness at being deputed by his Majesty to conduct this negotiation.

Several expressions of civility or compliment here passed on both sides.

E. Have you authority to request a perusal of the Governor-General's letter; for this was not the object of the meeting, nor was the matter at all intimated to me?—*B.* We are vested with such authority—we dare not make the request without authority. We come in our official dresses, and this is a warranty that we are vested with full authority.

E. I will not deliver the letter of the Governor-General, nor permit it to be opened or read; but I will exhibit it in its envelope, and allow a Burman translation of it to be copied in my presence.

The letter of the Governor-General was, after this, brought from on board the steam-vessel by Lieutenants Cox, Montmorency, and Mr. Judson,

interpreted, occasionally assisted by Dr. Price, and, in a few instances, by the Burmese Maong-no, whom I have before mentioned. Mr. Judson's qualifications were of the first order; for, without reference to his unquestioned honour and integrity, he understood the Burmese language, his subject, and the character and manners of the people thoroughly; and was besides a person, in every respect, of distinguished good sense and intelligence. The letter *B*, in the Minutes, stands for Burmese; and *E.* for English. The senior Atwen-wun was generally the spokesman.

and, preceded by orderlies and Hircanahs, introduced, the English gentlemen and Burman officers standing up to receive it. The strict punctilio of the Burmese in all such matters rendered this piece of etiquette necessary. The letter being laid upon the table, and a Burman translation exhibited, a secretary proceeded to make a copy, standing to his task, at the table; as to bring the letter down from its elevation would have been contrary to Burman etiquette—a kind of derogation, both to the dignity of the writer of the letter, and, what was of more consequence, of the party to whom it was addressed.

B. Is the Governor-General's letter written upon paper or parchment?—*E.* It is written upon richly illuminated paper of the same quality as that made use of when the Governor-General addresses the King of Persia and other Princes, with whom he is in correspondence.

B. What is the nature of the seal affixed to the Governor-General's letter, and in what language is the inscription upon it?—*E.* The seal affixed to the Governor-General's letter is the principal seal of the Government, and the character is Persian, which is used by us for convenience, as being generally understood.*

The letter of the Governor-General was here removed with the same forms as upon its introduction.

E. I now propose that we should enter upon the more immediate business of our meeting.—*B.* We assent.

E. The meeting was especially agreed upon for the purpose of negotiating a commercial arrangement, as provided for in the treaty concluded at Yandabo.—*B.* We have perused attentively the Burman translation of the Governor-General's letter, which is suitable and friendly. Having finished

* The use of the Persian language in our correspondence with some of the Asiatic Governments is no doubt a great absurdity, and a compliance with the local usages of India wholly uncalled for. I recollect seeing, upon one occasion, a Persian letter addressed by the Governor-General of India to a native Prince, who wrote for answer that there was no one in his dominions who could translate it. Had the letter been written in English, as it ought to have been, there would have been no difficulty in getting it translated.

this important matter, we propose that the discussion of the Commercial Treaty should be postponed until another day.

E. I cannot accede to this proposal. The meeting was agreed upon only for the purpose of discussing the commercial arrangement, and it has not even been entered upon.—*B.* Since you are desirous of entering upon the negotiation to-day, we assent.

E. I have brought the written powers which I hold from the Governor-General to treat, and am ready to produce them. I wish to see your powers, and that copies should be exchanged.

The credentials of both parties were here produced, translations made, and copies exchanged. The powers of the Burman negotiators, who were the two Atwen-wuns, were from the King, in the confidential or interior department, and not from the Lut-d'hau, or public department. The following is a literal translation:—

"Let the Atenwon the, Lord of Sau, Men-gyi-thi-ri-ma-ha-nanda-then-kyan, and the Lord of the Revenue, the Atwen-won-mengyi-maha-men-l'ha-thi-ha-thu hold a conference in the embassy tent (than-tê) with the Ambassadors, who have reached the Royal Presence* with gifts† from the King of Wi-lat. In the year 1188, the ninth of the increase of the moon Tha-ten-kywat, (10th of October.)

The Na-kan-d'hau, (he that listens to the King) Chief of the Pyau-kyi, (great drum,) Nemya-men-l'ha-kyan-ten, *Interprets.*"

In this document, the presents are represented as coming from his Majesty the King, and not from the Governor-General; a mere subterfuge of the Court to save its pride. Viewing it in this light, and being aware that any discussion of the point would be accompanied with serious delays and difficulties, I offered no objection. The treaty, if finally concluded, must of necessity be in the name of the authorities constituted by law, and this I thought would be sufficient.

* Literally, "under the sole of the Golden foot Royal" (Shwe-bawa-d'hau-auk).

† The word here used is Let-saung, the appellative for a present or gift of any kind.

E. I have prepared the draft of a commercial treaty in terms of perfect reciprocity, which I imagine will be mutually beneficial. I will cause it to be read if you desire it.

B. We wish, if you please, to have a copy of this document.—*E.* I will furnish a copy. You will have the goodness, at the same time, to furnish me with a copy of such proposals as you have to offer.

B. We prefer that the articles which you propose should be discussed. If they contain any stipulations not mutually beneficial, such may be rejected. If any thing has been omitted, the want may be supplied. We are desirous that nothing should be urged on either side which is not for the common benefit.

The draft of the Commercial Treaty was perused by the Senior Atwen-wun; the Second, the Kyi-wun, had, as before observed, perused it at the interview of the 9th.

B. I have carefully read the draft over, and myself and colleague will duly consider the subject, and hereafter furnish a counter draft with such alterations and additions as we consider expedient.—*E.* My powers are chiefly directed to the conclusion of a commercial arrangement, as especially provided for by the Treaty of Yandabo. I therefore beg, if you have any propositions to make unconnected with that subject, that they may be produced in a separate and distinct form.

B. Some of the propositions made in the draft of a treaty with which you have just furnished us, go beyond what is contained in the Treaty of Yandabo. You will not, therefore, object to our tendering propositions which may infringe upon the Treaty of Yandabo.—*E.* The draft which I have submitted is in accordance with the Treaty of Yandabo, which, as I have already said, expressly provides that a commercial arrangement should hereafter be entered into. As a general principle, I have to observe that the Treaty of Yandabo cannot be altered.

B. The British commanders at Yandabo had simply authority to negotiate a peace. From the perusal of your credentials, we are led to sup-

pose that you have authority to modify that agreement, or to make any farther arrangements you may deem necessary for the good of the two nations.—*E.* I will say nothing farther upon the subject until I have seen your propositions: when I have, I will give a separate and distinct answer to each, according to my instructions. Having proceeded thus far in the business, I believe it was understood that we should meet again after an interval of three days.

B. Yes, three days are to be devoted to amusement, these being the annual festival of boat-racing; two days then will be devoted to business, and on the succeeding one you will be presented to his Majesty. As his Majesty desires that you should be present at the boat-racing, suitable accommodation will be made for you for this purpose.

After this conversation, the conference, which had lasted four hours, although little real business was transacted, broke up.

Oct. 13.—When the waters of the Irawadi begin permanently to fall, a festival is held yearly for three days, the chief amusements of which consist of boat-racing: this is called in the Burman language Rethaben, or the Water Festival. According to promise, a gilt boat and six common war-boats were sent to convey us to the place where these races were exhibited, which was on the Irawadi, before the palace. We reached at eleven o'clock. The Kyi-wun, accompanied by a Palace Secretary, received us in a large and commodious covered boat, anchored, to accommodate us, in the middle of the river. The escort and our servants were very comfortably provided for in other covered boats. The King and Queen had already arrived, and were in a large barge at the east bank of the river. This vessel, the form of which represented two huge fishes, was extremely splendid: every part of it was richly gilt, and a spire of at least thirty feet high, resembling in miniature that of the palace, rose in the middle. The King and Queen sat under a green canopy at the bow of the vessel, which, according to Burman notions, is the place of honour; indeed, the only part ever occupied by persons of rank. The situation of their Majesties could be distinguished

by the white umbrellas, which are the appropriate marks of royalty. The King, whose habits are volatile and restless, often walked up and down, and was easily known from the crowd of his courtiers, by his being the only person in an erect position, the multitude sitting, crouching, or crawling, all round him. Near the King's barge were a number of gold boats, and the side of the river, in this quarter, was lined with those of the nobility, decked with gay banners, each having its little band of music, and some dancers exhibiting occasionally on their benches. Shortly after our arrival, nine gilt war-boats were ordered to manœuvre before us. The Burmans nowhere appear to so much advantage as in their boats, the management of which is evidently a favourite occupation. The boats themselves are extremely neat, and the rowers expert, cheerful, and animated. In rowing, they almost always sing, and their airs are not destitute of melody. The burthen of the song upon the present occasion, was literally translated for me by Dr. Price, and was as follows:—"The golden glory shines forth like the round sun; the royal kingdom, the country and its affairs, are the most pleasant." If this verse be in unison with the feelings of the people, and I have no doubt it is, they are, at least, satisfied with their own condition, whatever it may appear to others.

Some time after this exhibition, the state boats of the King and Queen were also sent to exhibit before us. These, like all others belonging to the King, are gilt all over, the very oars or paddles not excepted. In the centre of each was a throne, that of the Queen being latticed to the back and sides, so as partially to conceal her person when she occupied it. They were both very brilliant. According to the Burmans, there are *thirty-seven* motions of the paddle. The King and Queen's boats went through many of them with grace and dexterity, and much to our gratification and amusement.

Towards the close of the day, the King sent us a repast of confectionary, fruits and other eatables, served with much neatness, and in vessels of gold; to indicate that the favour was bestowed personally by his Majesty. The culinary art, as practised by the Burmans and other Hindu-Chinese nations, is much more agreeable to the European palate than that of the natives of Hin-

dostan. Upon the present occasion, there was but one article decidedly objectionable,—a dish of crickets fried in sesamum oil! The chiefs who brought our refreshments were two persons of some note, from being much in the King's favour. The first was an elderly person, by birth a Siamese: his offices are named Rok-the-wun and Zat-wun, which mean, Chief of the Puppet-shows, and, Manager of Theatricals. This gentleman is represented as a first-rate buffoon, and, in consideration of his drollery, the King indulges him in such freedoms as would cost the rest of the courtiers the stocks or the bamboo, if no worse. The second personage was the player whom I mentioned, in a former part of this Journal, as having been promoted for his skill as an actor, and his readiness at repartee. It seemed that he was now restored to the King's personal favour, but had not got back his estate. He gained his livelihood, we were informed, by means of bribes received for begging off criminals; for it is seldom that any one suffers death or other severe punishment in this country who has funds to purchase immunity; and the favourite, therefore, has a wide field for the exercise of his influence. He wore the highest chain of nobility given to a subject; but his manners were flippant and undignified, and he was described as being utterly unprincipled. He was disliked by the courtiers, but feared by all of them. We were not much disposed to receive such a person with attention; and there being no spare chair, he was obliged to continue standing. The Atwen-wun, much superior to him in rank, observed this, and said, "Is there no chair for the King's favourite?" but the hint was not taken.

Oct. 14.—We appeared at the boat-races again yesterday, being conducted as the day before. The amusements were exactly the same, and the King and Queen were of course present; for they never land from their water-palace, as the great vessel I have described is sometimes called, from the commencement to the conclusion of the festival. The boats are matched in the races two and two, no greater number ever starting. The King's boats are matched in pairs against each other, and sixty pairs start during the races. The boats of the nobility run against each other, and

the chiefs frequently sit in their own boats; but of this exhibition they are not fond, except when confident of victory, for the loser is generally made a butt for the merriment of his friends and companions. The prizes consist of money, dresses, and, for the poorer classes, rice. The boats run with the stream for the distance of a taing, or two miles, and the goal is a vessel anchored in the river opposite to the King's barge. They are all pulled by paddles, each boat having seldom less than forty. Their speed is very great, and I should suppose they would outrun our fastest wherries. The matches appeared to excite great emulation in the parties immediately engaged, and much interest in the spectators, composed principally of persons about the Court and their retainers, all of whom were in their boats. Both on this day and yesterday there were very few spectators on the shore. The interest of the festival, indeed, appeared to be confined to the Court, and it seemed to excite little curiosity in the people. The King, hearing that we had been gratified at seeing the evolutions of the gilt boats, sent to-day thirteen war and three state-boats to manœuvre in our presence. The repast was sent as before, and on this occasion, in testimony of his Majesty's satisfaction, a double allowance; the Burmans appearing to mark their favour to their guests, like the Greeks of Homer, by the quantity of food they set before them. Besides the ordinary collation, there was also sent for each guest a separate supply of betel, fine tobacco, and *lapet*, or Burman tea. This last article is dressed with sesamum, oil, and garlic, and its taste in this state is not unlike that of olives. This is the produce of the Burman territories, growing on the hills north of Ava. It appears to be a true but coarse tea (Thea), with very large leaves. At our return home in the evening there was a heavy squall, and this morning we understood that three persons overtaken by it in the river were drowned.

Oct. 15.—In compliance with the urgent desire of our Burman friends, for our curiosity had been already sufficiently gratified, we again appeared yesterday at the boat-races: they were only distinguished from those of

the two preceding days by the procession which closed them. A little before sunset, the King and Queen, with their infant daughter, and the heir-apparent, stepped into their state boats, surrounded by a number of gilt war-boats, upon the signal of three cannon being discharged: they were accompanied by between fifty and sixty boats of the principal nobility. The procession rowed up the river and back again in a circle three times, when the King and Queen returned to their barge, and three discharges of cannon proclaimed that the festival was concluded. The procession passed within one hundred yards of us, and we had a very good view of it. The Atwen-wun and other chiefs who were on board with us at the time, threw themselves on their knees as the King passed, raising their joined hands, as if in the attitude of devotion. The Burmans understand the arrangement of such pageants, as that which we had now witnessed, extremely well. The moment chosen was the most favourable for effect. The setting sun shone brilliantly upon a profusion of "barbaric gold," and the pageant was altogether the most splendid and imposing which I had ever seen, and not unworthy of Eastern romance.

In the course of yesterday forenoon, Dr. Price, who was with us on the river, was sent for to the L'hut-d'hau,* by the Wungyis, the principal of whom were, the Kyi-wungyi and Kaulen-mengyi; the former the unsuccessful commander of the army during the greater part of the war, and the latter the well-known negotiator of the abortive Treaty of Patanago. He returned in about two hours, and said that he was requested to state, that in consequence of his Majesty having directed an exhibition of fireworks on Monday, for which due preparation would be requisite, it would be necessary to postpone the appointed meetings of the 15th and 16th, to discuss the Commercial Treaty. It had been agreed upon at an early period, after the Supreme Government had resolved upon sending an embassy to Ava, that the Mission, during its stay at the Burman capital, should occupy the house of

* The word is correctly written L'hwat, but is pronounced as I have given it in the text.

Dr. Price, which is on the Sagaing side of the river, opposite to the palace; and, with the view of preparing it, this gentleman had received from the British Commissioners at Rangoon an advance of one thousand rupees. We had signified our wish to take possession after our introduction, and no objections had been offered. We were now, however, informed by Dr. Price, that the Wungyis objected to the house at Sagaing, on the cogent ground that it was more elevated than the King's barge, as it lay in the river, and that such a spectacle would not become the King's dignity. I begged Dr. Price to state to the Wungyis, that his message upon so material a point as putting off the conferences would not be received by me, as he was not vested with any official character, and as the Burman Government had not intimated that he was to be the channel of any communication between us. The Kyi-wun, accompanied by a Palace Secretary, paid us a visit in the evening, and after sitting an hour and a half, at last entered upon the subject of postponing the conferences. This, the known object of which was to perplex the negotiation by procrastination, a favourite expedient with the Burmese, was the first decidedly unfavourable example which had occurred of the conduct of the Burman Court; and I thought it absolutely necessary that it should not be quietly acquiesced in, hoping that an early disapprobation might either check or prevent the recurrence of practices which had been invariably followed by the Burman Government in former times, and proved so vexatious and embarrassing to all my predecessors. The Kyi-wun began by asking whether we desired to be present on Monday at the exhibition of fireworks. The answer given was, that there was time enough to settle this matter at the conferences of the 15th and 16th.

After much circumlocution, he then stated, that he and I were pledged friends; that the King had conveyed to him his orders to make preparation for a display of fireworks, and that consequently, being his friend, I ought to make no objection to the arrangement. I answered, that certain days had been appointed to hold conference for the discussion of matters which related to the interest of the two countries, and I was confident

the King would never give orders to postpone matters of such moment for a display of fireworks, or any such matter of mere amusement. I endeavoured to impress upon him the necessity of a strict adherence to engagements,—telling him that promises, appointments, and treaties, were held by men of honour among us and other European nations, as binding as oaths; and that those who broke them, or departed from them, on slight grounds, justly forfeited esteem and confidence. As a serious example of the evil effects of breach of engagement, I referred to the misfortunes which had followed the non-fulfilment of the Treaty of Patanago. The Kyi-wun admitted "the beauty (as he called it) of strict attention to engagements, but thought that among friends some latitude ought to be allowed." Referring to the attack upon Melloon, which followed the breach of the treaty, he said, "Of what use was this to you, and was your conduct in this matter suitable? If you had waited a day longer, the King's ratification would have come down." The answer to this was, "You had due warning; a violation of engagement was committed, and through it you lost two battles, and the provinces of Mergui, Tavoy, and Yé, and part of Martaban; but I beg this subject may be dropped, as we are now friends. I referred to it only to show what might be lost by want of punctuality to engagements." I added, that if it were inconvenient to the Burmese chiefs to keep their appointments in any case, it was only necessary to state real grounds for doing so, which would be considered by us perfectly satisfactory; and that I was convinced the conferences would not again be postponed on slight pretexts. The Kyi-wun replied, that he was ashamed, and sorry for the part he had been obliged to take. Dr. Price acted as interpreter between us, with the occasional assistance of Mr. Judson, whose attention was principally engaged in discussing the same question with the Palace Secretary. This person had said to him, "I thought you were as one of us, like Price. In former times, you received the King's favour. You are acquainted with our disposition and our ways, and *how good a people* we are." A ray of the King's favour,

in the opinion of the Burmans, binds the person upon whom it shines to everlasting gratitude, let future mal-treatment and injustice be what they may. They could scarcely have forgotten, that this very King had imprisoned Mr. Judson for eighteen months in fetters without any cause whatever, confiscating his whole property, and restoring the value of it afterwards only through compulsion.

Oct. 16. — Although no promise had been given of appearing at the display of fireworks, repeated messages were sent to me in the course of yesterday, to say that the King expected our presence; and that if we did not go, the Wungyis would be at a loss to know what apology to offer to his Majesty. If I did not go myself, I was requested to allow some of the gentlemen of the party to do so. It was necessary to mark our disapproval of the manner in which the conferences had been so wantonly trifled with; and I therefore refused to go myself, or to permit any of the gentlemen to attend. In the evening, word was brought to me that the Atwen-wuns requested that the conferences might take place for this day, as previously agreed upon.

Yesterday I visited the outskirts of the town, and this morning rode round it, which occupied exactly two hours, the road being all the way nearly under the ramparts. I shall take another opportunity of giving as full an account of the city of Ava as my materials will admit. In the meanwhile, I may mention that it is between five and six miles in circumference, and surrounded by a brick rampart. The north-east angle is separated from the larger part of the town by a brick wall, and constitutes a second town, which contains the palace and public offices. In the external wall we counted twenty-one gates. On a painted and gilded board, on a post fronting each gate, there is an inscription, containing the name of the gate, and the date of its construction. This is a literal translation of one of these inscriptions :—

" In the year 1188 (1823), on Monday the first of the Wane of the

Moon Ta-baong.—The Ta-nen-tha-ri, (Tennasserim,) gate of the Royal Golden City named Ra-ta-na-pu-ra."*

The gates are generally named after places,—such as the Hen-za-wadi, or Pegu gate; the Yo-da-ya, or Siamese gate; the Mok-ta-ma, or Martaban gate, &c. The list contains several names little known to European geography, although apparently familiar to the Burmese. These are generally tributary states of the kingdom, chiefly of the country of Lao. The western and southern faces outside the walls are nearly destitute of population; but at the northern and eastern sides, the first bounded by the Irawadi, and the last by the "Little River," or Myit-ngé, are well inhabited suburbs, and a large market. In our ride we met a number of the King's elephants: several of them were large and fine animals, but generally they were ill-fed and in bad condition: they were of all ages and sizes, some not exceeding three or four months old.

Oct. 17.—The Burman negotiators, according to appointment, appeared yesterday, and the conference commenced at twelve o'clock. They were accompanied by two Palace Secretaries, but the Wun-dauk was not present. The Burman chiefs had note-books before them, containing the Burman version of the draft of the treaty, which I had given in, with observations upon each article.

The senior Atwen-wun began the conference, by reading the seventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo, providing for a commercial convention.

B. Does this agree with the English copy?—*E.* It agrees in substance with a literal translation from the Burman which I hold in my hand, and this generally with the original English.

B. Besides what is stated in your credentials, we find that the letter of the Governor-General also mentions that you are the person appointed to make the arrangement consequent upon the article just read.—*E.* I am ready to enter upon the discussion with you.

* Ratnapura, in Pali or Sanscrit, means the "city of gems."

The senior Atwen-wun read the first article of the draft of the treaty given in at the last meeting.

B. This article relates to two matters,—the one to ships coming and going, and the other to persons coming and going. Do the persons referred to here mean merchants, or others generally?—*E.* The persons alluded to here are merchants and traders, and no others. There is no ambiguity in the English version; should there be any in the Burman, it may be rectified.

Jun. Atw. Let the friendship between the two nations be more fast than ever. This subject occupies me so much at present that it deprives me of sleep.

The original Burman draft was here altered, so as to make it quite clear that merchants alone were meant in it. The senior Atwen-wun then read the second article.

B. I understand by this article, that every one is to be allowed to export gold and silver from this country. This is contrary to the ancient usage of the kingdom. Gold and silver do not appear to us to be properly articles of merchandise, and therefore they ought not to be included in a treaty of commerce.—*E.* Gold and silver are considered as articles of trade by all the nations of the world. Whatever is received in commerce as an equivalent for merchandise is necessarily an article of trade, and is properly included in a commercial treaty.

B. It is not said in the second article, that the gold and silver to be exported, shall be gold and silver to be exchanged for merchandise, but any gold or silver.—*E.* What other gold or silver can be meant? What merchant can get gold and silver to take away without giving an equivalent for them, either in the shape of what is commonly called merchandise, or of some other valuable consideration?

B. If this be the case, let it be inserted in this article, that no money is to be taken away except in exchange for goods.—*E.* This will not answer, and will give rise to perplexity and difficulty. One man may import goods and dispose of the money to another, who may be inclined to send the money out of the country, although this last person did not himself import the goods

for which the gold was received. One merchant may act as an agent for another and receive a commission for the goods he disposes of. He has contributed to forward the commercial interests of the two countries, and therefore ought in justice to be allowed to export the fruits of his labour. By your proposal, both these persons would be precluded from exporting gold and silver.

B. It is not our custom to let gold and silver leave the country; every thing else, such as copper, lead, yellow arsenic, &c. you may freely export.—*E.* During the explanations which took place respecting the seventh article of the Yandabo Treaty, between the British and Burman Commissioners, it was agreed that the Treaty of Commerce to be made between the two nations should be reciprocal. We permit you to export gold and silver from all our territories; you should therefore do the same thing by ús.

B. It has never been the custom to bring gold and silver into this country from yours. It has never been our custom to allow gold or silver to be exported. This is a subject of great importance. We wish therefore for more time to consider it.—*E.* I wish to take this opportunity of expressing myself more at large respecting this question. Without the free exportation of gold and silver, no considerable trade can be, or ever has been, carried on between two great countries. The nations of Europe among themselves permit the free export and import of gold and silver. The Chinese, the Siamese, the Persians, and the Arabs, permit it. Are you richer than these nations, because you prohibit it? Do you expect to lose your wealth by allowing gold and silver to be exported, when you see that other nations have not done so? If you prevent the exportation of gold and silver, their prices will be lower with you than in other countries, and you will only pay higher for all foreign commodities. You say that gold and silver has not been imported from our country. The cause of this is, that it cannot be imported to a profit, because it is lower priced in your country than in ours. Other goods that will bring a profit must therefore be imported. If you permit the free exportation of gold and silver, they will sometimes be lower and sometimes higher with you; and sometimes lower, and some-

times higher with us. Sometimes they will be exported from the one country, and sometimes from the other. Merchants will then find it easy to carry on business. The trade will greatly increase; the two nations will derive mutual advantage. You will receive our manufactures cheaper, and the King's revenue will be vastly increased. The Americans import very little into Bengal but Spanish dollars. They have voluntarily carried on the trade for many years, and of course have derived benefit from it, or they would not have done so. There are two American gentlemen now present; you may consult them on this subject. There are some nations in the world that have little or nothing to export but gold and silver, and yet they conduct a large trade. If the nations in question, like you, were to prohibit the exportation of gold and silver, they would have no trade at all. Their gold and silver would be of little use to them, and their nobles and people would be deprived of many of the conveniences of life, which they now get from other countries.

B. We shall take these matters into consideration, and beg you to furnish us with a copy of the remarks you have now made, in the Burman language.

A copy of the notes containing these remarks was, for the purpose of translation, handed to Dr. Price, who acted as interpreter to the Burmese negotiators.

The senior Atwen-wun read the third article of the Commercial Treaty.

B. For friendly considerations, we agree to this article; but we prefer, that instead of the length, the breadth of the vessel should be taken in estimating the measurement, and that that should be determined at eight cubits. We agree to the exemption from pilotage, but must insist upon the vessels giving notice to a pilot.—*E.* I agree to the alterations proposed, with the exception of that regarding the measurement, which I will take into consideration, and furnish a modified article at our next meeting, in accordance with the suggestions now made by you.

The senior Atwen-wun read the fourth article.

B. This article, as it stands, is worded somewhat obscurely, according

to our judgment. We agree to it according to the explanations with which you have furnished us, but we decline giving a final answer until the next meeting.

The senior Atwen-wun read the fifth article.

B. Does this article refer to a commercial treaty, and ought it properly to be inserted in one?—*E.* It refers exclusively to merchants, and is the proper subject of a commercial arrangement. To obviate any objections on this subject, I will insert the words "merchants" and "traders," in lieu of "subjects."

B. In this article it is stated that "the price of the goods and effects of merchants may be taken away." This would imply the exportation of gold and silver, to which we have not assented.—*E.* I will modify the article thus far, until you have assented to the second article.

B. With respect to the removal of families, we wish to take farther time to consider this question.

The senior Atwen-wun read over the sixth article.

B. We do not conceive that this article comes under the head of a commercial treaty.—*E.* This is true; but still it is an article that will be beneficial to both parties.

B. You have admitted that this does not come under the head of a commercial arrangement; we think, however, that it may be necessary towards cementing the friendship between us; but, as upon this subject we have several matters to propose on our side, we wish to take time to deliberate.

The senior Atwen-wun read over the seventh article.

B. As we are great friends already, and as we wish to be greater still, we agree to this article. We now beg to say, that we have gone over the different articles of the draft you gave in, and have given our opinions upon such as our minds are made up upon. We wish you, however, to consider that nothing is as yet finally arranged or decided upon.—*E.* I consider this to be the case on both sides.

B. You are to be presented to the King to-morrow. Suitable boats

will be sent down to receive you and the presents. We will send either elephants or horses for you to the landing-place, as you wish; but we think elephants most suitable. The boats will be sent for you immediately after breakfast.—*E.* I beg you will have the goodness to state when our next meeting is to take place.

B. The festival, which commences to-morrow, will last for three days. We wish to have the fourth day for deliberation, and on the fifth we will meet you here.

The conference broke up at five o'clock, the Burman negotiators retiring apparently well satisfied with the result. A good deal of desultory conversation and explanation took place during the discussion of the different articles in the draft, which it was found impracticable to note down at the time. Every thing material, however, has been noticed.

The King had proceeded yesterday to the Temple of Kaung-m'hu-d'hau, six miles from the palace, and across the river, where the fireworks were exhibited. It rained heavily all night, and his Majesty, who did not return till three o'clock this morning, was overtaken in the storm. Word was brought us of this in the morning, and we were informed that in consequence our audience was put off till to-morrow.

Oct. 19.—It rained all day yesterday and the night before last, and at breakfast-time we received a message from the palace, to say, that in consequence of the badness of the weather, the audience would be put off until this day. The river since our arrival had fallen about twelve feet, and for four or five days previous to the present rain it had fallen at the rate of a foot in twenty-four hours. During the rain, however, its decrease was arrested, or was nearly stationary; a fact from which it may be inferred that the source of the river is not distant, nor the body of water above Ava considerable, as otherwise the stream could hardly be affected by so partial a fall of rain.

During a moment when the weather promised to hold up, Dr. Stewart and I crossed the river, and visited the town of Sagaing, directly opposite

to Ava, and in former times, twice over, the seat of the Burman Government. We passed through the town, and went as far as the range of hills between two and three miles behind it; but as the rain recommenced almost immediately, we had little opportunity for observation. The town is a large, straggling place, where the houses are thinly scattered among groves of fruit-trees, with temples and monasteries innumerable. A considerable portion of the inhabitants are Cassay captives, or their descendants. This race is easily known from the Burmans, by their more regular and handsome features, which have a good deal of the Hindu cast. These people are not, however, genuine Hindus, but, as if it were, a mixture between these and the Burmans: their complexion is fairer than that of the inhabitants of Bengal, and a few of the young women whom we now saw were really handsome. That portion of the range of hills behind Sagaing, which lies next to the town, is composed of a coarse blue and white marble, and furnishes the material of all the lime which is used at the capital and its neighbourhood.

Oct. 20.—Yesterday Dr. Wallich and I made a long water-excursion, which carried us round the town and its suburbs, which we thus determined to be situated on an island. We first dropped down the Irawadi for about half a mile, and entered the Myit-tha, a small stream, which carried us to the south-east angle of the town, where it joins the Myit-ngé, or "little river," which last was now from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards broad, and very deep. It is, in fact, according to Dr. Wallich, equal in size to the river Goomty in Hindostan. Its origin is in the hills at no great distance. As far as the Myit-ngé the current was against us; but after entering this, in our favour; so that, in reality, the two streams which I have named proved to be only two branches of the same river. The larger branch, the Myit-ngé, winds to the east, and afterwards to the north-west, until it joins the Irawadi immediately above the town. The peninsula formed by this bend has a canal across it, which commences a few hundred yards below the origin of the Myit-tha, and joins the

little river about half a mile before its junction with the Irawadi. Over the Myit-tha there are two good substantial wooden-bridges, lately constructed by the Queen's brother. There had also been a bridge over the Myit-ngé, but it was swept away by the floods of the periodical rains some years ago.

On the western face of the town there is no suburb, and on the southern there are not many houses; but on the northern and eastern side there is a very large suburb. The mouth of the Myit-ngé may be considered the proper port of Ava. Here we found many of his Majesty's gold and war-boats, and several large trading vessels, from fifty to sixty tons burthen.

The country in every direction was universally cultivated, and fine groves of fruit-trees were abundant. The impression left upon the mind of Dr. Wallich and myself, regarding the extent of industry and amount of inhabitants, was not, however, favourable. There was no bustle, no activity, but a stillness and tranquillity, without animation.

CHAPTER V.

Mission presented to the King.—Procession.—Arrival.—Rung-d'hau, or Hall of Justice.—Appearance of the Princes and Public Officers.—Expostulation with the Burman Officers.—Description of the Palace.—Audience.—Presentation of Offerings.—Account of the King and Queen.—White Elephant.—Burman constables, pardoned malefactors.—Military display.

Oct. 21.—THE Mission was yesterday presented to the King. After breakfast, ten or twelve boats were sent down to convey ourselves and the presents. Among these were two gold ones, as they are called. To this part of the arrangement no objection whatever could be offered. We left the steam-vessel at twelve o'clock. The Shwe-da-m'hu, or Chief of the Guard of Swordsmen, and the old Governor of Bassein, in their dresses of ceremony, accompanied us. The presents went on first, conveyed in two large boats, towed by others, and having also on board the European guard. The gentlemen of the Mission and attendants followed. We reached the river-front of the Palace about one o'clock, where we were received by four Saré-d'haugyis, or Palace Secretaries. After the presents were landed and arranged, the procession moved forward, the presents going first. These, which were carried on litters by Burman porters, were followed by the Governor-General's letter, conveyed by a native servant of the Mission, attended by two Herkaras, or Hindustani runners, on an elephant. Seven other elephants conveyed the gentlemen of the Mission. The Burmese officers who accompanied us, as well as those who received us at landing, in all six in number, were also each mounted on an elephant. The guard was drawn out upon the shore, and

presented arms as we passed. After this, Lieutenant Cox took them straight back to the ship. We had been assured by the Burmans, that it was contrary to usage to admit the *armed* military of any foreign power within the walls of the town, and I would not by any means permit them to enter unarmed. It was thought best, therefore, that they should not even go as far as the walls of the town. The following account of the etiquette of the procession, and of some of the circumstances which accompanied our introduction, will be rendered intelligible by consulting the accompanying plan of the town and palace. We entered the inner town by the Lethá gate, one of the two commonly used by the King.* Passing through a short street, we came to the western side of a high wooden palisade, which, in a quadrangular form, surrounds the Palace and its different buildings. From the western side of this palisade, we passed along the southern, at the termination of which we were requested to dismount from our elephants, and complied. The Saré-d'haugyis, and other Burman officers, now preceding us, we moved on in the same order as before. We had not gone far, when these officersre quested that we would take down our umbrellas, as a mark of respect to the Palace, which we were approaching. I paid no attention to what they said, but desired the gentlemen not to comply; and we moved on, until reaching the centre of the eastern face of the palisade, where there is a gate fronting the principal entrance of the Palace, opposite to the nearest side of which is the Rungd'hau, or Hall of Justice. The Saré-d'haugyis, without our being aware of their intention, led us beyond the Rungd'hau, where it was previously arranged that we should rest, to the gate of the palisade fronting the Palace, and here requested us to make a *Shi-ko*, or Burman homage. I had previously caused it to be intimated to the Burman officers, that in no place, or under any circumstances, should any of the gentlemen of the Mission make an obei-

* One of the gates is called "the dead gate," because funerals pass through this alone; from which circumstance, it is under a kind of stigma. Criminals, and persons under accusation, are also led through the same entrance.

sance, except to the King in person. As soon, therefore, as I ascertained what it was that the Saré-d'haugyis wanted, I turned round quickly, and, followed by the other gentlemen, entered the Rungd'hau, where I requested that the particular Saré-d'haugyi, who addressed us on the subject of making an obeisance to the Palace, should be reprimanded for his presumption. This was done by the other officer, who seemed to think that he had officiously exceeded his authority, as well as broken a promise made to us. We seated ourselves in the front of the Rungd'hau. This is a lofty wooden building, supported by several rows of pillars of the same material, and without walls, like all similar public buildings among the Burmans. It is a plain structure, without carving, gilding, or any sort of decoration, and both for extent and appearance much inferior to the similar place where we had rested before being presented to the King of Siam, in the Mission to that country in 1822. We were detained at the Rungd'hau for two hours and a half, evidently for the purpose of allowing the Burman princes and officers to pass, and with the hope of dazzling us with a spectacle of which they themselves evidently entertained a very high notion. The junior courtiers passed first, according to their rank; they were followed by the seniors in the same order, and last of all came the princes, according to the rank allowed them at Court. The first of the latter who entered was the Prince of Pugan, a cousin of the King. The next was the Prince of Sandowy, better known to us by the name of Memiabo; a corruption of his name, which is correctly written Men-myat-pu. This, as I before mentioned, was the person who acted as Generalissimo of the Burman forces towards the conclusion of the late war, and after the disgrace or failure of his elder brother, the Prince of Sarawadi. He was half-brother to the King, and, from all accounts, a young man of no energy or talent. He was always accompanied by the Wungyi Kaulen Mengyi as his lieutenant; and this chief was, in reality, the effectual commander. These were followed by the Princes of Mendong and Mekkara: the first a half-brother; the second, uncle to the King. Next came Menthagyi, the Queen's brother; and the last, as the

highest in rank, was the Prince of Sarawadi, the King's only full brother. The Prince of Sarawadi had ten gold umbrellas; and the Queen's brother, ranking next to him, eight. The officers and princes were each preceded by a certain number of their followers: they were seated in canopied litters open to the sides, and their elephants and led horses followed them. The Government officers used their umbrellas as far as the gate of the Palace; here they dismounted, leaving their umbrellas, litters, and retinue outside, with the exception of one or two attendants. The princes of the blood entered the Palace gate in their litters, with their umbrellas spread, but left their retinues outside, including armed followers, which they alone were permitted to have. The number of retainers which accompanied the different chiefs was in proportion to their respective ranks and consequence. The most numerous retinue by far was that of the Queen's brother, which amounted to at least four hundred: among them I observed twenty or thirty men carrying firelocks, and clothed in the jackets of English sepoys, which, from their appearance, I imagine to have belonged to the provincial battalion of Chittagong, of whom a number had been taken prisoners on the Aracan frontier.

Having observed that even the lowest of the chiefs in rank were permitted to use their umbrellas as far as the Palace gate, and were conveyed thither in their litters, while their elephants and horses were allowed to advance as far as the front of the Rungd'hau; and contrasting this with the treatment observed towards ourselves, I thought it my duty to expostulate, on the spot, with the chiefs who had conducted us; and, through Mr. Judson and Dr. Price, gave them to understand, that the conduct they had pursued was unjustifiable, unbecoming, and contrary to the promise held out when the arrangement for our presentation was agreed upon. In the meanwhile, I was told that farther exactions and demands were contemplated; and I therefore informed the Burmese chiefs, once for all, that no obeisance whatever should be made by us except in the King's presence, and that our shoes should not be taken off until we were upon the point of entering

the Palace. They were also distinctly given to understand, that if any attempt were made to dictate to us in such matters, we should immediately return, and decline the honour of being presented altogether. Many efforts were made, notwithstanding, to induce us to make an obeisance upon the first view of the throne; and we were assured that such homage would not be paid to the mere walls of the Palace, as the King himself would unquestionably be present, and fronting us just as we should enter the gate of the enclosure. Our previous information convinced us that there was no foundation for this assertion; and being firm in our refusal, the Burmese officers at length desisted from farther attempts to over-persuade us. The procession moved on from the Rungd'hau, preceded by a Nakand'hau. I had requested a gold or silver salver to carry the letter of the Governor-General, which was refused. An old wooden one was brought, of which the gilding was defaced. This was declined, and I therefore requested Mr. Montmorency to carry the letter, and to walk by my side in the procession. The Palace, besides the palisade, is surrounded in every direction by an inner wall of brick, which is double on the eastern or principal front; so that in this direction there are three gateways. At each of these the procession halted, and at each the Nakand'hau prostrated himself, hoping we might be induced to follow him by making an obeisance. Nothing, however, was said to induce us to do so.* That portion of the Palace which contains the Hall of Audience, consists of a centre and two wings; the first containing the throne, and directly fronting the outer gates of the enclosure. The building is entirely of wood, with the exception of its many roofs, which are covered with plates of tin, in lieu of tiles. Over the centre is a tall and handsome spire, called by the Burmans a Pyat-thad, crowned by the Ti, or iron umbrella, which is an exclusive ornament of the Temple and Palace. The

* My predecessor, Colonel Syme, had been compelled, by the same class of officers, to make repeated obeisances long before he reached the Palace. In dictating these the Burmese officers exhibited a degree of insolence which was not observed in our case. To rid himself of their importunity, he was obliged to threaten returning back, and to decline being presented altogether.

Hall of Audience is without walls, and open all around, except where the throne is placed. The roof is supported by a great number of handsome pillars, and is richly and tastefully carved. The whole fabric is erected upon a terrace of solid stone and lime, ten or twelve feet high, which constitutes the floor: this is so smooth, even, and highly polished, that I mistook it at first for white marble. With the exception of about fourteen or fifteen inches at the bottom of each pillar, painted of a bright red, the whole interior of the Palace is one blaze of gilding. The throne, which is at the back of the hall, is distinguished from the rest of the structure by its superior brilliancy and richness of decoration. The pedestal on which it stands is composed of a kind of mosaic of mirrors, coloured glass, gilding, and silver, after a style peculiar to the Burmans. Over it is a canopy richly gilt and carved, and the wall behind it is also highly embellished. The Palace is new, not having been occupied altogether above two years and a half; so that the gilding and ornaments were neither tarnished nor defaced, as we often found to be the case in other places. Although little reconcilable to our notions of good taste in architecture, the building is unquestionably most splendid and brilliant; and I doubt whether so singular and imposing a royal edifice exist in any other country. It has the same form and proportions with that described by Colonel Symes, at Amarapura; but is larger, in the proportion of one hundred and twenty to ninety.

There are three entrances to the Hall of Audience, by a flight of a few steps,—one at each wing, and one at the centre; the last being appropriated to the King alone. We entered by the stair which is to the right, at the bottom of which we voluntarily took off our shoes, as we had from the first agreed to do. We passed through the hall, and seated ourselves where our station was pointed out, in front of the throne, a little way to the King's left hand, the presents being directly in front of the throne. The King made his appearance in about ten minutes. His approach was announced by the sound of music, shortly after which a sliding door behind the throne opened with a quick and sharp noise. He mounted a

flight of steps which led to the throne from behind with apparent difficulty, and as if tottering under the load of dress and ornaments on his person. His dress consisted of a tunic of gold tissue, ornamented with jewels. The crown was a helmet with a high peak, in form not unlike the spire of a Burman Pagoda, which it was probably intended to resemble. I was told that it was of entire gold, and it had all the appearance of being studded with abundance of rubies and sapphires. In his right hand his Majesty held what is called in India a Chowrie, which, as far as we could see, was the white tail of the Thibet cow. It is one of the five established ensigns of Burman royalty, the other four being a certain ornament for the forehead, a sword of a peculiar form, a certain description of shoes, and the white umbrella. His Majesty used his flapper with much adroitness and industry; and it occurred to us, who had never seen such an implement but in the hands of a menial, not with much dignity. Having frequently waved it to and fro, brushed himself and the throne sufficiently, and adjusted his cumbrous habiliments, he took his seat. The Burman courtiers, who were seated in the usual posture of other Eastern nations, prostrated themselves, on his Majesty's appearance, three times. This ceremony, which consists in raising the joined hands to the forehead, and bowing the head to the ground, is called, in the Burman language, Shi-ko, or the act of submission and homage. No salutation whatever was dictated to us; but as soon as his Majesty presented himself, we took off our hats, which we had previously kept on purposely, raised our right hands to our foreheads, and made a respectful bow.

The Queen presented herself immediately after his Majesty, and seated herself upon the throne, at his right hand. Her dress was of the same fabric, and equally rich with that of the King. Her crown of gold, like his, and equally studded with gems, differed in form, and much resembled a Roman helmet. The little Princess, their only child, and about five years of age, followed her Majesty, and seated herself between her parents. The Queen was received by the courtiers with similar prostrations as his Majesty, and we also paid her the same compliment as we had done to the King.

When their Majesties were seated, the resemblance of the scene which presented itself to the illusion of a well got up drama, forcibly occurred to us; but I may safely add, that no mimic exhibition could equal the splendour and pomp of the real scene.

As soon as his Majesty was seated, a band of Brahmins, who are the soothsayers of the Burman Court, began to chant a hymn, which continued for two or three minutes. In what language it was, or on what subject, we could not ascertain. These persons stood behind the throne, a little to his Majesty's left; so that we had but an imperfect view of them. They wore white dresses, with caps of the same colour, trimmed with gold lace or tinsel. This part of the ceremony being over, the first thing done was to read aloud a list of offerings made by his Majesty to certain Pagodas in the city of Ava. The names of the temples were specified, and it was stated that the offerings were made because the temples in question were "depositaries of relics of Gautama,—representatives of his divinity, and therefore suitable objects of worship." This was done by a Than-d'hau-gan, or Reporter of the Palace. The list was read or rather sung, from a book which he held before him.

It is necessary that I should here explain the time and occasion taken by the Burman Court for our presentation. It was the Burman Lent, or Fast, at the beginning and termination of which, as well as at the new year, the tributaries and public officers make offerings to the King, and "ask pardon" for all offences committed in the intervening period. These festivals, which continue for three days, are distinguished by the epithet of Ka-dáu, which word means "pardon asking." Our presentation was evidently put off from day to day, that we might appear among the crowd of suppliants asking forgiveness for past offences! The conviction of their defeat and humiliation was, I may safely say, universal amongst the Burmans of every rank;—it was obvious in their demeanour and their apprehensions; yet so excessive was the vanity of the Court, that it was gratified, or at least its pride was soothed, by getting up a show, what must have appeared, even to itself, little better than a farce.

The presentation of offerings commenced with those of the Princes of the Royal Family, which was succeeded by those of the Saubwas, or tributary Princes of Lao. Then came those of the merchants, or, as they are called by the Burmans, "the rich men;" and last of all, those of the Governor-General. A list of each was drawn out on a slip of palm-leaf stained yellow. A Than-d'hau-gan, or Palace Reporter, read the lists with an audible voice, sitting in front of the throne, but at a considerable distance. The following is a translation of the address made at each presentation. I select that of the Prince of Sarawadi, to show the nature of the offerings tendered by a person of his rank. The epithets bestowed upon the King in this case are the same as in all common addresses:—

"Most excellent glorious Sovereign of Land and Sea, Lord of the Celestial (Saddan) Elephant, Lord of all White Elephants, Master of the Supernatural Weapon (Sakya), Sovereign Controller of the present state of existence, Great King of Righteousness, Object of Worship! On this excellent propitious occasion, when your Majesty, at the close of Lent, grants forgiveness, your Majesty's servant, the Prince of Sarawadi, under the excellent golden foot, makes an obeisance of submission (shi-ko), and tenders offerings of expiation, viz. a golden pyramid, a silver pyramid, golden flowers, silver flowers, a golden cup, a silver cup, some fine cloths," &c. &c. &c.

When the Governor-General's presents were presented, the address was exactly in the same language; with this exception, that for the words "Your Majesty's servant," were substituted "the English Ruler of India."

When the name of each suppliant was pronounced, the party took a few grains of parched rice between the hands and made the customary prostration, being the acknowledged token of homage and submission. This ceremony, although insisted upon with Colonel Symes and the gentlemen who accompanied him, was not proposed to us, and we made no acknowledgment whatever when the reading of the list of the Governor-General's presents was completed. We were indeed ignorant at the time of all that was said, from our want of acquaintance with the language. Dr. Price, who acted

as my interpreter, did not explain to me what passed, and probably did not himself comprehend the nature of the language made use of, from the rapid manner in which the ceremony was gone through. When the list of the Governor-General's presents to the Queen were read, all that was prefixed to it was "The presents offered to her Majesty the Sovereign Queen by the English Ruler of India."

The arrival of the Embassy from the Government of India was then announced. His Majesty did not address us in person, but an Atwen-wun who sat before us, read from a book the following questions, as if coming from the King. Are the King and Queen of England, their sons and daughters, and all the nobility, well? Have the seasons been favourable in England? How long have you been in coming from India to this place? These scarcely required any other answer than a respectful acknowledgment.

After this, betel, tobacco, a gogglet of water, with a gold cup to drink from, and lapet, or Burman tea, were sent in separate vessels, to each of the English gentlemen. This mark of attention, which was not conferred upon any one else present, we were carefully informed was by the immediate order of the King. We acknowledged it by a bow, and touching the forehead as before.

The presentation of offerings being finished, his Majesty conferred a few titles, which were loudly proclaimed by heralds through the hall. Among the persons honoured upon this occasion, was a certain native Portuguese, who was an officer of the Burman mission to Cochin China in 1823: he had been taken prisoner at Tavoy, on his return from Cochin China, and detained at Calcutta during the war. Notwithstanding the handsome and liberal treatment which he and his companions had there received, his hostility to the British was inveterate. The King, I was told, listened to him, as he is too apt to do to all flatterers of whatever rank or condition, and he had been very active in giving the most unfavourable possible picture of the British power and policy in India. Among other statements calculated to mislead, he represented the office of the Governor-

General of India as being exactly parallel to that of the Myo-wun, or Governor, of a Burman district. I had this information from such sources as left me no room to doubt its accuracy.

His Majesty, as he was about to leave the hall, directed presents to be made to the English gentlemen of the Mission. These consisted of a ruby, a piece of silk, and some lackered boxes, for each person. Those given to me might be worth about one hundred ticals, the others a good deal less. Mr. Judson was altogether left out in the distribution of presents. We could understand that he was deemed a Burman subject—a person who had received favours, and therefore who was acting in his present situation contrary to his allegiance!!

The Governor-General's letter was not exhibited, nor was even the Burman translation of it read or alluded to. Mr. Montmorency held it during the audience, and towards the conclusion delivered it into the hands of a Nakand'hau by my direction.

The King continued in the hall about three-quarters of an hour, and then retired. When he and the Queen got up, the courtiers prostrated themselves as when they entered, and the English gentlemen made a respectful bow to each; after which they put on their hats, to signify that the compliment of uncovering was intended for their Majesties alone. Their Majesties had been evidently uneasy under their cumbrous dresses, particularly their crowns, for they frequently put up their hands to adjust the latter, and relieve their heads from the load that seemed to oppress them.

The princes and public officers were all habited in their court or state dresses, which, as I before stated, consisted of purple velvet cloaks, with highly ornamented caps of the same material: each had his chain of nobility over his shoulders, and his title blazoned on a thin plate of gold affixed to the front of the cap. The princes were distinguished by dresses of superior splendour, and especially by the form and decoration of their caps. The dress of the Prince of Sarawadi was particularly brilliant. The courtiers, according to their rank, were seated more or less near to

the throne. The nearest to it was the Prince of Sarawadi; for the heir-apparent, having as yet, on account of his youth, no public station assigned to him, did not attend. The inferior courtiers were scattered over the body and wings of the hall: this might have made their number appear fewer than they really were. It struck us, however, that the attendance was not numerous, and certainly it by no means equalled the crowd assembled at the Siamese Court. The spectacle, upon the whole, was sufficiently imposing. Yet, notwithstanding the better taste of the Palace, and the superior dresses of the Burman courtiers, (for those of Siam, when I saw them, did not appear in their dresses of ceremony,) the pageant was less calculated to affect the imagination than that exhibited by the Court of Siam, where the demeanour of the courtiers was more constrained, the crowd of suppliants more numerous, and the manners of the sovereign himself unquestionably more imposing—authoritative and dignified. The Siamese Court, in short, seemed more consonant to our preconceived notions of the pride, the barbaric magnificence, and wild despotism of an Eastern monarch.

His present Majesty was about forty-three years of age, of short stature, but of active form. His manners are lively and affable, but his affability often degenerates into familiarity, and this not unfrequently of a ludicrous description. A favourite courtier, for example, will sometimes have his ears pinched, or be slapped over the face. Foreigners have been still more frequently the objects of such familiarities, because with them freedoms may be taken with less risk of compromising his authority. The King is partial to active sports, beyond what is usual with Asiatic sovereigns,—such as water excursions, riding on horseback and on elephants, elephant catching, &c. Among his out-door amusements there is one so boyish and so barbarous, as not easily to be believed, had it not been well authenticated:—this is the practice of riding upon a man's shoulders. No saddle is made use of on these occasions, but for a bridle there is a strap of muslin put into the mouth of the honoured biped. Before the war, the favourite horse was a native of Sarwa,—a man of great bulk and strength, with shoulders so broad and fleshy as to make his

Majesty's seat perfectly safe and comfortable. When the English arrived at Sarwa, this person had a brother there who submitted to their authority. This treasonable proceeding becoming known at Court, the favourite was degraded and put in irons, as well as deprived of a title and assignment of land which he enjoyed for his services. His Majesty has at present no human vehicle of this description. I ought to observe, that the practice of riding on a man's shoulders is not peculiar to his present Majesty, but has often been practised by other full-grown persons of the Royal blood.

The King's natural disposition is admitted to be kind and benevolent, and, considering the temptations by which he is surrounded, he has certainly been guilty of few excesses. In point of talents, he is greatly inferior to his immediate predecessor, and, indeed, to most or all of the princes of the house of Alompra. His perception is indeed sufficiently quick, but his curiosity, which is restless, is too easily gratified. With an easy temper, and with too little firmness or strength of mind to think or act for himself, he is readily led by the ruling favourite of the time. He is well acquainted with the popular literature of the Burmans, and reads, or rather hears a great deal read to him. He has a smattering of the Pali, has studied astrology, is a great adept in alchemy, has a turn for mechanical pursuits, and a better taste in architecture than is usual with a Burman. For theology he has no great inclination, and seems to content himself with doing what he considers absolutely necessary in religious matters, but no more.

The Queen is about two years older than his Majesty, has a good person and a dignified address, but was never handsome. She appeared to us to be the reverse; but the distance and the dazzle of gold, of ornaments, and rich dresses, prevented any distinct view of her features. She is by birth of low origin, being the daughter of a chief gaoler,—not however one of those who are pardoned malefactors. When the present King was heir-apparent, she was taken into his seraglio as a concubine, and soon acquired a powerful influence over him, which, instead of diminishing by time, has ever since increased, and at present she and her party may be said to ex-

ercise the principal share in the government of the country. The lawful wife of the King, and the mother of the present heir-apparent, was the daughter of the King's uncle, the Prince of Prome. This lady died a few days after the birth of the heir-apparent; her death, it is alleged, having been hastened by her husband's neglect and the ascendancy gained by her rival. The late King and all the royal family did every thing in their power to discourage the present connection; but the opposition which the King has experienced on this point, has only tended to confirm him in his attachment. He seldom goes abroad, or shows himself to his subjects, without being accompanied by the Queen. On the most solemn occasions, she sits with him upon the throne; and in public processions, her vehicle is carried side by side with his. When they are spoken of, the customary form of expression is not "the King" or "the Queen" separately, but "the two Sovereign Lords." So great is her power over him, and so unaccountable does it appear, that her enemies charge her with the practice of magic; and some of the royal family, it is said, familiarly speak of her under the name of "the sorceress." None of his Queens ever sat with his late Majesty on the throne during his long reign, nor have I been able to ascertain that it was ever the practice of the Burman kings before his present Majesty's accession. In an Eastern country, at all events, it is certainly a singular spectacle. When the last Chinese Embassy received an audience in the year 1823, her Majesty then appeared upon the throne,—an invasion of Oriental usage which must have been a subject of wonder to a ceremonious and punctilious nation, who themselves keep the sex in a state of entire retirement and seclusion. To the Burmans themselves, however, the matter does not seem so extraordinary; for, with them, generally speaking, women are more nearly upon an equality with the stronger sex, than among any other Eastern people of consideration; yet they have never, that I am aware of, been raised to the throne, or directly exercised any political authority. Her Majesty's disposition is less amiable than that of the King, and her temper more austere and haughty. In pecuniary matters the King is thoughtless, or liberal; but the Queen,

frugal and parsimonious. Although considerable allowances must be made for the personal character of the King, the history of her advancement plainly shows that her Majesty is a woman of superior mind. This however is not the common opinion among the Burmans, because with them she is unpopular: they consider her as a violator of national manners, and attribute, as I have already said, her whole ascendancy to the practice of supernatural and unlawful arts. There is one class however, and a very material one, with which her Majesty is popular,—the priesthood. She is devout, and, in the sense in which they are interested, charitable. She builds pagodas and monasteries, makes frequent gifts to the established temples, bestows largesses upon the priests, and is attentive to all the external forms of religion. The King has had but two children by her Majesty,—a prince who died a few months after his birth, and the young lady whom we saw upon the throne with her parents. The Queen, to strengthen and preserve her influence, proposes to give this princess in marriage to the heir-apparent. The marriage between half-brothers and sisters, although unknown among the people, and repugnant to their feelings, has been common, it appears, among the blood royal from time immemorial.

After sitting a few minutes we retired, putting our shoes on at the head of the stairs, where our servants were waiting for us. The same officers accompanied us as when we entered. Upon descending into the court before the palace, we had an opportunity of examining more leisurely the scene that was here presented, which consisted of an exhibition of dancing-women; buffoons and tumblers in masques and masquerade dresses; puppet-shows, state elephants, led horses, with state carriages, and palanquins. The tumblers appeared agile and expert; they were chiefly disguised as monkeys and other wild animals, and amused the company by ludicrous gestures, scrambling up poles, letting themselves fall from them, and similar feats. Some of the elephants were very noble animals; but our attention was chiefly attracted by the celebrated white elephant, which was immediately in front of the palace; it is the only one in the pos-

session of the King of Ava, notwithstanding his titles; whereas his Majesty of Siam had six when I was in that country. The Burman white elephant was rather of a cream than a white colour, and by no means so complete an Albino as any one of those shown to us in Siam. To the best of my recollection, however, it was larger than any of the latter: it had no appearance of disease or debility, and the keepers assured us that its constitution was equally good with that of any of the common elephants. This animal was taken in the year 1806, when young, in the forests of Pegu, at a place called Nibban, which is about twelve miles distant from the old city, and was now about twenty-five years old: it is the only white elephant which has been taken in the Burman dominions for many years, with the exception of a female caught, two years before it, in the forests of Lain. Several of a light tint, but not deserving the name of white, have been taken within the last twenty years.

I had here an opportunity, as well as in Siam, of ascertaining that the veneration paid to the white elephant has been, in some respects, greatly exaggerated. The white elephant is not an object of worship, but it is considered an indispensable part of the regalia of sovereignty. Royalty is incomplete without it; and the more there are, the more perfect is the state of the kingly office considered. Both the Court and people would consider it as peculiarly inauspicious to want a white elephant; and hence the repute in which they are held, and the anxiety to obtain them: the capture of a white elephant is consequently highly rewarded. The present one was first discovered by four common villagers, each of whom received two thousand five hundred ticals in money, and offices, titles, and estates.

While we were at Ava, a report was brought that a white elephant had been seen; but it was stated, at the same time, that its capture and transport on a sledge over the cultivated country would be accompanied by the destruction of ten thousand baskets of rice. His Majesty is said to have exclaimed more with the enthusiasm of an amateur, than the consideration of a patriot king, "What signifies the destruction of ten thousand

baskets of rice, in comparison with the possession of a white elephant?", and the order was given for the hunt.

The lower orders however, it must be observed, perform the *shiko*, or obeisance of submission to the white elephant; but the chiefs view this as a vulgar superstition, and do not follow it. When the present elephant was taken, the event was considered a joyous one; and the late King, who was fond of money, taking advantage of the circumstance, issued an order to the tributaries and chiefs, to ask pardon of the white elephant (Ka-dau), accompanied of course by the usual presents which his Majesty deposited in his coffers.

The establishment of the white elephant is very large: he has his Wun, or Minister; his Wun-dauk, or deputy to that officer; his Saré-gyi, or Secretary, &c. with a considerable endowment of land for his maintenance. In the late reign, Sa-len, one of the finest districts in the kingdom, was the estate of the white elephant.

Having seen two Albino monkeys in Siam, we asked if his Burman Majesty was possessed of any. An ugly cream-coloured long-tailed baboon was brought out for us to inspect; but in whiteness it bore no comparison to those of Siam.

After inspecting the curiosities of the court-yard, we returned home by the same route by which we came. Our elephants had been so ill-caparisoned and uncomfortable, that we declined riding them, but caused them to accompany us to the river-side. In coming in, there was a considerable assemblage of people to view the procession; but by no means a great one—not a fifth part, I should imagine, of that assembled on a similar occasion at Siam. They were all dressed for the occasion, and their demeanour was decorous, decent, and respectful in the highest degree. They sat down, as we passed along, in the posture deemed most respectful by the Burmans; and not a word was spoken, or a sound heard. I could not help contrasting their behaviour, in this respect, with the noisy and boisterous conduct of the Siamese populace. The difference must originate in national

character, and not in the circumstances of our different political relations with the two people; for the conduct of the Burman populace towards Colonel Symes' Mission was equally respectful as towards ourselves, at a moment when the Burmans had nothing to apprehend from an opposite behaviour, and when they were as independent of us as the Siamese at the period of my visit to that country.

Constables with long rods in their hands were stationed on each side of the procession, to keep the populace in order; but there was little need for their services, and we scarcely perceived them until after our arrival at the Rungd'hau, when they became more necessary in preserving order among the followers of the different chiefs, who were assembled in great numbers between the Rungd'hau and the Palace gate, and disposed to be noisy but not disrespectful. The nature and history of the office of these constables form one of the ugliest and most odious features of the Burman Government. They are denominated in the language Pa-kwet, which means "the cheek branded with a circle." They are, in fact, most frequently atrocious malefactors, pardoned in consideration of their performing for life the duties of constables, gaolers, and executioners, for all these offices are united in one person. They receive no pay or reward for their services, and must live by their wits; that is to say, by the extortion and impositions practised upon their unfortunate prisoners. Besides the ring on each cheek, a mark which implies the commission of a capital crime, these guardians of the peace are to be seen with such epithets as the following tattooed upon their breasts, "man-killer," "robber," "thief," &c. The chief of these persons was pointed out to us, and was soon recognised by Mr. Judson as the person who had the principal charge of the European and American prisoners during the war. This was an old man of sixty, lean, and of a most villanous countenance. He was by birth of the tribe of the Kyens, had murdered his master, and had a large circle on each cheek, with the Burman words "*Lu'-that*," or "man-killer," in very large letters on his breast. The Pa-kwet are held to be infamous. Even in the execution of their office,

they are not permitted to enter any house, nor in any case to come within the walls of the Palace. When they die their bodies cannot be burnt, nor the usual funeral rites performed, but they are interred like those of lepers and others held to be impure.

The military display made by the Burmans on this occasion was truly contemptible. Along the roads which we passed, files of soldiers were drawn out in single ranks, each file at the distance of ten or twelve feet. The arms consisted of alternate spears and muskets. The soldiers, who were without uniform, and indeed naked, with the exception of a scanty lower garment, and a small handkerchief round the head, sat down, having the stock of the muskets on the ground, and the muzzle a little raised from it, and supported by two cross-sticks. The appearance of the men showed that no selection had been made: they literally appeared no better than so many day-labourers, of all sizes, ages, and appearances, taken at hap-hazard from the common bazar. The Siamese soldiery, bad as they were, and grotesque as was their uniform, were better armed and accoutred, and in every respect made a better appearance. As to the troops of Cochin China, the Burman soldiery are just as far below these, as they, in their turn, are inferior to the best disciplined troops of Europe. This morning, when preparation was making for a similar festival, I counted the number of firelocks, which, widely dispersed along the two sides of the palisade which we had passed the day before, had then the appearance of being numerous: they amounted exactly to one hundred and eighty.

In passing out of the gate which we had entered, we observed a few cannon. One brass gun lying on the ground inside of the gate was of great size; but its walls were superfluously thick, and its calibre did not seem to exceed that of a twenty-four-pounder: this was a trophy brought from Siam. On the rampart on each side of the gate there was one nine-pound cannon on swivels. These two were all the guns we saw mounted. Outside the gate, and lying on the ground, there were five English ship-guns; I think, twelve-pounders.

CHAPTER VI.

Renewal of the Conferences.—Inquiries made by the Burman Negotiators.—Commercial Treaty discussed.—Remonstrance touching some circumstances connected with our reception at Court.—British Mission is presented to the Heir-apparent.—Visit to the Prince of Sarawadi.—Wives of the Burmese Chiefs presented to the Queen.—Visit to the Queen's Brother.—Character and History of this Chief.—Account of the King's Pagoda.—Comparison between Siamese and Burmese temples.—Description of the King's Water-palace.—Death and funeral of the senior Burmese Negotiator's Wife.—The Mission removes to Sagaing, on the western bank of the river.—Visit to the widow of the late Heir-apparent.—Visit to the manufactories of Marble Statues.—Excursion to the Marble hills of Sagaing.—Chief Ministers punished for want of alacrity.—Court Historiographer's account of the war with the English.

Oct. 22d.—THE audience having been so frequently put off, I imagined that the appointed conference would have also been postponed, and I did not expect the negotiators on the day named. Yesterday morning, however, word was sent to us, that they were desirous of being punctual, and would come as agreed upon. They came accordingly at twelve o'clock.

Before entering upon business, many questions were put to us respecting our reception at the Court, and the things we had seen. The Burman chiefs expressed a confident hope that we were pleased with our reception. On this point, I replied, that I would give my opinion fully, and in a public form, towards the close of the conference. They knew that I had visited the Court of Siam, and a great object with them was to obtain a favourable answer to the comparison which I should draw between that and the Burman Court. No essential point connected with the wealth or strength of the two nations was at all touched upon. The principal

topics were the comparative splendour of the two Palaces, of the Court, of the courtiers, and of the King. They were especially desirous to know, whether the King of Siam had, or had not a white elephant. On the first-mentioned topics they received such replies as gratified them; but on the important subject of the white elephant, it seemed, under all circumstances, not necessary to withhold the truth from them. They were sensibly mortified when I informed them, that the King of Siam had six white elephants instead of one, and that I had actually seen four of them. They asked, whether the Siamese elephants were equally white with that which I had seen yesterday. I replied, that the Siamese elephants were all whiter. They seemed to doubt the accuracy of my information, and began a sort of cross-questioning. They begged to know when I had visited Siam; who was King at the time; his age; his successor, &c. &c. I satisfied them with precise dates and circumstances. They dropped the subject, and their silence evidently implied that they were chagrined, that every circumstance of the parallel drawn between themselves and the Siamese should not have received a flattering answer.

Business commenced by the senior Atwen-wun putting the following question:—

B. On the first of the moon, we discussed the different articles of the draft which you laid before us; some we agreed to, and we rejected others. You then promised to furnish us with an amended draft, according to what had been agreed upon before the next meeting.—*E.* I certainly did not promise to furnish such a draft, or you should have had it. To the best of my recollection, the subject was not even alluded to. My notes taken on the occasion do not contain any memorandum of such a promise, nor do I think that the interpreters on either side can state that it was made.

B. We understood you so.—*E.* If you are desirous now of having a copy, it may be immediately made for you.

The writers of the Atwen-wuns began immediately to make a copy, which occupied a long time. In proceeding to copy the sixth article, the following conversation took place :—

B. We did not assent to the sixth article, which is not of a commercial nature. We wish, therefore, that it should be struck out in the present draft.—*E.* I agreed with you, that this article is not strictly of a commercial nature; but as you allowed that it might be useful otherwise, it was admitted. I now assent that it should be struck out at your desire.

The amended draft was now read, article by article. In reading the title, the following observation and reply were made:—

Sen. Atw. We wish you to add here the name of the King of England, as well as of the Governor-General.—*E.* I will not listen to this proposal. You may make what alterations you think proper in the titles of his Burman Majesty, but I am the best judge how the Government I represent is to be designated. I beg you clearly to understand, that the Government of India exercises sovereign power, as far as you are concerned;—can make peace, and can make war. You have already made one treaty with it, and therefore there can be no difficulty on the present occasion. This is, at best, but a dispute about words.

The first and second article of the amended draft were agreed to, as well as the third article, altered as in the annexed draft.

Upon the fourth article being read, the following discussion took place.

B. What river, or rivers, do you allude to in this article?—*E.* There is no particular river specified; but that which is especially in view, is the Than-luen, or Sa-luen, which, by treaty, is your eastern, and our western boundary to the south.

B. Although the Than-luen river is stated to be the boundary, yet a cession only was made by us of the provinces of Tavoy, Mergui, and Yé. Molameng, and other places to the eastward of the Sa-luen, are parts of the thirty-two districts of Martaban, and no cession is made of any portion of

that province. It is also provided, that any disputes on this subject shall be hereafter settled by Commissioners, according to *ancient limits.* The Sa-luen river ought not therefore to be inserted here.—*E.* I beg to read to you the fourth article of the Treaty of Yandabo.

The fourth article of the Treaty of Yandabo was here read.

E. By this article it is expressly stated, that the Sa-luen river shall henceforth be the boundary between the two countries; that is to say, that it is to form the line of demarcation which shall determine the limits of the territory of each. What is on the west side belongs to you, and what is on the east side belongs to us. If there should be any dispute respecting islands in the Sa-luen, this is to be settled by Commissioners appointed for that purpose. That the river is the boundary admits of no question. This was fully explained to you at the time by the British Commissioners. In answer to some objection of yours, Sir A. Campbell pointed with his hand to the map, after informing himself previously on the subject, and said, "This is to be the boundary," and you assented. The record of the conversation that took place now exists, and is before me. One of the Burman Commissioners is present, and knows this very well. Mr. Judson, who acted as interpreter, is also present, and can afford you any explanation that you require. You might as well say that the ridge of the Aracan mountains is not the boundary between the two nations in another quarter, or that any part of the territory lying west of these mountains is to become a subject of dispute, to be settled by Commissioners.—*B.* It is evident that the persons who negotiated the treaty anticipated some dispute on this subject, by appointing Commissioners.

E. It is customary with all European nations, in making a treaty of this kind, to appoint Commissioners to fix the exact line of frontier. If the Sa-luen river was not to be the boundary, why should it be mentioned in the fourth article? I repeat, that this was all settled at Yandabo; and that one of you, gentlemen, was present at the conference. I decline entering farther into this discussion at present, as it is of a political, and

not of a commercial nature.—*B.* Still it will be necessary to make some alteration in the fourth article of the treaty.

E. No alteration whatever is called for, as no river in particular is mentioned. If you have any thing farther to say upon this subject, let it be introduced hereafter. Have you any thing farther to state regarding the commercial treaty?—*B.* We particularly wish to have the river specified in the fourth article of the treaty excluded.

E. It is not necessary. The article, as it stands, will answer for any river or rivers, whatever they may be. Have you any thing farther to say on the subject of the commercial treaty?—*B.* We have something to say on the subject of Munnipore.

E. This is introducing a political question, which you yourselves have expressed a wish should be avoided, until the settlement of the commercial arrangement.

The circumstances which attended our introduction to his Majesty, appeared to call for a distinct remonstrance, and in conformity with what I had intimated to the Burman chiefs at the opening of the conference, I addressed them in the following terms through Mr. Judson. My notes were prepared during the intervals of the conference, and handed over to the interpreter, who had time to translate and consider them before he spoke. The language as it now stands is nearly a literal translation of what he delivered in Burman.

E. The principal business of this day's conference being over, I take this opportunity of addressing you respecting some circumstances of an unpleasant nature which occurred yesterday. This embassy, you are aware, came to the Burman Court from a great Government exercising sovereign authority. The presents which we brought were offered as marks of friendship only. When you recollect the issue of the late war, was it not generous on the part of the Governor-General to send an embassy and presents in this way? Was it not conferring a favour? (Here the junior Atwen-wun very readily replied, "Yes, yes.") The Mission was convey-

ed to the Palace on elephants miserably equipped, compared to those on which your own officers of all ranks rode. We were made to dismount at the corner of the palisade of the Palace. Your own officers rode in their litters to the very gate. Your officers of every rank made use of their umbrellas to the very gate of the Palace. We were rudely requested to take ours down long even before reaching the Rungd'hau. A Saré-d'haugyi wanted us to make an obeisance to the Palace when we were not near it, although I had repeatedly caused it to be signified that we should make no obeisance except to the King in person, and your officers had acquiesced in this arrangement: this was an act of gratuitous rudeness. I beg that the Saré-d'haugyi may be reprimanded. The list of the Governor-General's presents was read along with the list of presents from Saubwas and others. There was great impropriety in this, which cannot escape yourselves. I mention all these matters, that they may never happen again. I am convinced they were unknown to his Majesty, or they would not have occurred now.

B. It is the uniform custom of the country, in the case of embassies from China, Cochin China, and Siam, that the ambassadors dismount at the corner of the palisade. All these points of etiquette are settled by the King's order. There was no intentional disrespect in the present case. All the Government officers desired to treat the ambassadors handsomely. So far as the Saré-d'haugyi has behaved improperly and disrespectfully, it is his own affair, and we will take measures for seeing him punished.

Arrangements were after this made for visits to be paid by us to the Heir-apparent, the Prince of Sarawadi, and the Queen's brother; the first on the twenty-third; and the other two, successively on the following days.

October 23.—We were presented this forenoon to the Heir-apparent, and conveyed from the steam-vessel by the King's boats, in the same manner as upon the occasion of our audience of his Majesty. Mr. Lanciego, who was now restored to the King's favour, conducted us to the young Prince: this was an arrangement made to obviate the chance of our

being incommoded in matters of ceremony by the officiousness of the Than-d'hau-gans or others. The Prince's palace, if I may use such a word for a very homely dwelling, was in the inner town, a few hundred yards from the south-west angle of the palace enclosure. We rode thither on horseback, declining the incommodious and shabby conveyance by elephants, which was again tendered to us. Besides our own horses, a number were supplied sufficient for the accommodation of our principal attendants. At the dwelling of the Heir-apparent, we were received in a Rung, or open hall, where we were not detained above twenty minutes, when we were formally summoned, by a written order, into his Highness's presence. We ascended a short flight of wooden steps, at the bottom of which we took off our shoes, and were ushered into a hall filled with a crowd of well-dressed chiefs, wealthy natives, and some of the principal Mohammedan and Chinese merchants. The floor was spread with carpets, and we were requested to seat ourselves immediately in front, and within a few yards of the throne prepared for his Highness. In a few minutes the folding-doors behind the throne were thrown open, and the Prince was seen in an adjoining chamber seated upon a gilt couch, cross-legged, and under a pair of mirrors. This was intended for effect, and was certainly not unsuccessful. In a few minutes he got up, with a sword in his hand, walked briskly forward, and seated himself on the throne in the front hall. He was very richly dressed in a vest of gold brocade, with a turban of gold-sprigged muslin. He wore two or three necklaces: one of these was a good string of pearls; and another a necklace of rubies, chiefly composed of small stones, but having in the centre one jewel of this class of very large size, and to all appearance of considerable value. His fingers were covered with rings, chiefly rubies and diamonds. The sword-scabbard was also richly studded with the same gems. The throne was a couch highly ornamented, and was a handsome piece of furniture. The Prince was a fine lad of about fourteen, and had hitherto evinced a kind and mild disposition. He was much agitated, but notwithstanding acted his part with great propriety.

Behind him there was a crowd of women of all ages, some of them his attendants, but the greater number the wives and daughters of chiefs who had come from curiosity. Among them was to be distinguished an elderly and venerable matron, the nurse of the Prince, whose countenance and demeanour evinced the utmost anxiety for her charge's success in this exhibition before strangers. He put the two following questions to us, for which he had evidently been prepared, in a voice which showed that the age of manhood had not yet arrived. "How long have you been on your voyage from Rangoon? Are the ambassadors all in good health?"

The list of our presents was read. The Prince accepted and ordered them to be taken away. Several other persons present also made offerings to his Highness. Betel, tobacco, and lapet, were presented early, and in due course, refreshments of fruits and sweetmeats. The Prince had his Wun, or Minister, who of course was the chief person. Through him we were told that we were at liberty to put any questions to his Highness which we might think proper. It was suggested that the Prince's age would be a proper one, and this was asked accordingly: we took occasion to follow it up by some personal compliments to his Highness, which we were given to understand would be expected. Before retiring, the Prince directed presents to be made to us: these consisted of a piece of silk and a lackered box to each of the gentlemen, an additional box and a small ruby-ring being added to mine, to which was afterwards joined a Burman saddle, given to the Prince at the moment for this purpose by one of the chiefs. We retired soon after this, and returned home. In the court, before the Prince's house, there was an exhibition of dancing-girls and puppets, both as we entered and retired, and the din of Burman music was uninterrupted from the moment of our arrival until that of our departure. The issue of this visit was gratifying to us, and, I am told, gave satisfaction to the Heir-apparent and his friends. In the way of ceremonial, we complied voluntarily with every

thing that was proper or even expected of us, and the public officers found that their officiousness was superfluous when we were left to ourselves.

Through the influence of his step-mother, the Prince's establishment is at present kept upon a very humble footing. Through the same influence, still more than on account of his youth, he as yet occupies no ostensible place under Government, and is only called Heir-apparent by courtesy; not having yet been invested with the title, which is the practice of the Burman Government. The proper title of the Heir-apparent of the Burman Empire is Ing-she-men, which literally means "lord of the east house;" but the origin of this title I have not been able to ascertain. The present Prince is sometimes called Rung-ran-men, or "lord of Rungran," which is the name of the district assigned to him for his support; but the most common name by which he is known is Sakya-men,* which the Burmans translate "lord of the world." In consequence of some auspicious prodigies which took place at his birth, particularly an earthquake, his great-grandfather, the late King, thought himself justified in giving him this name. The more credulous among the Burmans interpreted the omen and title literally, and did not hesitate to believe that he was doomed to be the future conqueror of Hindostan, and that it was especially his destiny to destroy the British Empire in that country! Some of his followers spoke openly to Mr. Judson on the subject, when the latter, not knowing his person, one day inquired who the young Prince was that was passing. "That," said they in reply confidently, "is the Prince who is doomed to rule over all your Kula countries," meaning the nations of Western Asia and Europe. This was little more than one year before the commencement of the late war.

In returning home, we passed through a *fashionable* market in the inner town, to which the wives of the Burman grandees are accustomed occasionally to resort for their amusement. As I went along, my attention

* Sakya is a Burman or rather Pali corruption of the Sanscrit word Cha-kra, a wheel or circle; and hence, according to the Buddhists, the universe, or the system of the world.

was struck with the figure of a tall and venerable-looking person, whom I took at first for an Armenian, for he was in the Oriental costume. I was soon undeceived, however, by one of my companions. The individual in question was an Englishman, a native of the town of Windsor, born a gentleman, and brought up in the naval service of the East India Company. It is alleged that, for some offence against the penal law, he fled from Calcutta about forty years ago. He had ever since resided in the Burman dominions, often in situations of public trust under the Government, but now out of employ. We afterwards found that he had been waiting for hours to see us. He was imprisoned in fetters during the war, along with the other Europeans, without any charge whatsoever being made against him. His complexion alone, as in other cases, was the principal evidence upon which he was found guilty.

Oct. 24.—Our promised visit to the Prince of Sarawadi was performed this morning. We proceeded to his house, which is in the outer town, and close to the Tennasserim gate on the river face, and arrived there at about one o'clock. The fly of a large marquee was pitched in the street, and adjoining to the front of the house: this, which was laid with Chinese carpets, and where we had the convenience of benches to sit upon, served the purpose of an ante-room. In this place we were detained nearly an hour, when we were ushered into a spacious hall, a few steps raised from the ground, and forming the front part of the Prince's palace; a tolerably good Burman wooden house, with a tiled roof, but destitute of all that appearance of neatness and propriety, which, according to our notions, is necessary to comfort or convenience. We were seated on carpets, in front of a handsome couch, which the Prince was to occupy. He appeared, in a few minutes, by a door leading from the inner apartments. The visit, on his side, was intended to be unceremonious and friendly. He came, therefore, without any state-sword, and in a neat undress, seating himself exactly in the position we were in. He asked after the health of his Majesty the King of England, or of the Governor-General, for the

expression made use of in Burman might bear either interpretation. The words were Englit-men, which may equally mean the English Ruler, or the King of England.

He asked after the health of the gentlemen of the Mission, and, as usual, very particularly concerning our ages, telling us his own age in return. He then conversed freely and cheerfully upon a variety of indifferent topics. None of the females of the Prince's family made their appearance, and his suite was moderate in point of number, and very orderly in behaviour. Betel, tea, and refreshments were served to us, as at the Heir-apparent's; and presents, consisting of a ruby-ring, a Chinese straw-hat, and a lackered-ware box, were made to each of the gentlemen of the Mission. The Prince retired, and in a few minutes afterwards we came away, much pleased with our reception, which was plain, unostentatious, but kind and civil. The Prince is a man of forty years of age. In person and features he much resembles the King, and is of a spare and light, but active form: his features are not handsome, but cheerful and pleasing. His manners are affable and unassuming, without being deficient in dignity. His character is that of a gay, thoughtless, and good-natured man; and in this also he resembles his Majesty; but his talents are of a somewhat higher order. He takes his title, Sarawati-men, Lord or Prince of Sarawadi, from the district which is so celebrated for its teak forests, and which is assigned to him for his revenue. He is much beloved by the King, and is his only full brother, as I have before mentioned. He is at the head of the party opposed to the Queen's influence. During the greater part of the late war, he was commander-in-chief of the armies opposed to the English, but never did any thing to signalize himself, and, in fact, never saw an enemy. It seems, indeed, to be a maxim of Burman tactics, that the chiefs should keep at a respectable distance, and out of harm's way, every one in the degree of his rank; and that the soldiery should be thrust forward to fight "the battles of their country," at the peril of military executions, without leaders, and without example. The founder of the family

appears to have been a leader of a different class, however, and to have owed his success as much to his firmness and personal courage, as to his judgment and sagacity.

This was the day appointed for the ladies of the Burman grandees to pay their homage to the Queen; to make presents, and "ask pardon" for past transgressions, in the same way as their husbands had done before of his Majesty. We were anxious to see a part at least of the ceremonies of a Burmese drawing-room, and accordingly passed by the Palace on our return home. A great number of state equipages, that is to say of palanquins, were waiting at the gate, and with them the ladies' female attendants, scarcely any of whom were admitted into the palace. These were all in dresses of ceremony for the occasion, and accommodated under temporary sheds thrown up for their reception. Some of the gentlemen who stayed longer than myself, saw a number of the ladies themselves coming out in their court-dresses; the most remarkable part of which is a kind of coronet of gold and black velvet. In all this, every thing was public and open. The ladies wore no veils, and, in short, no attempt was made at concealment in any way—a circumstance in the manners of the Burmans which distinguishes them in a remarkable manner from the nations of Western India, but in which they agree with the Siamese, and in a good measure with the Cochin Chinese also. I am not sure, after all, that the Burmese ladies gain much by this freedom, for I strongly suspect that the sex is upon the whole treated with less delicacy and consideration than in Mohammedan and Hindu countries, where the most absolute seclusion is insisted upon.

Oct. 25.—Our public visits were nearly completed this morning, by our introduction to the Queen's brother. The dwelling of this personage, who in consequence is beyond all comparison the first subject of the Burman Government, is in the inner town, a short distance beyond the palace. This is a good house of brick and lime, with a spacious and convenient court in front. Our reception here was far more splendid than at the palaces

of the Heir-apparent and the Prince of Sarawadi, and it was evident that the owner had the key of the royal treasury at his command. A tent pitched in the street in front of the house served as an ante-room, but instead of benches, we had European chairs to sit upon. We were not detained here above twenty minutes, when we were ushered into the hall prepared for our accommodation: this was the front part of the house. The verandah, or front gallery, through its whole length was shaded by a canopy of scarlet broadcloth, which threw the most singular shade upon every object within, making the candles especially appear as if a phosphorescent light issued from them. At one end of the hall, the King's numerous band of dancing-women, richly and most fancifully attired, was playing; the players were all young females, and some of them very handsome. Two dancing-women, still more richly dressed than the rest, one in male and the other in female attire, were in advance, acting a kind of Burman opera. The hall was crowded with chiefs, and towards the back part of it were a number of their wives and daughters. The Queen's brother himself made his appearance almost immediately. A richly decorated couch, on which he commonly sits, was at the back of the hall; but instead of occupying it, he placed himself upon the floor, on the lowest of two cushions, and exactly upon a level with us. His attitude was the most respectful possible: he was upon his knees, resting himself upon his heels, so as effectually to keep the soles of his feet out of view—a point of indispensable etiquette towards visitors of any respectability. We were quite unprepared for so much condescension. We had reckoned at least upon a cold and haughty demeanour, and even thought it possible that the favourite might display some of the assumption of an upstart, but were agreeably disappointed. His wife and daughter followed him into the hall, and seated themselves to his right hand, but farther back. The daughter was a very handsome young woman, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, and understood to be engaged in marriage to the Prince of Mendong, a half-brother of the King. He asked the same question respecting his Majesty or the

Governor-General, which had been put at the Palace, and by the Prince of Sarawadi. It appeared to me at the time, and since, that the form of expression was previously studied and concerted between the parties. He then asked if we were pleasantly situated, begged to know the ranks of the different gentlemen as connected with the Mission, and what particular appointment I held myself, before coming as Envoy to the Court. After ordering refreshments for us, he retired for a short time, politely intimating that he wished to remove all constraint and put us at our ease while we were taking our repast, as he was aware that the position we were in was unusual and inconvenient to us. The chief returned in a short time, renewed his conversation, and then finally withdrew; informing us, that if we wished to view the spectacle exhibiting in the area, we should find chairs and refreshments ready for us under a shed. In passing through the court-yard, on our departure, we stopped for a few minutes, from motives of civility, to see an exhibition of dancing-women. Two of the King's *corps de ballet* were performing, considered the first dancers in the kingdom. They displayed great agility in their way: sometimes they bent their body backwards in such a manner as to touch the ground with the head, and without any assistance from the hands to recover the erect position; but their movements were violent, their gestures ungraceful, and sometimes a little indecent. They sung while they danced, and in both respects seemed as if they were performing for a wager. The presents given to us upon this occasion were to each a small ruby-ring, a broad-brimmed straw hat, not unlike a lady's Leghorn bonnet, and a handsome bamboo betel-box, of Shan or Lao manufacture.

This chief commonly goes under the name of Men-tha-gyi, which may be rendered "the great Prince." This does not seem to be a title but an epithet bestowed upon him by common consent through fear or flattery. The rich district of Salen is assigned to him for his subsistence, and according to the common usage he is sometimes called Salen-men, or Lord of Salen. But besides the income he derives from this estate, he has many other sources of emolument, one of the most considerable of which is a duty of one per cent.

upon the whole amount of the Chinese trade. While the King's coffers are empty, he and the Queen are known to have hoarded a considerable treasure; for her Majesty has an assignment upon the whole regular revenue derived from the Chinese trade, besides many other perquisites.

Men-tha-gyi was a few years older than the Queen, and seemed to us about seven or eight and forty years of age. His talents were not of a distinguished order, but sufficiently respectable. His exterior was that of a very ordinary person; his manners were represented as reserved, haughty, and austere. The almost unlimited power he possessed, had, it is alleged, been often exercised in deeds of oppression, injustice, and cruelty. One striking example of this came under the immediate observation of the European prisoners of war, which was frequently mentioned to me. In the family of Men-tha-gyi, but not in his seraglio, there was a handsome young woman of the Cassay nation: she and a young man of the same tribe, also in the family, had formed an attachment for each other. Men-tha-gyi, who had some pretensions to the young woman's person himself, would not permit their union. The young people eloped, but no person dared to afford them an asylum. They were pursued, arrested, and brought back. The young man was imprisoned in five pair of shackles, put into the stocks, and finally starved to death. When he screamed from pain and suffering, he was beaten by the gaolers; and after six weeks' endurance, his existence was terminated by a few blows of a mallet over the head and breast. Men-tha-gyi, as the goalers stated, watched and directed his torture and punishment. The young woman disappeared, and had never since been heard of. This, according to the information of the gaolers, was the second case of the same nature which had occurred. The first took place at Amarapura, about three years before. Men-tha-gyi, before the elevation of his sister, is alleged to have exercised the very humble occupation of a fishmonger: the Queen's aunt is even said to have carried a basket of fish upon her head, in the exercise of a still humbler branch of the same calling.

On our return home, we visited the King's pagoda and his water-palace, by special leave. The pagoda is one of the few which resemble in architecture those of Siam. The central building is of solid masonry, with pillars half European and half Hindustani. The materials are excellent, the plaster being almost as smooth, white, and shining as marble. All this excited a suspicion that the workmanship was exotic, and, on inquiry, we ascertained that the architect was a Hindoo from Madras. The same artist, we also discovered, had constructed the handsome terrace of the palace before mentioned. His Majesty is delighted with the temple, and considers it a *chef-d'œuvre* of art. About the central building there is a quadrangular area, surrounding which, and of the same form, there is a covered gallery opening inwards, and having the outer wall covered with drawings as rude as possible. These, which are called "Siamese paintings" by the Burmans, represent the Buddhist Hell and all its punishments; the Heaven of the Nats; but, above all, the birth, education, adventures, and death of Gautama. Each group has one very necessary accompaniment,—a written description telling what it represents. For the satisfaction of the Oriental Mythologist, I give the following translations of some of these descriptions.

"A representation of the birth of the deity, on the way to De-wa-da-ha, near the Long-pa-ni forest; his mother, the Queen Thi-ri-maha-ma-ya, wife of Thod-da-da-na, King of Kap-pi-la-wat, standing upright, and holding a branch of a tree with one hand, and her younger sister with the other; four Brah-mas (superior celestial beings) receiving him in a net of gems, and four Kings of Nats (inferior celestial beings) performing the same ceremony with a black leopard's skin, and a silk web of earthly manufacture. He instantly takes seven steps to the north, and utters three words."

"A representation of the 'divine infant' receiving a visit from the hermit Ka-la-de-wi, when he placed his feet on the hermit's head, and forced act of an homage from his father, the King."

"A representation of his marriage with his cousin, Ya-than-da-ya, daughter of Thop-pa-bud-d'ha, King of De-wa-da-ha; the splendid reception of

the bride, and the commencement of felicity, which, though human, rivalled that of the Nats."

"A representation of the Prince in his royal chariot, noticing the four omens, thrown in his way by supernatural agency, viz. an old man, a sick man, a dead man, and a priest, from a view of which he first conceived an idea of the vanity of worldly enjoyment, and the necessity of providing for a future state of existence."

"A representation of the Prince viewing the sprawling indelicate postures of his sleeping concubines, at which he took such disgust, that without even looking at his sleeping son, Pa-hu-la, reposing in the arms of his wife, he renounced all sensual indulgences, and all social affections, and fled into the forest."

"A representation of his combat with Mar Nat, the chief evil spirit, who undertook to oppose his holy undertaking."

"A representation of the homage he received from all the celestial host, in consequence of the sacrifices he made, and the victory he obtained."

"A representation of his performing austerities six years in the forest of U-ru-we-la."

"A representation of the throne of deification which sprung up under the sacred fig-tree."

"A representation of the Prince ascending the throne, gaining a final victory over Mar Nat, the chief evil spirit, and all his legions, and obtaining the state of a deity (or becoming god, *Bura-tha-ken*)."

"A representation of the homage paid him by all the celestial powers, on his becoming a deity."

"A representation of his remaining seven days on the throne of deification."

"A representation of three daughters of Mar Nat tempting the deity."

"A representation of the King of the Nats erecting a tank for the deity to wash his garments in, with a flat rock to dry them on."

"A representation of the deity exhibiting himself in the air, half-fire and half-water, to the conviction of all rational beings."

"A representation of the deity's journey to Heaven, which he performed by setting his right foot on the summit of Mount Yu-gan-to, and his left on the summit of Mount Meru."

"A representation of the deity's descent from Heaven, accompanied by the celestial host, by a triple stair created for the occasion; the portion on the right hand being of gold, that on the left of silver, and that in the middle of ruby."

Here, as in almost all the modern Burman temples I have seen, the fanes containing the principal images of Buddha are of carved wood, gilt all over. Within the area was pointed out to us a circular fabric with a domed roof: this was the library of the temple, but the doors being shut, and none of the attendants at hand, we were unable to gain admission. Judging from this specimen of the Burman temples, and what I had before seen, I have no scruple in considering that they are generally inferior to those of Siam, both in magnitude and splendour: the images especially are much fewer and smaller. I had not yet seen a single statue in brass, nor do I believe the art of casting them in metal is known to the Burmans, although daily practised by the Siamese. This, however, is accounted for by the abundance of fine white marble of which the Burmans are possessed, and of which their best statues are formed. The richly carved wood of the doors, windows, and roofs of the Siamese temples constitutes their best ornament. In the Burman temples there is nothing comparable to it. While the Siamese are spacious buildings, open, diversified, and richly ornamented within, the majority of the modern temples of Ava are but solid masses of brick and mortar, presenting nothing but a mere exterior to gratify curiosity. I may take this opportunity of observing, that the Burman priests seem to be less numerous than those of Siam: it is not to be inferred from this, however, that the Burmans are less pious than their neighbours. This fact, and the inferiority of the temples, is to be accounted for by the religious charity of the two people being somewhat differently directed. For every temple in Siam there seemed to be twenty in Ava. None but the rich and powerful build temples in the first, and the inferior classes are

satisfied with making contributions to the edifices constructed by their superiors. Here, therefore, large temples only are constructed. In Ava every petty chief builds his own temple, and deems this, and not the endowment of monasteries, the principal road to salvation. In Siam, a monastery is a necessary appendage to a temple. In Ava, the monasteries and temples are separate and distinct, and those who have power over the wealth of the country alone can endow the former. In Siam it is the fashion for every male inhabitant to enter the priesthood once in his life, however short the period. This custom does not exist among the Burmans.

On our return home from our visit to the Queen's brother, we inspected what is called his Burmese Majesty's Water-palace. It is a splendid bauble, composed of two long vessels, joined together by a platform, the prow and stern of each representing a fabulous animal, richly carved and ornamented. Over the vessels there is a house of several apartments, the hall of audience containing the throne, being in front. The many-storied roof of the house is covered with plates of tin, and terminates in a spire of fifteen or sixteen feet high. The exterior of the vessels, the house and spire, are all richly gilt. The whole length of the Palace is one hundred and two feet, and its greatest breadth, including a gallery overhanging the vessels all round, forty-four feet. The Wun-dauk of his Majesty's fleet, a person of no small consequence, accompanied us for the purpose of showing the Palace. This person is the Admiral of all his Majesty's boats, whether of war or accommodation. He informed us that he had a population of fifty thousand persons at his disposal, by which we understood the whole number of inhabitants assigned for the maintenance of the establishment, including those appropriated for the pensions or salaries of the chiefs. The actual number of boats belonging to the King amounts, I am told, to about one thousand.

Oct. 26.—The conference which had been appointed for to-day was put off in consequence of the death of the first Atwen-wun's chief wife, which took place on the night of the 24th. This was intimated to us yesterday, on our return from our visit to the Queen's brother. We sent compliments

of condolence to the Atwen-wun, and hearing that it would be well taken, proposed to appear at the funeral; which, according to custom, was to be a public one, and attended by all the principal officers of Government. The place where funeral ceremonies are performed, is to the west of the city, close to the river-side, and not above three-quarters of a mile from our dwelling. About eleven o'clock, word was sent that the procession had left the city, and we proceeded to meet it. A convenient and comfortable open shed had been spread with carpets, and here we found chairs ready for ourselves, and some chiefs of rank, the principal of whom were the Atwen-wun Maong-za, the Kyi-wun, and the Myo-lat-wun. The procession passed close to the shed, and the Burman chiefs politely explained to us the nature of the ceremony. The following was the order in which it advanced:—The insignia of the Atwen-wun were borne in front; then came presents for the priests, and alms to be distributed amongst the beggars, consisting of sugar-cane, bananas, and other fruits, with ready-made garments. A shabby elephant, on which was mounted an ill-looking fellow dressed in red, followed these. The man in red had in his hands a box, intended to carry away the bones and ashes of the deceased This, it seems, is an ignominious office, performed by a criminal, who is pardoned for his services. Even the elephant is thought to be contaminated by being thus employed, and for this reason an old or maimed one is selected, which is afterwards turned loose into the forest. A band of music followed the elephant; after which came a long line of priestesses, or nuns, all old and infirm; then came ten or twelve young women, attendants of the deceased, dressed in white, and carrying her insignia. The state palankeens of the deceased and her husband; the bier; the female relations of the family, carried in small litters, covered with white cloths; the husband and male relations on foot, dressed in white, followed in order. The Queen's aunt; the wives of the Wungyis, the Atwen-wuns, and Wun-dauks, with other females of distinction, closed the procession. The body was conveyed to a broad and elevated brick terrace, where it was to be burnt. We assembled on this

to see the ceremonies to be performed. The coffin, which was very splendid, was stripped of the large gold plates with which it was ornamented, and the class of persons whose business it is to burn the bodies of the dead, were seen busy in preparing the materials of the funeral-pile. This is a class hereditarily degraded, living in villages apart from the rest of the inhabitants, and held to be so impure that the rest of the people never intermarry with them. By the common people they are called Thuba-raja, the etymology of which is uncertain; but their proper name is Chandala, pronounced by the Burmans Sandala. This is obviously the Sanscrit name of the Hindoo outcasts. The Chandalas, united with the lepers, beggars, and coffin-makers, are under the authority of a Wun, or governor; hence called Le-so-wun, or Governor of the Four Jurisdictions. He is also occasionally called A'-rwat-wun, which may be translated, "governor of the incurables." This person is by no means himself one of the outcasts, but, on the contrary, a dignitary of the state. This abominable institution is rendered still more completely so by the mode in which the officer in question is rewarded for his services. Like all other public functionaries, he has no avowed salary, but draws his subsistence from the narrow resources of the degraded classes whom he rules. The villages of the lepers, beggars, and burners of the dead, are assessed by him in the usual manner; and being invested with the administration of justice over these outcasts, he draws the usual perquisites from this resource. A considerable source of profit to him also is the extortion practised upon the more respectable part of the community, under pretext of their labouring under some incurable and contagious disease. The scar of an old sore or wound will often be sufficient pretext to extort money from the individual marked with it, to enable him to escape from being driven from society. If a wealthy individual have a son or daughter suffering from leprosy, or a disease which may be mistaken for it, he will have to pay dearly to avoid being expelled, along with his whole family, from the city. The Chandalas, or burners of the dead, were represented to me as having originated in criminals condemned to death, but having

their punishment commuted. They differ from the Taong-m'hu, or executioners, in this,—that the punishment of the former descends to their posterity; whereas, that of the latter is confined to the individual.

In a short time the mourners, consisting of the female relations and servants of the deceased, sat down at the foot of the coffin, and began to weep and utter loud lamentations. Their grief, however, was perfectly under control; for they ceased, as if by word of command, when the religious part of the ceremony commenced. It sometimes happens, I am told, that when the families of the deceased have few servants or relations, hired mourners are employed for the occasions.

The first part of the office of the Chandalas was to open the coffin, turn the body prone,—bend back the lower limbs,—place six gilded billets of wood under its sides, and four over it. The Rahans, or priests, had hitherto neither joined the procession nor taken any share in the funeral rites, but were assembled in great numbers under a shed at no great distance. The high priest, or Sare-d'hau, and another priest, now came forward, and along with the husband took in their hands the end of a web of white cloth, of which the other was affixed to the head of the coffin. They sat down, and the friends and principal officers of Government joined them. The priest, followed by the assembly with their hands joined, muttered the following prayer, or creed, viz.:—"We worship Buddha;" "We worship his law;" "We worship his priests;" and then repeated the five commandments—"Do not kill;" "Do not steal;" "Do not commit adultery;" "Do not lie;" "Do not drink wine." The husband poured water upon the cloth from a cocoa-nut shell, pronouncing, after the priest, these words: "Let the deceased, and all present, partake of the merit of the ceremonies now performing." The assembly pronounced the words, "We partake;" or, "We accept." The pouring of water upon the ground is considered by the Burmans the most solemn vow. It is as if it were calling the earth to witness, or rather the guardian Nat, or tutelary spirit of the place, who, is it supposed, will hold the vow in remembrance, should men for-

get it. Two other priests followed the first, repeating the same, or similar prayers and ceremonies. After this, the company retired to some distance, and fire was set to the funeral pile. Notwithstanding the pomp and parade of this ceremony, it was, upon the whole, not solemn, and indeed in all respects scarcely even decorous. The persons not immediately concerned in the performance of the funeral-rites, laughed and talked as at a common meeting; and the solemnity of the occasion seemed to affect no one beyond the husband, the son, and the female relations. The spectators in general seemed to view the ceremony with some vanity, as a grand national and religious display, but nothing farther. Even the husband, who shed some tears, was not altogether insensible to the pomp and circumstance of the occasion. He turned round to me, and said, "Have you examined my wife's paraphernalia? There they are behind you; I beg you to look at them. They were all bestowed upon her by the glorious King." The high-priest, while he was still sitting on the ground, and when he had hardly done with the prayer, turned round, upon observing us, laughed very heartily, and said unconcernedly, "Who are these strangers?" Kaulen Mengyi, the virtual first Minister, who took an active share in the ceremony throughout, told him who we were, styling him "my Lord." He retired without saying any thing; for to betray curiosity or interest in any temporal matter is considered beneath the rank, and contrary to the duty of the priesthood, who are to be supposed constantly engaged in religious meditation, and holding the vanities of the world in contempt.

After the pile was ignited, we retired to the shed where refreshments were provided for us, and where we were obliged to stay for an hour, until the burning of the body was completed. During the ceremony, we were introduced to the Wungyi Kaulen Mengyi, and the Atwen-wun Maongza. The latter was a highly respectable and intelligent individual. He had acquired some knowledge of geography, and a considerable stock of information upon general questions, chiefly from the conversation of the American missionaries. He spoke familiarly of the Grand Lama, and the

Buddhism of the nations to the north of Hindostan. Having never before heard that the followers of Gautama to the eastward were aware of the existence of a form of worship similar to their own among the Tartar nations, I inquired into the sources of his knowledge: they were entirely derived from European information; and he mentioned to me the mission of Captain Turner to Thibet, quoting the Burman year in which it had taken place. Among those who gave us their company under the shed, was an officer called Myo-lat-wun, or "governor of vacant governments;" rather a lucrative office, from the frequent removals which are made. This personage, a corpulent and good-natured-looking man, was husband to the nurse of the little Princess, the King and Queen's only child, and hence his promotion. He had been engaged in the military operations against the English, and entered into conversation with Mr. Montmorency on the subject, who found him a great boaster. He said, for example, that he himself was a match for three Englishmen! I inquired, after coming home, into the achievments of this worthy, and found that he had made but a sorry figure in the war. In one of the engagements before Rangoon, he was among the foremost to run away, and is said to have saved his life by hiding himself for two or three days in a dry well. He was consequently in disgrace at Court for many months, but had lately been restored to favour on account of his connexion.

Oct. 28.—From our first arrival at Ava, we were very desirous of occupying a good, comfortable stone and lime house at Sagaing, on the right bank of the river, and fronting the town and palace: this was the property of Dr. Price; and while that gentleman was at Rangoon, as already mentioned, an arrangement had been made with him for occupying it, and a formal engagement entered into, money having been advanced for its repair. Every obstacle however was thrown in our way by the Burman Government, from what motive it is difficult to say. We at length acquiesced in the objections made, and arrangements were nearly completed for extending and rendering more convenient our present habitation. Two days ago, however, the Burman Go-

vernment changed its mind, and of its own accord, proposed our immediately occupying the house at Sagaing. The King was extremely desirous of seeing the steam-vessel under weigh, and I have no doubt this was one motive for accommodating us. He was *incog.* in his water-palace as the vessel passed up this morning, and had a good view of her. To give her as respectable an appearance as possible, she was decked out with a variety of flags and colours, and the European guard was drawn out on the poop, with side-arms only; for a particular request had been made that they should dispense with their fire-arms; such is the effeminacy and distrust of the Court! In the course of the afternoon we took possession of our new dwelling, which we found, upon the whole, convenient and comfortable.

Oct. 29.—We paid a visit this morning to the widow of the King's father, a prince who died as heir-apparent, and never came to the throne. He was the same person so frequently mentioned in the Journals of Colonel Symes and Captain Cox. He had married first the younger, and after her death the elder of two sisters, his own relations. The King was born of the first marriage. His second wife, of whom I am now speaking, was therefore at once aunt and step-mother to his Majesty. This personage was possessed of no political influence, but was treated with respect, and was wealthy: her dwelling was the best wooden-house we had seen; she was entitled to have it gilded, a royal privilege, but had not gone to this expense. We were received under a tent pitched for the occasion; after waiting in which for a few minutes, we were ushered into a spacious hall, supported by thirty-two wooden pillars, forming a kind of portico to the main house. At the back of this was the partition which divided the hall from her Majesty's apartments. In this, and at the elevation of six or seven feet from the floor, there was a window with gilded shutters: these were soon thrown open, and showed us the Princess sitting as if it were in a niche, a venerable and respectable-looking person, about sixty years of age. None of her relations or attendants appeared, but in the same apartment with us was her son, the Prince of Men-dong, whom I mentioned as being engaged to marry

the daughter of the Queen's brother, with three or four of her grandchildren, boys from four to six years of age. The youngest of these was son to the late Prince of Tongo, a full brother of the King, who died during the war. This child, after the Ing-she-men, or heir-apparent, was next heir to the throne. The Princess put to us the very same questions, and in the same words, as we had been asked at the heir-apparent's, the Prince of Sarawadi's, and the Queen's brother's. Betel, Burman tea, and refreshments were also brought to us in the same manner. She accepted our presents, and presented each of us in return with a ruby-ring, a lacker-ware box, and two pieces of silk. The visit was not very interesting. The attendance of persons of rank was very small, and none of the officers of Government appeared, except those expressly directed to accompany us.

Dr. Wallich and I walked this morning to the village of Kyauk-Sit, (stone-cutters,) situated about three miles to the north-west of Sagaing. This is the place at which the marble images of Gautama are manufactured for the whole kingdom. There are about thirty sheds, or manufactories, and at each we generally saw about ten or twelve statues either finished or in progress. The range of hills close at hand, although composed of marble, does not afford any fit for statuary, and the material is brought from a place called Sakyin, where there is an entire hill of pure white marble: this is ten miles distant from the eastern bank of the Irawadi, and forty miles, or twenty taings, above Ava. The blocks of marble, rough-hewn generally into the form necessary to make a figure of Buddha in the sitting posture, are conveyed to the Irawadi by land-carriage. From hence they are brought to Sagaing by water, and from this again by land to the place where the manufacture has been conducted,—from *time immemorial*:—the only reason assigned to us for incurring so heavy and unnecessary an expense in conveyance. Our inquiries respecting the marble quarries furnish a remarkable instance of the difficulty of getting precise and accurate information among a people so incurious in such matters as the Burmans. Sometimes we were told that the quarries were fifty miles

distant from Ava; but no one could tell the name of the place. At other times we were confidently informed that they were in the range of the Sagaing hills, two or three miles distant only. With this last impression, we arrived at the place of manufacture; and it was not until we had conversed with those immediately concerned in the business, that we learnt the truth.

The statuary marble used by the Burmans is a primitive limestone; it is large-grained and highly chrystalized; its colour is a snow-white, with a semi-translucency, and it is capable of receiving a high polish; it is devoid of fissures, and free from streaks and all discolouration. Some of the fragments which we examined in the shops contained a few rare particles of mica; and the manufacturers informed us, that now and then they found in it an ore, which they said was that of lead; but they could not supply us with any specimens. The means used for cutting and fashioning the marble into statues are extremely rude: they consist of an iron chisel, or rather punch, and a wooden-mallet. The prominent parts are smoothed down by the successive use of bits of sandstone, of various degrees of fineness; and the last polish is given with a soft stone, which I believe to be a clay-iron ore. This last part of the operation is very successfully performed by the Burmans. In every other respect, the statues are as rudely fashioned as possible. They are almost all in the same attitude: the form and position of the limbs are the same; the head and features are the same; and there is no room in any respect for the display of taste, fancy, or talent, the whole operation being purely mechanical, and this of the lowest order. The statues of Buddha, in the ancient temples of Java, sculptured of the inferior material of trap-rock, are Grecian forms in comparison to the Burman images. The largest block of marble which we measured was five cubits long by three broad, and its thickness about a cubit and a half. Statues are manufactured of all sizes, from this down to a few inches in length. A block of marble, two cubits long, was valued to us, at the place of manufacture, at fifteen ticals. Ano-

ther rough block, measuring in length three cubits, was valued at twenty-five ticals, and when sculptured would cost eighty.

Oct. 31.—I made an excursion this morning into the range of hills immediately behind our residence, accompanied by Dr. Wallich. Our walk took us three hours, in which time we ascended to the tops of some of the hills composing the range, and examined several of the quarries from which limestone is extracted for burning. As far as we could determine, every part of the range is marble. At the foot, and close to the river, the rock contains, embedded, hornblende and serpentine. This, which from its situation is most easily obtained, affords lime of inferior quality. The quarries towards the top of the ridge exhibit nothing but white marble, in a high state of crystallization, and with few extraneous ingredients. It is however in small blocks, often undergoing decomposition, and its colour is less pure than that of the statuary marble brought from a distance: it makes the best lime, which is sold on the spot unslaked, at the rate of twenty ticals of coarse silver for two thousand viss, or about eleven shillings and fourpence per ton. The quantity manufactured is very great, chiefly for the construction of temples. With these the hills are crowded to an inconceivable extent.

Two days ago, we had crossed the Irawadi to its eastern bank, where there is a rocky promontory, called Shwé-kyet-ret, ("where the golden fowl scratches,") with some spacious temples built upon it. This exactly fronts the termination of the ridge of Sagaing hills, which is also a bluff promontory; the river between them being very narrow, not, I suppose, exceeding nine hundred yards in breadth. From this spot there is a fine view, at once of Ava and Amarapura; affording, with a long reach of the river and the high range of mountains to the north, a landscape which is extensive, picturesque, and beautiful. The promontory on the eastern bank, which does not appear to be connected with any range of hills on the same side of the river, is, like the Sagaing hills, composed of mar-

ble; but it differs in its composition from any limestone we observed on the western side, being tough, hard, and containing, besides hornblende and serpentine, a great deal of disseminated mica, and some embedded crystals of feldtspar. We made particular inquiry of the miners and lime-burners respecting ores and fossil remains, but could not learn that they ever met with any. The limestone rock, at no place which we had yet examined, bore any appearance of stratification. Both at the bottom and top of the range, it is generally in a state of disintegration, and on the surface undergoing considerable decomposition.

The rain which fell on the 17th, 18th, and 19th, caused the river to swell greatly, and it rose between two and three feet. It did not begin to subside again till the 26th, but since that time it fell rapidly. The cold season may be calculated to have commenced on the latter day, when we had the first morning fog, and the thermometer fell to 72°. At day-break, it was now so chill, that the protection of a blanket became necessary. Through the day it was still warm, and the thermometer rose to 84 at two o'clock. The weather was calm, the sky serene and cloudless. At night heavy dews fell.

Nov. 2.—On the 30th ult. the King and Queen, with the principal part of the Court, made a visit to a celebrated Pagoda, at Amarapura, leaving, as was customary upon such occasions, her Majesty's brother in charge of the town and palace, as being the individual most in the confidence of the King. Their Majesties returned very late at night, and the great officers who ought to have received them, were not, it would appear, sufficiently alert: they expected the royal party to return by water, and arrangements were made accordingly; but, contrary to expectation, it returned by land. For this *faux pas*, three Wungyis, all the Wundauks and Atwenwuns, were put into the common prison, in three pair of irons: they were liberated the following morning, at the intercession of Kaulen Mengyi, who happened not to be inculpated. The old Governor of Bassein, and the Chief of the Guard of

Swordsmen, when they called upon us after this affair, spoke freely upon the subject, laughed very heartily at the mishap of the Ministers, and seemed to consider the punishment as a very proper, necessary, and suitable one.

I learnt last night, from good authority, that the Court Historiographer had recorded in the National Chronicle his account of the war with the English. It was to the following purport:—In the years 1186 and 87, the Kula-pyu, or white strangers of the West, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo, their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They petitioned the King, who, in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country.

CHAPTER VII.

Conferences renewed.—Employment of Spies.—Description of the hills of Sagaing.—Monthly Proclamation of the Burmese enforcing good Morals.—History and description of a man covered with hair.—Conference.—Letters and dispatch intercepted.—Visit to the great temple of Kaong-m'hu-d'hau, and description of it.—Conference.—Excursion to a Salt Lake, and account of the Manufacture of Salt.—Conference.

Nov. 3.—YESTERDAY and the day before the Burmese officers were busy in preparing a Té, or shed, on the river-side, for the conferences: their peculiar notions would not allow them to hold them at our dwelling, where there was ample room, and where all parties might have been more conveniently accommodated. At ten o'clock to-day they made their appearance, and we met them at the Té, which was not above fifty yards from our door. The Myowun, or Governor of Sagaing, a respectable and intelligent man, sat down with the other officers, without however taking any share in the discussions. The conferences commenced by the Burmese officers producing their own draft of the Commercial Treaty, which was read and briefly explained to me by Mr. Judson. In this the subject of the fourth article of the draft, heretofore discussed, and which related to the trade on the frontier, was omitted.

E. It is impossible for me at present to offer any opinion regarding the document now produced until a translation of it shall have been made. I beg you to furnish me with a copy, and at our next meeting the subject of it will undergo discussion.

B. We will immediately furnish the copy you require.

A copy of the draft was made and delivered. The Burman Commis-

missioners then produced a paper, containing certain propositions of a political nature: the substance of it was briefly translated by Mr. Judson.

E. I request that a copy of this paper may be furnished to me, and at our next conference I will offer my sentiments on the subject of it.

B. The copy you require will be furnished.

The writers proceeded to make a copy, which was furnished accordingly. The next meeting was appointed for the 5th.

This conference, although little was done except reading two short papers, occupied about three hours, owing to the time taken up in copying the latter; for with the Burmans, as well as most other Oriental people, writing is a tedious process, and the expedition and expertness with which European manuscripts are transcribed is a matter of wonder to them. I omitted to mention, that at all our former meetings, several spies had been present from the different parties of the Palace, not so much to watch our proceedings as the conduct of their own officers. All public matters are discussed by the Burmans with open doors; a feature of their despotical Government not very easily explained, but I imagine chiefly owing to apathy and carelessness, and certainly, at all events, not originating in any desire on the part of those in authority to allow the people a share in their own government. This custom gives easy admission to spies and informers. Among the worthies of this class, our officers, who were with the army, recognized one man who spoke English, and who had been discovered in our camp as a spy of the Burmese General, Bandula. His detection on this last occasion arose from the drollery of a sailor, who asked him if he would have "a glass of grog:" he forgot himself, made a distinct reply in English, and finally acknowledged himself to be a spy sent by Bandula, particularly to gain information respecting the steam-vessel, on board of which he was discovered. He received no punishment, for severities of any kind were repugnant to the feelings of the British Commander, and the enemy was too contemptible to render them necessary. On the contrary, the spy was taken into service as a groom, in which situation he continued until the army arrived at Melloon, when he quietly went over to

his countrymen. At the conferences, his chief business seemed to be to watch the conduct of Mr. Lanciego, close to whom he placed himself, watching attentively every word that passed between him and us; yet, I am convinced, understanding very little.

On returning home, Mr. Judson made literal translations of the Burman draft of a Commercial Treaty, and propositions. They were as follow :—

"COMMERCIAL TREATY.—*Article* 1.—Peace being made between the great country governed by the English Ruler, (Englit-men,) the India Company's Ruler, (India Company Baren,) and the great country of Ra-ta-na-pu-ra, (City of Gems, Sanscrit,) which rules over Thu-na-pa-ra, Tam-pa-di-pa,* and many other great countries; when English merchants from the country of the English Ruler, and Burmese merchants from the country of the Burmese King, pass from one country to the other, selling and buying merchandise, the warders at the entrances and outlets, the established gate-keepers of the country, shall make inquiry as usual, but without demanding any money; and all English merchants coming truly for the purpose of trade with merchandise, shall be suffered to pass without hinderance or molestation. The Governments of both countries, also, shall permit ships with cargoes to enter ports, and carry on trade, giving them the utmost protection and security.

"*Art.* 2.—The transportation of gold and silver from one country to the other shall not be prohibited, nor shall duties be taken on those articles. In regard to such exportation, when merchandise of use in one's own country are brought from another country, things sold for gold and silver are to be sold, and things exchanged for piece-goods, and other articles in demand in one's own country, are to be exchanged. And, notwithstanding the exportation of gold and silver has always been prohibited, since now the English and Burmese Governments have formed a grand friendship, when English merchants come in boats and ships to Burmese ports for

* These two words, the first applied to the region east of the Irawadi, and the second, to that west of it, are Pali corruptions of Sanscrit words, meaning, respectively, the country of gold, and the country of copper.

the purpose of trade, they shall, after paying the customary duties, sell the goods which remain, and the gold and silver for which the goods are sold, English merchants may take away. And if they wish to buy and take away goods, they shall be allowed to do so. And the gold and silver taken away without prohibition shall pay no duties. When Burmese merchants also come in boats and ships to English ports for the purpose of trade, they shall, after paying the customary duties, sell the goods which remain, and take away the gold and silver for which the goods are sold, if they wish to do so. But if not, they shall be allowed to buy and take away without hinderance, and without paying duties, such piece-goods, muskets, flints, powder, and other rarities and articles of use, as they may desire.

"*Art.* 3.—Ships whose breadth of beam (entrance of the hold) is eight royal cubits of twenty English inches, and all ships of smaller size, whether Burman merchants entering an English port under the Burman flag, or English merchants entering a Burmese port under the English flag, shall be subject to no other demands besides the payment of duties and the fees on the passport at quitting, not exceeding ten ticals of inferior silver. Nor shall pilotage be demanded, unless the captain voluntarily require a pilot. However, when ships arrive, information shall be given to the officer stationed at 'the entrance of the sea.' In regard to vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight cubits, it shall, with them, be according to ancient custom.

"*Art.* 4.—English and Burmese merchants passing from one country to the other, and residing, shall, on desiring to return to their own country, be allowed to do so. They shall not be hindered from going to whatever country, and by whatever vessel, they may desire. They shall also be allowed to sell their goods and property, and take away the value, together with property unsold, wife, sons, and daughters, without hinderance, or any expense incurred.

"*Art.* 5.—English and Burmese vessels meeting with contrary winds, or sustaining damage in masts, rigging, &c. or suffering shipwreck on the shore,

shall, according to the laws of charity, receive all possible assistance; and whatever property may remain, in case of shipwreck, shall be restored to the rightful owner.*

"BURMESE PROPOSITIONS.—1. According to the Royal order of the English Ruler, appointing a Commissioner, Crawfurd is a wise and distinguished man. He is to proceed to the Royal country of the most excellent glorious Burman Monarch, and respectfully there make obeisance and offer presents. And he is to discuss mercantile matters, and whatever may be suitable for discussion. Thus he is commissioned. What Crawfurd says, the English Ruler says. According to the Third Article of the Treaty of Yandabo, Aracan, Ramree, Sandoway, and Cheduba, must be given up; and according to the Sixth Article, Yé, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, with their territories. According to the Fifth Article, also one crore of rupees must be paid. Of the crore of rupees, or, according to Burman weight, seventy-five thousand, two parts have been paid, and two parts still remain. Thus, in various points, the English Government and the Burmese Government must have formed a grand friendship. The officers of Government, also, in meeting one another, have conceived mutual love. It is suitable to take into consideration the affair of refunding the expenses. Aracan, Ramree, Sandoway, Cheduba, Yé, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, have always belonged to the royal country. In regard to the above said towns and territories, and the business of money, since peace has taken place, mea-

* The Burman word "Baren," used in this document, means sovereign. The Burmese suppose the word Company to be a title of the Governor-General. It is almost unnecessary to say, that the East India Company, as such, is wholly unknown to them. During the war, a very curious illustration of this fact came under the immediate notice of the British officers in Ava. A person of some notoriety at the time, called the Raj-guru, a Brahmin, and the principal Court astrologer, had been employed by the Burmese Government as a secret emissary in Bengal. After his detection, he was employed by us as an agent, in our endeavours to bring about a peace. In this capacity he repaired to Ava, but never returned. After the capture of Melun, his Correspondence was discovered in the stockade, and it was found that he had been intriguing in our very camp, and furnishing the enemy with intelligence. In this Correspondence, when he spoke of the Governor-General personally, he invariably and unceremoniously gave him the name of "Company," and no other.

sures ought not to be adopted as if the countries were at war. The ambassador Crawfurd is Commissioner and Agent of the English Ruler. There is ground here for securing in perpetuity a kind feeling between the two countries. As the officers and confidential members of the two Governments are well disposed towards one another, and exhibit proofs of mutual affection, so it is suitable that we should appropriate and take charge, as we have uniformly appropriated and taken charge of old.

"2.—According to the Second Article of the Treaty of Yandabo, which requires, that if Gumbheer Singh desire to return and remain at Munnipore, he shall do so. Gumbheer Singh shall remain quietly and happily at Munnipore. But let him not trespass on the city of Mwe-ren, and other cities and villages west of the Kyen-dwen river, which are Burmese territory. Let not officers and soldiers appointed by the Burmese Government be stationed at Munnipore, nor officers and soldiers appointed by the English Government. Let Gumbheer Singh remain quietly, and take care of his own country as he will."

Nov. 4.—This morning I rode out with Mr. Chester about four miles on the road to Monchabo and Munnipore, passing through the range of the Sagaing hills. These run in a direction south-east and north-west, and are composed of two distinct ranges, with a narrow valley intervening. The northern range is much the highest, and some of the hills here appear about four hundred feet high. The southern range is low, and probably does not exceed a hundred or a hundred and twenty feet. Two days ago, the fall of the river enabled me to examine more carefully the formation of the high range, where it terminates on the Irawadi. The lowest rock here was found to be mica slate. Lying over it was limestone in different states of disintegration and decomposition. Farther up was found variegated marble, with disseminated black and green schorl. At the top of the hills, as I have already mentioned, the rock is a white and highly crystallized limestone. Proceeding westward, the range becomes gradually lower, and here is found a fine grained blue limestone. This rock, in some situations, is in a state of complete disin-

tegration, appearing like a mass of dry mud and clay, with fragments of the limestone disseminated through it. Of the southern range, the higher portion is composed also of blue limestone; but the lower, or northern portion, towards Sagaing, is generally a mass of sand, with a large intermixture of decomposed limestone rock. In general, this was very soft; but in a few situations it was indurated so as to compose a silicious limestone exactly resembling that which we had found at Lungyi, and other parts of the banks of the river farther down. In one place I found a detached fragment of mica slate, but could not discover the rock itself. It is probable that the sandstone and lime rest upon it.—We found the road running through the valley a very good one, and frequented by wheel-carriages: it leads to Mengwan and Moksobo, called by Europeans Monchabo. The first, distant six taings, or twelve miles, from Sagaing, is celebrated for a temple of immense size, built by the late King; and the last, ten taings, is well known as the birth-place and seat of Government of Alompra. We ascended a considerable way up the higher range, from which a beautiful and magnificent prospect of the lower country is presented: this consists of the towns of Ava and Sagaing, the river with its islands, the lake Remyat-gyi'-ang, with the stupendous temple of Kaong-m'hu-d'hau on its banks close below. Both ranges are covered with temples innumerable. Sometimes the sides of the decomposed rocks are excavated to the distance of twenty or thirty yards, and these shafts, cased with brick and mortar, form the principal portion of the temple, the outer wall and a portion of the roof only being visible. In one low temple of this description we found a recumbent image of Gautama, occupying the whole building, and of the enormous length of very nearly seventy-five feet, each foot measuring twelve feet. The soles were sculptured in the manner in which the foot of Guatama is always represented, with a great variety of emblematic and hieroglyphic figures. The temples and statues are generally very ill constructed: of the latter, few were of marble; and the former, although at first sight making a good appearance, were built of very crude materials, and even the most recent were often found in a state of dilapidation. The "religious merit"

consists in building a huge, costly, and showy edifice: there is none, apparently, in building a durable one, and very little in repairing or restoring an old one. In the vicinity of Sagaing accordingly, there are to be seen several half-finished structures of enormous magnitude, the founders having died while they were in progress, and no one afterwards thinking it worth while to complete the work. The most remarkable example of this is in the celebrated temple at Mengwan, upon which an enormous expense was lavished, which was an object of solicitude with the late King for half his life; but which is incomplete, because he died while it was in progress. The country through which we passed is very sterile, and without any other cultivation than fruit trees, and a few patches of cotton and pulses.

Dr. Stewart and Lieutenant Montmorency walked through the town of Ava this morning, and encountered the procession which, once a month, at the new moon, goes about the city reading a proclamation enjoining the inhabitants to observe certain moral precepts. These, besides the five principal Buddhist commandments, recommend to parents kindness to their children, and to children duty to their parents. The very aspect of the procession announced temporal punishment to such as offended. It was led by the chief Taong-m'hu, or principal hangman, the branded old malefactor whom I have already described,—a rod in one of his hands, and a cord in the other. He was followed by a numerous band of worthies of the same profession, similarly armed. After these came a drum and two gongs, a party of the King's guards, a led horse, an elephant carrying a herald who read the proclamation, with three heralds on horseback. A copy of the proclamation would have been a great curiosity, but I could not obtain it.

We had heard much of a person said to be covered all over with hair, and who, it was insisted upon, more resembled an ape than a human being; a description, however, which, I am glad to say, was by no means realized by his appearance. Having expressed a curiosity to see this individual, the King politely sent him over to our dwelling some days ago, and Dr. Wallich and I took down on the spot the following account of himself and his

PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN OF THE KYEN TRIBE.

PROFILE OF A MAN COVERED WITH HAIR.

history. His name was Shwe-Maong, and he stated himself to be thirty years of age. He was a native of the district of Maiyong-gyi, a country of Lao, situated on the Saluen, or Martaban river, and three months' journey from Ava. The Saubwa, or chief of the country, presented him to the King as a curiosity when a child of five years of age, and he had remained in Ava ever since. His height was five feet three inches and a half, which is about the ordinary stature of the Burmese. His form was slender, if compared with the usually robust make of the Hindoo-Chinese races, and his constitution was rather delicate. In his complexion there was nothing remarkable, although upon the whole he was perhaps rather fairer than the ordinary run of Burmese. The colour of his eyes was a dark brown, not so intense as that of the ordinary Burman. The same thing may be said of the hair of the head, which was also a little finer in texture, and less copious.

The whole forehead, the cheeks, the eyelids, the nose, including a portion of the inside, the chin—in short, the whole face, with the exception of the red portion of the lips, were covered with a fine hair. On the forehead and cheeks this was about eight inches long; and on the nose and chin, about four inches. In colour, it was of a silvery grey; its texture was silky, lank, and straight. The posterior and interior surface of the ears, with the inside of the external ear, were completely covered with hair of the same description as that on the face, and about eight inches long: it was this chiefly which contributed to give his whole appearance at first sight an unnatural and almost inhuman aspect. He may be strictly said to have had neither eyelashes, eyebrows, nor beard, or at least they were supplanted by the same silky hair which enveloped the whole face He stated, that when a child the whole of this singular covering was much fairer than at present. The whole body, with the exception of the hands and feet, was covered with hair of the same texture and colour as that now described, but generally less abundant: it was most plentiful over the spine and shoulders, where it was *five inches* long: over the breast

it was about *four* inches: it was most scanty on the fore-arms, the legs, thighs, and abdomen. We thought it not improbable that this singular integument might be periodically or occasionally shed; and inquired, but there was no ground for this surmise;—it was quite permanent.

Although but thirty years of age, Shwe-maong had, in some respects, the appearance of a man of fifty-five or sixty: this was owing to a singularity connected with the formation of the teeth, and the consequent falling in of the cheeks. On inspecting the mouth, it was discovered that he had in the lower jaw but five teeth, namely, the four incisors and the left canine; and in the upper but four, the two outer ones of which partook of the canine form. The molares, or grinders, were of course totally wanting. The gums, where they should have been, were a hard fleshy ridge, and, judging from appearances, there was no alveolar process. The few teeth he had were sound, but rather small; and he had never lost any from disease. He stated, that he did not shed his infantine teeth till he was twenty years of age, when they were succeeded in the usual manner by the present set. He also expressly asserted, that he never had any molares; and that he experienced no inconvenience from the want of them.

The features of this individual were regular and good for a Burmese. The intellectual faculties were by no means deficient; on the contrary, he was a person of very good sense, and his intelligence appeared to us to be rather above than below the ordinary Burmese standard.

He gave the following account of the manner in which the hairy covering made its appearance. At his birth his ears alone were covered with hair, about two inches long and of a flaxen colour. At six years of age, hair began to grow on the body generally, and first on the forehead. He distinctly stated that he did not attain the age of puberty till he was twenty years old.

Shwe-maong was married about eight years ago, or when twenty-two years of age; the King, as he stated himself, having made him a present of a wife. By this woman he has had four children, all girls; the eldest died when three

years of age, and the second when eleven months old. There was nothing remarkable in their form. The mother, rather a pretty Burman woman, came to us to-day along with her third and fourth child. The eldest, about five years of age, was a striking likeness of her mother, and a pretty interesting child, without any mal-conformation whatever, or indeed any thing to distinguish her from an ordinary healthy child. She began to teeth at the usual period, and had all her infantine teeth complete at two years of age. The youngest child was about two years and a half old, a very stout fine infant: she was born with hair within the anterior portion of the ear. At six months old it began to appear all over the ears, and at one year old on different parts of the body. This hair was of a light flaxen colour, and of a fine silky texture. When two years of age, and not until then, she got a couple of incisor teeth in each jaw, but had as yet neither canine nor molares. Shwe-maong assured us, that none of his parents or relations, and, as far as he knew, none of his countrymen, were marked like himself.

Our draftsman made very faithful sketches of the father and youngest child, to which I refer. After making the party presents, they took their leave of us, extremely grateful for our attention. Shwe-maong, we found, had been occasionally employed by the Court as a buffoon, having been taught to imitate the antics of a monkey. For these feats, however, the poor fellow does not seem to have been very liberally rewarded; for, to subsist himself and family, he was obliged to betake himself to the trade of a basket-maker, in which he was now employed. He would have turned his monstrosity to better account in London.

Nov. 5.—The negotiation was renewed yesterday. Business was entered upon as soon as we had taken our seats.

"*E.* The draft of the treaty furnished by you at our last meeting, has been translated. I have carefully perused it, and beg to submit to you the following remarks. The substance of the first article is nearly the same as that in the draft heretofore discussed." Judging from the translation, however, it is less precisely worded. It will, however, be easy to furnish another draft,

which will meet both our views. There is another objection: instead of the words "English and Burman merchants," terms must be introduced which will include all the subjects of both nations carrying on trade. This, in our case, is indispensable, as in commercial matters our Government deems its subjects, of whatever denomination, equally entitled with Englishmen to any privilege or immunity.

The second article, which in the draft hitherto discussed related solely to the free export of gold and silver, is materially altered, and, I have no scruple in saying, is totally inadmissible in its present form. The permission to export gold and silver, freely and without duty, should be absolute and subject to no condition of buying or selling. But I more particularly allude to the last clause, which is objectionable on the following grounds.—It is not reciprocal, being all on your side, which is contrary to the principle on which the negotiation has hitherto been conducted—a principle frequently urged by yourselves. It stipulates in your behalf for the free exportation of muskets, flints, and powder. These are not merchandise, but munitions of war. All Governments exercise the right of permitting or prohibiting both foreigners and their own subjects from dealing in them, as they think proper. Your Government does so. It prohibits the manufacture and sale of gunpowder, saltpetre, lead, and fire-arms, even to its own subjects, not to say to strangers. How therefore can you expect that our Government is to permit it to you? The clause I object to stipulates that you are not only to be permitted to export the munitions of war now enumerated, and free of duty, but also all other articles whatsoever. You make no such stipulations for British trade, nor have we required it. Already every article you export from our country pays a smaller duty than the corresponding articles exported by us from yours; and your ships pay infinitely smaller charges. This, to say the least, leaves no room for claiming a total exemption of duties on one side, without any concession whatever being yielded to the other. With respect to your granting a free exportation of gold and silver, I beg you clearly to understand that I do not ask this as a favour, but claim it as a matter of right. The

engagement for the free exportation should be reciprocal, and the benefits will be mutual. At the treaty made at Yandabo, and at the conferences which led to it, it was stipulated and agreed upon, that a commercial arrangement should be made on strict principles of reciprocity; and that British vessels should be subject to no trouble or molestation at Burman ports, to which Burman vessels were not subject in British ports. The fulfilment of this condition absolutely requires that British merchants, at Burman ports, should not be molested in disposing of their lawfully acquired property, whatever it may be, in the manner they may deem most to their own advantage. What I have now stated will, I am convinced, be sufficient to convince you of the reasonableness and propriety of my requesting that you withdraw the objectionable clause, and recast the whole article.

The third article, with the exception of the verbal alteration, which I have already proposed for designating the description of merchants that are to trade on both sides, and the concluding clause, is unexceptionable. In this last, it is stated, that vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight cubits, shall trade, according to ancient custom. In lieu of this, I propose that the article should run, that such vessels should trade conformably to the ninth article of the Treaty of Yandabo. That article confers certain privileges on British subjects and vessels, which would be in a good measure forfeited, if the trade, as proposed in the clause inserted by you, should be put upon its ancient footing.

The fourth and fifth articles are unexceptionable, and I assent to them as they stand in your draft."

These observations were produced in the form of a note, but not regularly given in as such to the Burmese officers in their own language. It had been studied by Mr. Judson, however, before the conference; and it was read and explained by him to the chiefs, passage by passage, Dr. Price and Mr. Lanciego lending their assistance. A long and desultory conversation ensued, which from its nature it was found wholly impracticable to take notes of. It was well ascertained that the second article of the Burmese sketch of a treaty,

which was the chief subject of discussion, had been framed by the ministers of the Lut-d'hau, especially by Kaulen Mengyi. The negotiators either did not understand its purport, or feigned not to do so. I believe, however, the former; for, in the course of the discussion, they evinced, as indeed they had done on every other occasion, an extraordinary want of acquaintance with all commercial matters. Upon the remonstrance made, the clauses which related to the exportation of fire-arms, and the exemption from export duties, were expunged; and the chiefs began immediately to recast the whole treaty, carefully preserving, however, their own peculiar expressions, idioms, and circumlocutions. A new draft, thus amended, was furnished to us in the course of the sitting.

The Burman propositions were then brought forward, and the following paper, which had been prepared in the same manner as the observations upon the treaty, was read by Mr. Judson, and explained by him, Dr. Price, and Mr. Lanciego.

"I caused a translation to be made of the propositions which you gave in at our last meeting. I have read them carefully, and I am now prepared to offer you my sentiments on the subject. Your proposals, as I understand them, mean that we should restore to you, without equivalent, the provinces of Aracan, Ramree, Sandaway, Cheduba, Yé, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim; and further, that we should remit the one-half crore of rupees due on the fifth article of the Treaty of Peace. You may well believe that my Government did not contemplate any such proposals when I was deputed to come to Ava; and that they did not consequently vest me with powers to enter upon a negotiation, the object of which would be to cancel some of the chief stipulations of a solemn treaty, concluded not more than four months previous to the date of the orders which sent me hither. I came here by virtue of the privilege given by the treaty to both parties, to maintain accredited agents at the seat of each other's Government, as well as to conclude a commercial arrangement, which, as you know, is also stipulated for by treaty. It is my duty, therefore, to inform you, that I am

vested with no power to remit the payment of the money due, or to restore territory solemnly ceded by treaty. Notwithstanding this, whatever the Burmese Government has to say upon these questions, I will listen to attentively, and duly report for the consideration of my Government.

"With respect to the period of paying the money which is due by you, although I am by no means authorized to remit any part of it, I am willing to take upon myself the responsibility of prolonging, for a moderate time, the period of payment stipulated for in the treaty, provided you show good and sufficient grounds which shall warrant me for taking this step; and that a commercial treaty, conformable to the spirit of the stipulation to this effect, made at Yandabo, shall be conceded on your side. But I beg you to understand, that unless such ground can be shown, and such concessions made, the money payment must be punctually liquidated according to engagement. The whole of the third instalment, as you are aware, becomes due within one hundred and ten days from this date; and I will either wait here to receive it, the period not being distant, or the British Commissioners will send ships for it from Martaban to Rangoon, with a proper officer, agreeably to the additional article of the Treaty of Yandabo.

"In respect to the question of Munnipoor, Gumbheer Singh is declared by treaty to be the sovereign thereof, and the King of Ava engages 'not to molest him, but let him remain.' Munnipoor is therefore an independent country, and will descend as such to Gumbheer Singh and his heirs, according to the laws and usages of the Cassay people. Whatever territory belonged to Cassay before it was subjugated by the Burmans, or became tributary to them, will in justice belong to it now. If the Burmans be in actual possession of any portion of such territory, they will of course relinquish it. If Gumbheer Singh shall be found to have seized any portion of the original Burman territory, or of any state tributary to the Burmans, he must make immediate restitution. The Burman Government is bound by the treaty not to interfere with Gumbheer Singh, or his kingdom. The British Government are not so bound; but they have no desire to interfere, and will not do so;

but this is a matter which rests not with you and me, but with the Governor-General. It will be expedient towards maintaining peace and harmony between the state of Munnipore and the Government of Ava, and eventually between the latter and the British Government, that a well-defined boundary should be established between the Burmese and Cassay territories. I am prepared, therefore, to discuss with you any plan you may have in view for this purpose; or to propose one myself, should you prefer it."

The Burmese Commissioners made ample notes of the substance of the paper now addressed to them, and the following conversation took place in regard to it:—

B. You state in the paper which has just been read to us, that you will either stay here for the third instalment, or, returning to Martaban, send ships for it to Rangoon. Which do you intend to do?—*E.* I will be guided in this by circumstances. If a fair and equitable arrangement be concluded conformably to the Treaty of Yandabo, I am disposed to return immediately, that I may make a report to the Governor-General.

B. Should you stay here, how long are you disposed to remain?—*E.* As long as I may find convenient. The Treaty of Yandabo provides that accredited agents shall reside at the seat of each other's Government. I will do nothing contrary to the Treaty of Yandabo.

B. In conformity with the Treaty of Yandabo, we have withdrawn from all interference with Akobat (Cachar) and We-tha-li (Assam). We think also that you ought to withdraw your officers from Cassay.

E. Have you withdrawn your troops and agents from Cassay as well as from Assam and Cachar?—*B.* Yes.

E. How do you know that there are British officers in Cassay?—*B.* We have received information that such is the case, from our out-posts. Our letters to this effect are dated in September last."

I had ascertained, while at Rangoon, and still more precisely since coming to Ava, that a public dispatch, addressed by Captain Grant, of Gumbheer Singh's levy, to the Quartermaster-general of the Army, for the information of

Sir A. Campbell, had been intercepted, opened, and perused by the Ministers of the Lut-d'hau. A copy of the letter in question was one of the enclosures in my last dispatches from the Supreme Government, and this enabled me to bring the matter forward, without compromising the persons from whom I had derived my information. The following conversation ensued respecting it,

E. Have any letters from European officers lately arrived here? At the termination of the war, a British officer in Cassay sent a letter by two Burman officers to the address of Sir A. Campbell, or one of his principal officers; I beg to know what has become of it?—*B.* This may be one of the letters to which we allude.

E. It cannot be so. The letter to which I allude was dated the sixth of April last. Your accounts, you say, are dated in September.—*B.* The letter to which we allude was in English. It was open, and translated and sent down here in Burman.

E. Have you got the original here now?—*B.* No, but we will bring it to-morrow.

E. The letter to which I refer was delivered to two Burman officers by the writer. The officers in question were the same who were sent by the British and Burman commissioners from Yandabo, to announce the conclusion of Peace. You must, of course, know very well who they are. One of you was a Commissioner at Yandabo at the time, and therefore concerned in selecting the officers in question. Among European and other civilized nations living in amity, the opening of public dispatches and private letters is reckoned an act at once dishonourable and criminal. The messengers who received charge of this letter and opened it deserve punishment.—*E.* It was not sealed.

E. That is of no consequence, as it ought, at any rate, to have been delivered. It was intercepted and detained.

The Burman commissioners seldom arrived before one o'clock, and much time was always lost in copying their papers. The present discussion

was put an end to by its becoming dark. In the course of it, it was discovered that the letter addressed by Captain Grant to Sir A. Campbell was not the only one which had been opened and intercepted by the Burman Government since the Peace. Several private letters appear to have been treated in the same way. Mr. Judson heard one of the Atwenwuns, while we were sitting down, say to an individual near him, "It was you who were ordered to open and translate such and such a letter,—you should be able to render an account of its contents." The individual in question answered quickly, "I know nothing at all about it." I have good authority for saying, that Dr. Price, when applied to open and translate the first letter which arrived, positively refused compliance, and represented the practice to the Burman Government as both discreditable and dangerous.

The old Myowun of Bassein, who still continued to attend us, was in the habit of coming to us generally every morning and evening, sometimes in company with the chief of the guard of swordsmen. He came this morning to Mr. Judson with a proposal of a very extraordinary nature. The Burman Government had felt the greatest anxiety concerning the result of the propositions given in by them at the last conference, and notwithstanding the pains taken to assure them to the contrary, both publicly and privately, and that such a thing is utterly repugnant to their own modes of conducting diplomatic matters, unreasonably believed, or wished to believe, that the British agent possessed authority to restore the ceded provinces, and to remit the whole money payment. I was led to believe from this circumstance, and others which it is unnecessary to mention, that intriguers had impressed the Court with a belief that the British Government was desirous of restoring the provinces, and wished only for a pretext. In reference to this subject, the Myowun observed, that the agent of the British Government was hard to deal with, and asked how it would answer to begin by offering him a sum of five viss of gold, or about 12,000 rupees as a *douceur*. Mr. Judson answered him, that the cus-

toms of Europeans were different from those of the Burmans; that such a proposal as that which he made would be considered an affront, and must never again be hinted at. He went away disappointed, but by no means feeling ashamed of the proposition he had made; for the practice of bribery seems to be nearly universal among all ranks of the Burman officers, and no discredit whatever is attached to it, unless when the party is silly enough, or unlucky enough, to be detected.

Nov. 6.—The sixth conference took place this morning. The amended draft of a Commercial Treaty, to all appearance agreed upon on both sides, was read. The following is a translation. Notwithstanding the prolixity and amplification with which some of its provisions are worded, I made no hesitation in assenting to it in its present form, imagining that this compliance would obviate some difficulties.

"*Article* 1.—Peace being made between the great country governed by the English Ruler, the India Company Baren, and the great country of Ra-ta-nā-pū-ra, which rules over Thu-na-para, Tampa-di-pa, and many other great countries; when merchants, with an English certified pass, from the country of the English Ruler, and merchants from the kingdom of Burma, pass from one country to the other, selling and buying merchandise, the sentinels at the passes and entrances, the established gate-keepers of the country, shall make inquiry as usual, but without demanding any money; and all merchants coming truly for the purpose of trade, with merchandise, shall be suffered to pass without hinderance or molestation. The Governments of both countries also shall permit ships with cargoes to enter ports, and carry on trade, giving them the utmost protection and security.

"*Art.* 2.—The transportation of gold and silver from one country to the other shall not be prohibited, nor shall duties be taken on those articles. In regard to this subject, when goods are imported from one country to another, they are to be sold for gold and silver, or exchanged for other goods. The exportation of gold and silver from the Burman kingdom has indeed been hitherto prohibited; but in consideration of the friendship subsisting

between the English and Burman Governments, it is agreed, that when merchants, with an English certified pass, arrive at Burman ports for the purpose of trade, they shall be allowed to sell their goods, after paying the customary duties, and take away the gold and silver received in payment, as well as other gold and silver, duty free; or, if they prefer it, such merchandise as they may receive in exchange for their own goods. Burmese merchants also, arriving in English ports for the purpose of trade, shall be in like manner allowed to sell their goods after paying the customary duties, and take away the gold and silver, duty free; or, if they prefer it, such piece-goods, rarities, and articles of use as they may require.

"*Art.* 3.—Ships whose breadth of beam in the inside (opening of the hold) is eight royal Burman cubits, and all ships of smaller size, whether merchants from the Burmese country entering an English port under the Burman flag, or merchants from the English country with an English certified pass, entering a Burmese port under the English flag, shall be subject to no other demand beside the payment of duties, and ten ticals twenty-five per cent. (ten rupees) for a Police passport on leaving. Nor shall pilotage be demanded, unless the master voluntarily require a pilot. However, when ships arrive, information shall be given to the officer stationed at 'the entrance of the sea.' In regard to vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight royal cubits, they shall be treated according to the ninth article of the Treaty of Yandabo.

"*Art.* 4—English and Burmese merchants, passing from one country to the other and residing, shall, on desiring to return to their own country, be allowed to do so. They shall not be hindered from going to whatever country, and by whatever vessel they may desire. They shall also be allowed to sell their goods and property, and take away the value, together with property unsold, wife, sons and daughters, without molestation.

"*Art.* 5.—English and Burmese vessels meeting with contrary winds, or sustaining damage in masts, rigging, &c. or suffering shipwreck on the shore, shall, according to the laws of charity, receive all possible assist-

ance; and whatever property may remain, in case of shipwreck, shall be restored to the owner."

The whole of this treaty was agreed to, with the exception of the second article, regarding which the following conversation took place:—

B. We wish again to call your attention to the necessity of our annexing to the second article the clause respecting fire-arms and ammunition.

E. This, as I stated to you yesterday, is wholly inadmissible. Fire-arms, I repeat, are not an article of merchandise. You have yourselves often insisted upon striking out every thing that was not so. The condition is not mutual. You would insist upon our selling you fire-arms and ammunition, and in your country you prohibit us and all the world from dealing in these articles.

B. As you reject our proposal on the plea of fire-arms and ammunition not being articles of commerce, we must reject the clause respecting the free exportation of gold and silver, as this also is not of a commercial nature.—*E.* Very well. Is the treaty then, in other respects, to be considered as settled?

B. We wish to take the draft with us, and consider it further. The whole matter will be finally arranged in three days.—*E.* I assent to this.

B. You observed yesterday, that you would report "truly" to your Government what might be stated by us in regard to our request for the restoration of the ceded provinces, and said, that if we could prove our inability to pay the third instalment when it became due, you would take it upon yourself to postpone the period of payment. We have now to state, that the country has been in a state of war for three or four years, that our treasury is exhausted, and that no revenue has been collected for a long time from the people.

E. In regard to the postponement of the money payment, you will recollect that my promise was made on the condition of your executing the Commercial Treaty according to the draft, to all appearance agreed upon at

the last meeting. My chief business here was the execution of a commercial treaty, and until this be done in the manner which I have a right to expect, I must decline entering upon other matters of this description. You will not allow the free exportation of gold and silver, although you engaged by treaty at Yandabo, that our trade should suffer no "molestation or hinderance" at your ports which yours did not suffer at ours. If a British merchant receives gold and silver in your country for the goods which he imports, and you prevent him from taking them away, is not this a hinderance and molestation to free trade of the most obvious nature. It is an infringement of the treaty made at Yandabo, and might authorize me to write to Sir A. Campbell to detain the army, as it was there agreed that the trade should be put on the same footing on both sides, that a commercial treaty should be made, and that our troops should not be removed until all the articles of the treaty, as well as the payment of the second instalment, should be fulfilled.

B. In what have we infringed the treaty?—*E.* I have just explained that you have refused to execute such a commercial arrangement as had been promised in the Treaty of Yandabo, and the conferences which preceded it. The day before yesterday you solicited from the British Government favours of the first magnitude,—nothing less than the restoration of eight provinces, and the remission of a debt of fifty lacs of rupees. To-day you refuse us a matter of right, what had already been provided for.

B. As you refuse to proceed to other matters before the execution of the commercial treaty, and as we must refer to our superiors, we wish to understand exactly how long you will postpone the period of paying the next instalments, provided the whole commercial treaty be acceded to on our part?—*E.* For a time sufficient to enable your Ambassadors to proceed to Bengal, and make your representations to the Governor-General. I cannot do more, and even this much I venture upon only from knowing the good disposition of the Governor-General towards you, and his unwillingness to distress you, should you be able to prove your inability to pay at the time appointed.

B. This is nothing at all. Since you say you have no powers, we will apply to the Governor-General himself. There is time enough for making application before the period of payment arrives.—*E.* The Governor-General is by this time six or seven hundred *taings* from Calcutta, and you will not reach where he is in one hundred and ten days. You could not also be relieved from paying at the time the money is due, merely on account of your proceeding to make an application for this favour.

B. We will of course pay as agreed upon.—*E.* The subject of Munnipore is unconnected with the matters just referred to, and I am now ready to discuss it with you.

B. We wish to postpone this subject for a day or two, as the map which we promised yesterday is not ready.—*E.* Yesterday you promised to bring the English letters, which arrived some time ago from Munnipore. Will you favour me with them now?

B. We prefer producing them at the next conference, along with the map and some other papers connected with Munnipore.

It was agreed that the next meeting should take place on the 8th instant, and the conference broke up.

Nov. 8.—I visited this morning the temple, which, for distinction, is denominated Kaong-m'hu-d'hau, or "the great act of royal merit," but more correctly Ra-ja-mani-su-la, a Pali or Sanscrit compound word. It lies south-west from Sagaing at the distance of about five miles, and about one mile beyond the manufactory of marble images. The building is a mass of solid brick and lime, and in shape resembles a dome and cupola rising from the ground. It is surrounded with a double wall and extensive area, the portion of the latter nearest to the temple being paved with large flags of sandstone. The body of the temple is immediately surrounded by a stockade composed of round pillars of sandstone, about five feet high. The whole, as usual, is crowned by an iron Ti, or umbrella, gilt. Towards the base of the building there are niches all round, occupied by sitting figures about three feet high, made of sandstone, and generally gilt, but in a very slovenly and

imperfect manner. These figures, which are one hundred and twenty in number, all represent the same personage, and this seemed to me to be the Indian divinity Vishnu. On the head there is a royal crown, in the right hand an expanded lotus flower, and in the left a triangular javelin. These images are represented by the Burmans as mere guardians of the temple. All the Hindoo deities, indeed, are represented by them, and, I believe, by other followers of Gautama, as no better than Nats, a species of beings of another but superior state of existence to ours, subject, nevertheless, to change, to calamity, and to death. Some are of a malignant, and some of a beneficent nature. It is to these that the protection of temples is entrusted. Sometimes they are represented in the form of human beings, and at others in that of beasts or birds. In a small temple on the eastern side of the great pagoda, there is a gilt statue of Gautama in sandstone, the only representation of him to be seen at the temple.

The "slaves" of the Pagoda, who were our guides, gave the following as its dimensions. It is one hundred and one royal cubits high,* or one hundred and sixty feet nine inches; and six hundred cubits, or about three hundred and eighteen yards round at the base. The Ti, or umbrella, is fifteen cubits high, and ten in diameter at the base. The number of pillars composing the stockade is eight hundred and two. A small temple within the area was pointed out to us, which contained a fine and perfect slab of white marble, covered with Pali writing on both sides, perfectly distinct and legible. Our guides explained to us the most material part of the inscription, which they seemed to read with tolerable ease. It states that the temple was built and endowed by a king of Ava, named Tha-lwan, or Tha-lwan-men-dragyi. The date of the writing is, "Monday, the tenth day of the increase of the moon Tau-tha-len, in the year of the common era 998." This corresponds with the year of Christ 1626; so that the temple was but a hundred and ninety years old. This fabric is altogether a heavy and inelegant building without taste or just proportions, nor is the workmanship in any respect well

* A royal cubit measures exactly 19 inches and 1-tenth, English.

executed. Indeed, the temple, it may be said, has little to recommend it to notice, but its enormous bulk. The marble slab alone is perhaps an exception: it is well polished, and, where there is no writing, richly carved: its height above the ground is eight feet five inches; its breadth, five feet seven inches and a half; and it is rather more than eleven inches in thickness. Considering the expense lavished by the Burmans on royal and religious edifices, the abundance of fine white marble which the country affords, and that white is a favourite colour, it seems extraordinary that this material should not be in more general use. No edifice, as far as I had hitherto observed, was constructed of it, either in whole or part; no floors or terraces were formed of it; and with the exception of the statues of Gautama, a few small coarse pillars, and now and then a slab with an inscription, it was nowhere to be seen in a Burman building. The temple, as I have said, is close to the banks of a small picturesque lake about two miles long, and half as broad. A little to the north-west of this, is a much more considerable sheet of water, which is reckoned to be twelve miles in length, by two in breadth. This last is called Ré-myak-gyi, or the "lake abounding with grass." Both of them afford fisheries of some value.

In going out this morning we met a number of carts, each drawn by four bullocks, and carrying a load of salt of 300 viss (1095 lbs.) each: they had come from the distance of Ti-tug, which lies about twenty miles to the north of Sagaing, and in the neighbourhood of which is produced a large quantity of the salt consumed at the capital. This is obtained by lixiviating and boiling the earth, which is strongly impregnated with salt at Ti-tug and many other situations in the neighbourhood.

The conferences were renewed at one o'clock. The Burman negotiators began by producing a Burman draft of the Commercial Treaty, with a few verbal alterations, leaving a blank for the second article, concerning the free exportation of gold and silver. In reading the article respecting shipwrecks, &c. the following conversation took place:—

B. With reference to the subject of assistance being afforded in case of

shipwreck, we wish to know what assistance will in such case be required, and whether we incur any responsibility?—*E.* We only expect such assistance as one friend would render to another in distress. You will incur no responsibility beyond what is implied in the necessity of your rendering such assistance as it may be in your power to afford.

B. Will the expenses attending such assistance be repaid?—*E.* Those who ask for assistance, or stand in need of it, will of course pay the necessary expenses.

After the perusal of the fourth article, the following observations were made:—

B. We object to your amendment, proposing to extend the privileges of this article to the "country people of India," as well as to English merchants?—*E.* Our Indian subjects must be included. In such cases, we cannot legislate for the few, and exclude the bulk of our subjects.

B. We cannot admit of this privilege extending to the natives of India; and the article must be struck out, if you insist upon it.—*E.* Very well. Then the negotiation of this treaty is now at an end. The treaty, as it now stands, consists of three articles of no great moment. Is this treaty such an one as you promised to make at Yandabo?

B. Yes it is. In what is it wanting?—*E.* You engaged that there should be no "molestation or hinderance," and the trade will now be overwhelmed with all sorts of "molestations and hinderances."

B. Do you approve of the three articles of the treaty that now remain?—*E.* Yes, I accept of them as the treaty which you are pleased to grant, but it is not such an one as is provided for in the Convention of Yandabo.

B. Are these three articles conformable to the Treaty of Yandabo?—*E.* The articles are well enough, as far as they go; but they do not fulfil the stipulations and promises made at Yandabo.

B. If this treaty be incomplete, what do you want?—*E.* I want nothing more than the insertion of the second and fourth articles, with the corrections I proposed.

B. There is little difference between us in the fourth article, and it amounts to this only,—whether it shall include a part or the whole of your subjects. With regard to permitting the families of merchants to quit the country along with them, can this be said to be of a commercial nature? —*E.* If a merchant come into the country for a temporary residence, as allowed in the first article of the treaty, and shall have a wife and children, is it not a grievous molestation and hindrance to prevent him from taking his wife and children along with him when he quits it.

B. Agreeably to the seventh article of the Yandabo Treaty, on the payment of the second instalment the troops were to evacuate Rangoon: how is it, then, that they still remain there?—*E.* You were to have completed the payment of the second instalment on the 4th of June. You infringed the treaty by delaying the period of payment for three months beyond that time. This was the case when I left Rangoon, and I do not know how much longer you may not have done so since. We have surely a good right to prolong the period of our departure an equal time. This is the right by which we now stay. We shall not stay one day longer than you have exceeded the time in which you were bound to have made good the payment of the second instalment.

B. The Wungyi and Wundauk, the commissioners at Rangoon, have officially reported to the King that the whole money had arrived at Rangoon within the hundred days, and that much time was spent in smelting, weighing, and paying it.—*E.* The treaty says, that the money is to be paid to us in one hundred days, and not that it shall arrive at Rangoon within that time. So far the treaty was infringed; but I have farther to observe, that if the Wungyi and Wundauk reported that the whole of the twenty-five lacs of rupees, or even the greater part of it, had arrived at Rangoon, within the specified time, they deceived his Majesty. I was myself at Rangoon, and saw money repeatedly arrive, which was paid over to us, and some, even as late as twenty days before my leaving that place. We were most anxious to go away, and this will appear obvious to yourselves from the following

statement. We were not obliged to leave the country for a hundred days from the date of the Treaty of Yandabo, and your payment of the second instalment. Notwithstanding this, the greater portion of the troops were immediately embarked, without even landing at Rangoon. Transports had arrived at Rangoon for the whole army, long before the hundred days had expired; but seeing that there was no prospect of your paying within the time stipulated, we were compelled to send them back, and they had not all returned when I left. This has put us to an expense of several lacs of rupees, which would have been saved had you been more punctual. The Wundauk, and those who were acting with him, were repeatedly urged to complete the payment; but down to the period of my leaving Rangoon, as I have already mentioned, it had not been completed.

B. You have given no answer to what we said respecting the difficulty of paying and counting.—*E.* The paying and counting was all your affair, not ours. A hundred days were allowed to you for paying and counting. What would you say to a private individual who owed a debt payable in one hundred days and did not pay for one hundred and ninety, alleging as a pretext the difficulty of counting and weighing?

B. When will your troops quit Rangoon?—*E.* All I can say on the subject is, that if the second instalment was completed the day after I left Rangoon, which could not have been, our troops would certainly quit it in three months from that time, and probably much earlier.

B. Granting, then, that we have exceeded in the period of payment, will you not write down now to request that the troops may be removed immediately from Rangoon, provided we accede to such a treaty as you require?—*E.* As soon as the treaty corrected by me this morning, and especially the second and fourth articles are signed, ratified, and delivered to me, I will write to Sir A. Campbell, stating that every thing has been settled here in conformity to the Treaty of Yandabo, and in a friendly manner; that Rangoon should be delivered to the Wungyi, and the troops embarked,

without any regard to the time by which the Burmese Government may have exceeded the period of liquidation of the second instalment.

B. There is good sense in this answer. We are worthy of each other, and there are now clear indications that there will be a lasting friendship between us. Will you not grant us some more favours in return for any concession we may make on our part?—*E.* What I promised at a former meeting I pledge myself to perform. I will postpone the period of the payment of the third instalment to one year, provided that the signing of the Commercial Treaty be not deferred to a later date than the 15th instant.

B. Will you not also put off the fourth instalment to a similar period?—*E.* I have already taken a heavy responsibility on myself and cannot promise any farther postponement of payment. The payment of the fourth instalment must stand as in the Treaty of Yandabo. It can serve no useful purpose to postpone it just now.

B. When the King asks us what you mean by saying you will report "well," as your expression was translated to us, what reply shall we make?—*E.* Be so good as to say distinctly that what I have stated is, that I will report truly and faithfully what you have requested, and all that has transpired between us. To decide, rests with my superiors: I will say nothing that will embarrass them. What would you say to a Burman ambassador, sent to a foreign country, who pledged himself to "report favourably"—for this is what you mean—on proposals made by a foreign Government of which his own knew nothing?

B. We wish you to report in a friendly manner concerning our proposal.

E. I will lay a true report before my Government, and this is all you have a right to expect. I never make promises where I have not power to perform, and where every thing rests with higher authority.

B. We are aware that you will not say what will not be done, and this is the reason we wish for a pledge from you.

E. I will not pledge nor promise any thing on the subject of your proposals. The Governor-General alone will determine upon them.

The conference ended at a late hour, and the Burmese negotiators retired, to all appearance well satisfied.

Nov. 9.—I rode out this morning with Mr. Chester six miles on the Monchabo road, passing all the way between the two ranges of hills composing the Sagaing chain. The limit of our excursion was a small lake at the foot of the hills called Re-ka, pronounced Ye-ga, or the "bitter water." In the lower range of hills, about half a mile before coming to the lake, are several small quarries, which have afforded the sandstone that is used for flags in laying pavements, and occasionally in building, at Ava and Sagaing. The Re-ka lake appeared, and the villagers represented that the water did not fall much below its present level, about three quarters of a mile long, and half a mile broad. Cliffs of blue limestone formed its banks in several places. The water was a salt brine, but by no means a strong one: it contained, however, a sufficient quantity of the muriate of soda to afford common salt for culinary purposes. At each end of it there are two villages, the inhabitants of which are wholly occupied in the manufacture of this article. The following is the mode of preparing it. The soil on the borders of the lake is scraped together, and conveyed in carts to the villages: it is there placed in large square troughs raised on posts, the bottoms of which are lined with straw laid over a few cross sticks. Underneath the troughs, and attached to either side, are two frames of bamboo and straw, which meet at the bottom, acting as a kind of funnel. Over the earth, placed in the troughs, there is poured a quantity of water, obtained either from the lake or from wells close to the manufacture, but, I think, most generally from the latter. We tasted the water from the wells, which was brackish, but a still weaker brine than that of the lake. The brine falling down from the troughs is farther strained and purified by passing through the straw frames, from whence it is conveyed to pots, and boiled without undergoing any farther purification. Ten baskets of earth, or 1095 lbs. give, according to the statement of the manufacturers, from ten to fifteen viss of salt, each viss of 3.65 lbs. The salt thus obtained appears to be the worst which is

brought to the market of Ava, and, it is probable, contains much sulphate of lime and other septic salts. When sea-salt, procured also by boiling, sells in the market for eighteen ticals per hundred viss, or 365 lbs. and the salt of Ti-tug for twelve, that of the Re-ka lake sells only for six. The inhabitants of the village which we visited informed us, that the rainy season was very mild, and that, with the exception of about fifteen days, they were able to carry on the manufacture throughout the year. They told us also, that this lake was the only one from which salt is procured; but that at several places in the neighbourhood it was obtained by lixiviating and boiling the earth in the same manner as at Ti-tug and its vicinity. The revenue of this village, and indeed of the whole district of Sagaing, is assigned to the young Princess, the only child of the King and Queen. The amount paid by each family of the salt manufacturers is two ticals and a half of flowered silver, besides *corvées* and personal services.

The portion of the Sagaing range of hills which is composed of granular limestone, or marble, is steep, craggy, and with a very scanty vegetation. Proceeding northward, the range is lower, less steep, and the blue limestone is much decomposed. The hills are here covered with a tolerably thick brushwood, and cultivation then commences for the first time, in a narrow valley extending nearly to the salt lake: it consists of cotton and millet in the dry lands, and in the lower parts of rice: the crops appeared very thriving.

We had the pleasure to receive this evening a large packet with newspapers, public dispatches, and private letters from our friends at Rangoon, India, and England. This was the first communication that we had had from Rangoon after a stay of near six weeks. The opportunity was purely accidental; and for the security of the packet, Sir A. Campbell had found it necessary to send a party of Sepoys in charge of it. The bare sight of letters, especially those of strangers, excites the utmost suspicion in the minds of the officers of the Burman Government: they cannot resist the temptation of intercepting them, and they never make the least scruple of breaking open seals.

Nov. 10.—The conferences were renewed at one o'clock to-day, and began with the question of Munnipore. The Burman negotiators laid on the table a map exhibiting the frontier between Munnipore and the Burman territory according to their own views. In the course of the conference, maps of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, and Martaban, were also produced: these were all of great size, painted on cloth, and as rude as possible. The maps of the southern provinces were all old, but that of the Munnipore frontier had every appearance of being recently prepared, and, I have little doubt, was fabricated to answer the particular object they had in view,—that of claiming a large portion of the principality of Munnipore. These documents made the Burman frontier extend nearly to the walls of the Cassay capital. The negotiators then read a statement exhibiting that Gumbheer Singh had, since the termination of the war, appropriated certain districts belonging to the Burman Government, and that British officers were present at Munnipore countenancing his proceedings. This was followed by a very long paper giving a mythological account of the origin of the Burman Empire, and proving "by divine right" the claims of the King of Ava to certain townships on the Munnipore frontier. It was too long, and the language too obsolete to be comprehended by the interpreters without being leisurely studied.

E. You are aware that I possess no authority to decide upon, and that I have no means of ascertaining, the respective claims to territory of the Sovereign of Munnipore and the Burman Government. I beg you, therefore, to furnish me with a copy of the paper just read, of the map which you have produced, as well as of any other documents connected with your claims, that I may be able to lay the matter fairly before the Governor-General.—*B.* We will furnish you with the documents you require. It is well that the matter be discussed in Bengal; but in the meanwhile what is to be done, as the two parties are in actual collision?

E. Do you mean to state that actual hostilities are committing on the

frontier, between yourselves and Gumbheer Singh?—*B.* We do not mean to say the parties are actually fighting; but our people have been so much harassed, that they have retired to prevent hostilities.

E. At the conclusion of the war, Gumbheer Singh was positively enjoined to forbear from all hostilities towards your Government. If any dispute respecting boundaries arise, the natural course to pursue is, that each party should maintain what it was in actual possession of at the termination of the war, until the respective limits of their territories shall be defined by an amicable arrangement. I will discuss any fair proposal which you may have to offer for adjusting the frontier between yourselves and Cassay.—*B.* We wish that you would give orders to Gumbheer Singh, to refrain from all aggression upon our territory, until we have an opportunity of representing the matter by means of our Ambassadors in Bengal.

E. If you wish that I should direct that Gumbheer Singh be not permitted to make any aggression on your territories, and that any dispute shall be settled by the Government of India, through your Ambassadors, I will write immediately to the British Commissioner at Sylhet by way of Munnipore, and request him to give Gumbheer Singh positive orders to remain quietly within his own possessions, pending a reference to the Governor-General.—*B.* This is all very well, but Gumbheer Singh has made aggressions since hearing of the peace, and we wish him to fall back to the position he held when he heard of the cessation of hostilities.

E. If Gumbheer Singh has been advancing since the termination of the war, he will be directed to fall back to the posts which he occupied at the time the news of peace reached him.—*B.* It would be agreeable to us, if you would also write to Gumbheer Singh, as well as to the Commissioner.

E. I will write also to Gumbheer Singh.—*B.* As our forces are not permitted to occupy any part of the kingdom of Munnipore, we wish that your troops and officers should also be removed according to the Treaty of Yandabo.

E. You state that by the Treaty of Yandabo British officers and troops are not to remain at Munnipore: I ask, by what article of the treaty are they precluded from doing so?—*B.* Is it in the treaty that they shall stay there?

E. It is not in the treaty that they shall stay, neither is it in the treaty that officers and troops shall occupy Cachar and Assam, or any other country not dependent on the Burmese Government, but still they may do so without any infringement of treaty. It is specified in the treaty, that you shall not interfere in the affairs of Munnipore; but such is not the case with us. You must therefore state your request upon some other grounds, as you have no claims by the Treaty of Yandabo.—*B.* If your officers are present with Gumbheer Singh, this will make him presumptuous. He will appear to be countenanced by you.

E. This is altogether a different ground; but you cannot say that our troops are precluded by treaty from remaining in the Cassay territory. The real state of the case is this:—The troops to which you allude are not British troops, but belong to Gumbheer Singh. During the war, the British Government paid him a subsidy for maintaining the troops in question, and lent him two British officers to discipline them. Since the conclusion of peace, Gumbheer Singh has been informed, that the subsidy is discontinued, and that he must carry on the affairs of his Government at his own expense and risk. —*B.* That Gumbheer Singh may not presume on the support of the British Government, and conduct himself with insolence towards us, we wish that the officers in question may be recalled, lest another war should be occasioned by it. The King will endure a good deal from the English; but not from Gumbheer Singh, or any "Black Kula."*

E. The British Government have no intention whatever of occupying Munnipore themselves, and they will certainly not give assistance in men, money, or advice to Gumbheer Singh, to your prejudice. I cannot order the removal of the British officers from Munnipore, but will request the

* This term is most commonly applied to the Hindus.

Governor-General to recall them, that you may have no cause of complaint.—*B.* When you say that you will communicate with Gumbheer Singh on these points, do you mean that you will send letters by your own people or ours?

E. I will send letters by an officer of our party, if you choose. After he has executed his commission, he will proceed to Bengal through Akobat and Assam. Gumbheer Singh states, that certain portions of his country are now occupied by the Burmese; and you, on the other hand, state, that large districts belonging to you are forcibly occupied by him. Do you wish that an arbitration should be made by the Governor-General, or that the matter be decided by commissioners nominated by you and us. —*B.* We wish to let the matter remain as you have now stated it; that is, that both parties should refrain from aggression.—*E.* As by the Treaty of Yandabo, Gumbheer Singh is admitted by you to be independent, it will be proper that some principle should be assumed for defining the boundaries of territory between you.

B. We are willing that that affair should be settled by our ambassadors at Bengal.

The Burman negotiators now read a document respecting the boundary of the Saluen River.

E. I have already a copy of the paper just read, which was given to me by yourselves confidentially, and will give you a deliberate written reply to it at our next conference, when the subject may undergo such farther discussion as you may be disposed to enter into.

The Burman commissioners placed on the table maps of Martaban, Yé-Tavoy, and Mergui, and were anxious to enter upon the subject of the Martaban frontier, which I declined.

The subject of the Commercial Treaty was then introduced.

B. In the fourth article it was your wish, that all merchants, subjects of the British Government, as well as Englishmen, should be included. Are you satisfied to let that article refer to Englishmen only?—*E.* I wish it to include all British subjects whatever.

B. Since that is your wish, we will insert "all persons being subjects of the British Government."—*E.* This is all I desire, and I am obliged to you for the liberal manner in which you have conceded this point.

B. According to the arrangement made at the last meeting, we have made the necessary alteration in the fourth article, and hand you a copy so corrected. As we have now granted you "whatever you wished," we request that you will not only put off the payment of the third instalment, but of the fourth also for a similar period, as, unless this be done, the times of payment will come close upon each other.—*E.* My engagement with you was to request Sir A. Campbell to move the troops from Rangoon, without consideration to the time by which you may have exceeded the period of paying the second instalment, and to put off the period of paying the third instalment for one year from the date of the treaty to be concluded between us, provided you granted a treaty conformable to the stipulations made at Yandabo.

B. Do you mean that the inclusion of the second article, providing for the free exportation of gold and silver, is necessary to fulfil our agreement with you?—*E.* Certainly. I was most particular at our last conference in impressing that point upon you, and you seemed then clearly to understand it.

B. We could wish that, in presenting this treaty to the King, we might be able to say, that the difficulties with regard to the fourth instalment were also removed in a similar manner to the third.—*E.* I believe you may safely trust to the generosity of the Governor-General. I will write on the subject, and recommend it.

B. Could you not put off the third payment for one year from the period it is due?—*E.* As you are so very urgent, I will take upon myself the responsibility of meeting your wishes, by putting off the payment of the third instalment for one year, from the 15th November, 1826; and the fourth also for a year, or until the 15th November, 1828. A regular instrument must be drawn up requiring the payments within those periods.—*B.* We agree to this.—*E.* You, of course, understand that this is conditional upon your granting the Commercial Treaty in the shape I want it?

B. We understand this perfectly. Will you not make the time from the 24th of February, as in the Yandabo Treaty?—*E.* I will not. I cannot go a step farther than I have now done.

B. We request that the next meeting may not take place to-morrow, but the following day.—*E.* I assent to this. You promised at one of our last meetings to deliver to me certain intercepted letters from Munnipore.

A private letter was here delivered by the Burman Commissioners from Lieutenant Gordon, of Gumbheer Singh's levy, to the address of "Lieutenant Chester, assistant to the Envoy at Ava," dated the 7th September. The letter was stated by the writer of it to be sent open.

E. I request you will have the goodness to hand me also the letter from Captain Grant, delivered to your two messengers who went from Yandabo.—*B.* We have it not here, but we will look out for it.

The letter delivered to me upon this occasion, was a familiar epistle from one officer to another, and touched upon no public question. The writer, however, spoke in praise of the climate and country of Munnipore. This was high treason in the eyes of the Burmans, who construed his approbation of these into a desire upon the part of the English Government to stay in the country and occupy it. It appears that this letter reached Ava some days after our own arrival. Both in regard to it, and the public letter from Captain Grant, Dr. Price and Mr. Lanciego had entreated the Burman officers not to peruse or intercept them; but it was to no purpose. The temptation was irresistible; and the Wungyis thought they would not be discharging their duty if they did not make the best of them, since they were in their power.

CHAPTER VIII.

Excursion to the Sagaing Hills.—Description of Temples and Monasteries upon them.—Conference.—Offence given by the Soldiers of the Escort to the King.—Burman Government hints at its desire to send an Embassy to England.—Character of a Burmese Courtier.—Description of a Temple constructed by the late King of Ava, and its history.—Conference.—Leave given to Botanize in the neighbouring Mountains.—King incensed at his Courtiers, on hearing the result of the Negotiation.—Another Conference.

Nov. 12.—Dr. Wallich and I ascended, this morning, one of the highest parts of the Sagaing range of mountains. The top of the hill, which we reached, contains the Temple of Paung-nya, and is certainly not less than five hundred feet above the level of the Irawadi. From this spot we had a noble prospect, embracing many reaches of the river, the towns of Amarapura, Ava, and Sagaing. On both sides of the Irawadi there are a number of lakes, which we had not observed before. The numerous temples formed a remarkable feature of the landscape. On the Sagaing side alone I counted about two hundred, without being able to enumerate those on the northern part of the range which were concealed from view. This enumeration also excludes all the monasteries and zeyats, a kind of caravanseras, which are not only used for the accommodation of travellers, but also occasionally for religious purposes, such as preaching and disputations. In the dells and ravines of the range of hills, in very romantic and pretty situations, are to be found a great many Kyaungs, or monasteries. These secluded situations are chosen by the priests as favourable to study and meditation; but we saw several extensive ones which had been abandoned, and were told that this was in consequence of the numerous gangs of robbers that haunted

the place; and who, from all accounts, were not disposed to respect even the sacred character of the Rahans.

The view of the Sagaing hills themselves, as they are approached, is striking. Almost every remarkable peak is crowned with a temple, some ancient and mouldering, but the greater number in a state of repair and whitewashed. To a good number of these, the ascent from the very bottom of the hills is by a flight of stairs of solid masonry, with a wall on each side, to serve the purpose of a ballustrade. These are but clumsily constructed; but, being whitewashed, this and their immense extent give them a very remarkable appearance.

On the terrace, which contains the Temple of Paung-nya, we found an inscription on a handsome slab of sandstone, in very good order. The writing is in the ancient character; but the language is Burman, with a little intermixture of Pali. My Burman interpreter, with some assistance from a priest, who happened to be at hand, interpreted it without much difficulty. It purported, that the temple was built in the year of the Burman vulgar era 674, or five hundred and fourteen years ago, by Paung-nya, a nobleman of the Court of Si-ha-Su, King of Ava, and that he endowed it with one hundred Pés of land. No mention is made of slaves, for these could only be given by the sovereign. On the terrace there has been recently collected a large quantity of hewn sandstone, for the purpose of building a "throne," as it is called by the Burmans, for an image of Gautama. This pious work had been undertaken by the Atwen-wun Maung-kyan-nyin-ra, one of the Ministers. This stone, and much of what is used for similar work, is brought from the neighbourhood of Pugan-gyi. It is soft and easily worked, which is probably the chief motive with the Burmans for employing it. We observed that a small temple close at hand, and containing a large image of Gautama, had been recently undermined by thieves in search of the small silver images and other relics and representations of that divinity, which are always deposited in Budd'hist temples. There is no crime more frequent amongst the Burmans, notwithstanding their piety, than sacrilege, although it is punishable

with death, and generally a cruel one. Robbery, indeed, in every form, is a frequent crime in the Burman as in all other ill-governed countries. A few nights ago, the widow of an ex-governor of Sagaing had her house, within the walls of the town, broke into, and property carried off to the value of twenty thousand ticals, by a gang of fifty persons. Some of the robbers were apprehended, and the affair was in course of investigation.

The conferences were renewed about one o'clock, and began as follows:—

B. We have come here to negotiate on the part of our King, and you on the part of the Governor-General. It is not the private business of either party that we are engaged in; it is proper, therefore, that nothing superfluous should be advanced. We will deliver to you a paper containing these sentiments before the close of the conference.

The paper was duly delivered as promised, and the following is a literal translation:—

"The Envoy Crawfurd is a distinguished, wise, and prudent man, selected by the English Ruler. He has come to the Royal country in the capacity of Ambassador. We also are persons trusted and favoured by the Rising Sun Monarch; and we are selected and appointed by his Majesty, to discuss whatever is to be discussed. The discussions relate not to the personal affairs of the Envoy Crawfurd, the affairs of his children, or of his wife. We also speak not of our personal affairs, the affairs of our children, or of our wives. It is *our* business to please the golden heart of the Rising Sun Monarch, and *his* to please the heart of the English Ruler; and thus we are to have regard to the good of both parties. It is proper to bear in mind, that the way to preserve peace between the two great countries, is to keep in view the welfare of both countries and sovereigns, and so to manage the discussion, that there may be no excess, but straightness and right."

E. The sentiments you have now expressed are self-evident, and I agree with you, that they ought to be strictly conformed to. Each party is answerable to his own Government for what he says and does. Will you have

the goodness to proceed to such business as you may think proper to introduce?

The Burman commissioners here produced a note, laying claim to the districts of Martaban, on the east bank of the Saluen river.

E. You delivered a note to me at our last meeting on the subject of boundary, to which you requested an answer. This answer is now in course of translation, and you will receive it in a few minutes. The Burman note here alluded to was as follows:—"That war between the two great countries might cease, a treaty was made at Yandabo. Of the third and fourth articles of that treaty, the fourth article says, that Ye, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, with their territories, mountains, and islands, are given up; that the Saluen river shall be the boundary; and that hereafter, if disputes shall arise concerning the boundary, they shall be settled as above-said, that is, according to the third article. It is not contained in the treaty, that any part of the territory under the jurisdiction of the city of Martaban shall be taken. We desire, therefore, to know why English officers are settled at Mau-la-myaing, one of the thirty-two townships under the jurisdiction of Martaban?"

Mr. Judson arrived with the translation of my note, which, as well as the English original, was put into the hands of the Atwen-wuns, and read aloud by one of the Than-d'hau-thans. It was as follows:—

"I submit to you, in conformity to my promise, a reply to the note given in by you respecting the Saluen river. You desire to be informed why British troops had established themselves at Molameng, on the eastern bank of the Saluen. I answer, because Mau-la-myaing is part of the territory ceded by his Burman Majesty to the British Government, by the fourth article of the Treaty of Yandabo. In that article it is distinctly said that the Saluen shall be the boundary, or, as it is expressed in the Burman version, that it shall be 'the partition' between us. In your note to me you repeat the same words yourselves. Nothing surely can be meant by an expression so unequivocal, but that the territory which is on one side

of the river in question shall belong to you, and that which is on the other shall belong to us. Had the boundary of the Saluen river been *inadvertently* admitted into the treaty by the Burman commissioners, and had that document been signed and sealed by them, ignorant of the extent of the cession which they were making, the British Government would not be wanting in a disposition to reconsider the question. But no plea of this nature can be urged on your part, as the following explanation will clearly show. Between the provinces of Yé and Martaban there exists no well-defined natural boundary. This appeared to the British commissioners at Yandabo a serious objection. They accordingly sought for the nearest good boundary to Yé that was attainable. Natives of the country were consulted, and they immediately pointed to the Saluen river. The British commissioners accordingly demanded that that river should be the boundary. A map of the country was produced, and explained, and the boundary of the Saluen clearly pointed out to the Burman commissioners. These officers, aware that the Saluen river ran through the province of Martaban, objected that the assumption of this line of boundary would amount to a cession of all that portion of Martaban which lay to the east of it. Ample explanations were given to them by the British commissioners, and the reasons fully explained why the Saluen was chosen to be the limit between the two countries. After these full explanations, and after having had a day and night to consider the subject, these commissioners deliberately signed the treaty. The Atwen-wun Men-gyi-maha-men-'hla-thi-ha-thu was one of the commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Yandabo, and who signed and sealed it. He is now also a negotiator; he is present here, and he knows all this. The teachers,* Judson and Price, acted as interpreters for the British and Burman commissioners. They are both here before us now, and will corroborate the statements which I make. I beg you therefore to interrogate them.

* The name given by the Burmese to the Christian missionaries, and the same which is often applied to their own priests.

"In your note you stated that no part of the province of Martaban is specified in the fourth article. When the treaty was made, neither the English nor the Burmese commissioners knew distinctly the townships of Martaban, which are on the east of the Saluen; and therefore, in order to comprise in one word all these townships, without specifying their names, they said, "Let the Saluen river be the partition between us;" thus fixing on the best, the most obvious, and the most definite boundary for the territories of the two Governments. You farther state, that it is provided in the fourth article, that should any disputes arise concerning boundary, they are to be determined by commissioners, according to ancient limits. When a large and well-known river is expressly stated to be the boundary, what disputes can possibly arise, except such as regard islands situated in the bed of such river, or some alteration in its course, or possible change of its name in particular situations. Should disputes on those points occur, they will, of course, be settled by commissioners, according to the ancient limits of the disputed places as provided for by treaty. It is my duty to inform you, that the construction put by you on the fourth article stands a chance of being viewed by the British Government not as the natural construction which the terms made use of will admit, but as one which appears adduced to create a difficulty. Until the third conference held with you on the 21st of October, I never heard a doubt expressed respecting the Saluen river being the true frontier between the two nations, or that what was upon one side was necessarily yours; what was on the other, ours. The officers of your Government, residing at Rangoon, who were well aware that we had formed a settlement beyond the Saluen, and who frequently discussed all other public questions with the British commissioners, never expressed a doubt upon this subject. At Henzada I had a long discussion with the Wungyi upon all the questions which concerned the immediate interests of the two countries; but neither did this officer insinuate any doubt concerning our right to the territory on

the eastern bank of the Saluen river. The doubt, therefore, was never hinted at till eight months after the signing of the treaty.

"In order that my sentiments on this question may not be misunderstood by the Burman Government, I deliver to you a copy of this note in the English and Burman languages, and under my hand and seal."

This note had been prepared with a view to translation into the Burman language, as may be seen from its style, and I have every reason to believe that the version of it made by Mr. Judson was able and perspicuous, for the Burman chiefs offered no objection to the language, and seemed to understand it clearly throughout. As soon as it was read, the senior Atwen-wun said to his companion, evidently for the purpose of being repeated to me, "There is nothing in this; I will soon refute what he has said;" literally, "rub it out." "He has given his opinion under his signature and seal, as if it were conclusive. We have also our opinion, and who is to decide between us?"

The following conversation took place on the subject:—

B. Do you mean to state that the ancient limits alluded to by you in this paper refer to the islands and the course of the river? *E.* Most certainly, and to no other.

B. Do they not rather refer to the towns and places named in the treaty? *E.* It is particularly declared in the treaty that the partition or boundary between us shall be the Saluen river.

B. It is true that the Saluen river is mentioned in the treaty, but you have not explained the point which provides that in the event of any disputes regarding boundaries, reference should be made to ancient limits as in the third article. *E.* That is answered in the paper which I have given in.

B. The Saluen river was fixed on at Yandabo to constitute the boundary of the districts actually named in the treaty according to the information possessed by both parties at the time. *E.* The British commissioners were quite aware that by making the Saluen river the frontier, a portion of Martaban would be ceded, and explained this fully to the Burman com-

missioners, exhibiting to them maps of the country, and affording them every necessary explanation. The latter, as one of the negotiators now present well knows, read the treaty repeatedly over, and signed it, after having had twenty-four hours to consider it.

B. If the Saluen be the boundary, why is it stated in the treaty that commissioners should be appointed to settle the boundary?—*E.* The reason of this provision was plain and obvious, and I have already explained it in the paper given in. It was natural that disputes might arise respecting so great a river as the Saluen flowing through a champaign country, which has more than fifty islands in its bed, which is liable to change its course, and which may possibly be found to have different names as it passes through different districts.

B. Long words will bring on long discussions, and be hurtful to friendship.—*E.* This discussion was of your own seeking. I have done nothing more than reply to a paper which you gave in to me twice over, once confidentially and once publicly, and answering such questions as you have put to me. I am ready to furnish you with such explanations as I can, but I have no power to decide, as I have often said.

B. Will you, then, consent to withdraw the paper which you have just given in?—*E.* Certainly I will not. You called for a formal explanation from me, and I have mentioned only what appeared to me to be a plain statement of facts.

B. By bringing forward this point, we hope you do not imagine that we have any intention of infringing the treaty. We do not charge you with any such intention.—*E.* I suppose, of course, you have acted in conformity to the instructions you have received. The Saluen river was declared in the treaty to be the frontier of the two nations. After a full explanation having been given, you still claimed districts on both sides of that river. I was justified, therefore, in saying, that the interpretation put by you on the fourth article, had the appearance of arising in a desire to make difficulties where none existed.

The Burmese chiefs had now entirely altered their tone, and were in the utmost perplexity, scarcely knowing what to say; they appeared very desirous of dropping the subject. Notwithstanding the invitation given to them to take the evidence of Mr. Judson and Dr. Price, no question whatever was put to these gentlemen, nor was any attempt made to deny that ample explanation had been afforded by the British commissioners at Yandabo. Dr. Price, who sat next to them, reminded the Atwen-wun Maung-ba-youk, of the explanations which had been afforded to him at Yandabo. This person feigned, however, not to understand him, and turned away to avoid the subject. After we had got up from the table, I informed him through Doctor Price, that I was sorry to be obliged to bring forward facts that might be unpleasant to him, but that I was compelled to do so by themselves. The reply was, "It is best, after all, that the whole truth should be known." He had at all times scarcely spoken a word, when the subject of the Saluen frontier was introduced, and upon the present occasion his embarrassment and distress were such, that they appeared evident to every one present.

The paper respecting the Saluen frontier which was first tendered to me, was not again brought forward, nor was any use made of a great many maps which it was intended to produce. The Atwen-wuns delivered the following note:—

"In the statement which the Envoy Crawfurd has now made, it is implied that something has been said with a view to break the Treaty of Yandabo. Since it is said in the third and fourth articles of the treaty, that the Saluen river shall be the boundary; that if hereafter disputes shall arise about the boundary, persons appointed by the English and Burmese Governments shall decide correctly, according to ancient limits, and that the persons so appointed shall be officers of respectability and rank; it was in conformity to the treaty that we said, with a view to ancient limits, that it would be well to understand the territory of Yé, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, because now a part of the territory of Martaban is included. We

did not break the treaty in saying this. We spoke uprightly, and with a view to lasting peace."

On the 9th I received letters from Rangoon, stating that a balance was still due on the second instalment. I thought the present a proper opportunity for bringing forward the subject, and the following conversation ensued :—.

E. I have letters from Rangoon, stating that a balance of 142,682 rupees of the second instalment is still unpaid, or in dispute, between the British and Burman authorities.—*B.* You have stated to us, that if the five articles of the treaty were granted, you would write a letter to the English general, requesting that the troops might be removed without regard to the delay made in paying the second instalment. Do you mean to make this an objection to keeping your engagement? Our Wungyi states that the whole money has been paid.

E. It is a disputed account. I will not withdraw my promise, although I might be justified in doing so, as the payment of the whole money was a matter necessarily understood.

The Commercial Treaty was here again introduced.

E. In the last draft of the fourth article, there is a word substituted for that which was contained in the original draft, on which my engagement with you was made. This alters the whole sense of the Article, making it of no value whatever. I presume, this was a mistake; I beg you to correct it.

The two drafts were handed to the Burman commissioners, and the alteration, or, perhaps more justly, the forgery, was pointed out to them. In the original draft it was stated, that the families of British merchants should be allowed to quit the country along with them. In the altered draft, the words *to return,* were substituted for *to quit* the country. This would have rendered the condition perfectly nugatory, and left the Burman law practically as it stood before; for no families could leave the country except such as had come to it; and to the departure of such persons, no serious obstruction

had ever been opposed. At the last meeting the senior Atwen-wun, in order that it might not appear in evidence against him, used every effort short of pulling it out of Mr. Judson's hand, to gain possession of the original draft. Mr. Judson, from this anxiety, had a presentiment that there was something wrong, and declined giving it up. When the circumstance of the alteration was pointed out to the negotiators, they were evidently annoyed at having been detected; but pretended to consider the words as entirely synonymous. When urged, however, to make the necessary alteration, they declined it, saying it would be necessary to refer the matter to their superiors. I may, indeed, take this opportunity of mentioning, that nearly the whole negotiation had been hitherto conducted on their part under special and detailed instructions on each point from the Lut-d'hau. The Burman negotiators came daily with written instructions, and never decided upon any point, however trifling, without a reference. At the Lut-d'hau, Kaulen Mengyi seemed, from all I could understand, to have been the person who took the principal direction. He was the confidential agent of the Queen and her brother, and expressed no sentiments but what were theirs.

Nov. 14.—The Governor of Bassein and a Saré-d'haugyi called yesterday morning, and, in conversation with Mr. Judson, pretended to be very anxious to know when the Governor-General was likely to return from his journey to the upper provinces of Hindostan. They also said that his Majesty was desirous of sending ambassadors to the King of England, and wished to know whether the Governor-General would provide them with a free passage. I was not present when this conversation took place. Mr. Judson came to me in my room, and reported it to me; and I requested him to say, as from himself, in answer to the last subject, that his Majesty the King of England took no direct cognizance of the political affairs of India; and that if the Burman Government sent ambassadors to England, they must do so at their own cost. About one o'clock, the usual hour for the conferences, the Burman chiefs sent me a message, to request that I would excuse them from coming, as it was a great holiday. This,

however, was a mere pretext. They were aware of the holiday, and at the last conference had expressly said that they would come notwithstanding. The fact is, that the Government was perplexed and disappointed that it had gained none of the points which it had so unreasonably calculated upon, and that it was as yet quite unprepared to decide upon the propositions which had been made to it.

On the 10th instant, a circumstance took place, which in almost any other country would have been very immaterial, but which was here attended with unpleasant consequences to the Mission. His Majesty, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, is frequently in the habit of going abroad with little pomp or ceremony. On the occasion now alluded to, he was amusing himself on the river-side with an elephant fight. Four or five soldiers of the European escort happened about this time to cross the river, and passed by without noticing the King, or indeed being aware that he was present. This gave high offence. According to the Burmans, the soldiers ought to have squatted down,—thrown off their shoes, and held up their hands in an attitude of supplication. I was immediately waited upon by the chiefs to remonstrate upon the conduct of the soldiers, which was represented by them to be such as would have cost a Burman his head! I had the satisfaction to find, on inquiry, that the soldiers were not in the least to blame; and assured the chiefs, that had they been aware of his Majesty's presence, they would have conducted themselves with every possible respect towards him, and rendered him the same compliment as to their own sovereign. This assurance, however, fell far short of their expectations. I informed them, therefore, that the soldiers should not again be allowed to enter the town, to prevent the possibility of all misunderstanding on the subject. Independent of my assurance, however, they took effectual steps to prevent their doing so, by ordering the gates of the town to be closed whenever persons belonging to the Mission presented themselves. As an apology for this ungracious proceeding, the example of the Chinese embassy was quoted, no individual belonging to which, it was stated, and I believe correctly, was ever allowed to enter the walls of Ava.

The King was described to us as being in a high state of irritation,—going about with a spear in his hand, as is his custom on such occasions, and vowing destruction to his recreant Ministers, whom he charged with all kinds of offences. If I am rightly informed, his irritation arose from a different cause. Upon our first arrival, his Ministers appear to have deceived him with false hopes and expectations, by representing "that the British Mission was sent by the Governor-General to make submissions, and to atone for what had passed, by entering into arrangements for the restoration of the ceded provinces, and the remission of the debt due." There was a necessity for undeceiving his Majesty at last; and his coming to a knowledge of the real facts was, in all probability, the true cause of the displeasure which his Ministers feigned to attribute to the pretended disrespect of the European soldiers. I should have mentioned also, that offence was taken at the conduct of some of our native followers, and especially of the Lascars, or native seamen of the steam-vessel. The charge against them also was want of due respect when the King presented himself. It was stated that they did not throw themselves, as they should have done, into a crouching attitude; but stood on tiptoe, and stared—far too curiously!

The old Governor of Bassein called again in the evening, and was most anxious to exact from me, as he had often been before, a promise that I would speak "favourably" to the Governor-General respecting the restoration of the ceded provinces. They place implicit reliance upon assurance made to them by any European of character, and eagerly catch at the remotest hint of a promise; so that it became necessary to be extremely guarded in what was said to them. On their side, they are profuse of promises, which they unblushingly deny having ever made, when it suits their convenience. I am not quite sure that they respect us, as politicians at least, for adhering to our word, although they are loud enough in praise of our disposition to veracity. To tell the truth, is one of the five great commandments of their religion; but never was a precept more disregarded. They pride themselves, on the contrary, upon being cunning;

and ascribe much more discredit to being overreached, than to being convicted of the most flagitious falsehoods. Mr. Judson informed me, that when he was in prison, he overheard two chiefs, who were subjected to a temporary confinement for some peccadillo, discoursing together on *moral* subjects. The elder of the two asked the other if he knew the proper definition of an "upright man." The younger professed his ignorance; when the senior added, "Then I will tell you: an upright man is exactly the same thing as a witless man or a simpleton." Maongrit, the senior Atwen-wun, who gave in a formal note at the last conference, recommending to all parties loyalty, disinterestedness, and truth, was detected, in the course of the day, in what was little short of a forgery; and the following anecdote will prove with how ill a grace he appeared as the advocate of loyalty and disinterestedness:—As the British troops were advancing to Prome, he was entrusted, as a Privy Counsellor of the King, with putting that important post in a state of defence. He levied heavy contributions upon the inhabitants for this purpose, appropriated them all to his own use, neglected the fortifications, and Prome consequently fell without resistance into our hands. A superior officer, I believe the Prince of Sarawadi, discovered his notorious malversation and neglect of duty, degraded him from his office, forced him to refund, and placed him in two pair of fetters. In this state he continued for many months. He was at last restored to office through the influence of Kaulen Mengyi, and was now, of course, the devoted creature of this Minister.

Nov. 15.—Close to our dwelling there was the neatest temple which I had yet seen in the country. It was quite unique, being entirely built of hewn sandstone. The workmanship was neat, but the polished stone was most absurdly disfigured by being daubed over with whitewash. The temple itself is a solid structure, at the base of a square form, each face measuring about eighty-eight feet. It is surrounded by a court paved with large sandstone flags, and enclosed by a brick wall. At each corner of the area there is a large and handsome bell with an inscription. To the eastern

face of the temple there are two open wooden sheds, each supported by thirty-eight pillars. These were among the richest things of the kind that I had seen in the country. The pillars, the carved work, the ceiling, the eaves, and a great part of the outer roof, were one blaze of gilding. In one of them only there was a good marble image of Gautama, of which the annexed plate is a faithful representation. Buildings of this description are called by the Burmans *Za-yat*, or, in more correct orthography, Ja-rat. Some of these are attached to temples, but others are on the public road. Their purpose is both civil and religious. They constitute a kind of caravanseras, where travellers repose themselves. Votaries who repair to the temple to perform their devotions, use them as resting-places and refectories; and it is from them that the priests deliver their orations or discourses. On the west side of the temple there is a long, rudely constructed wooden shed, where are deposited the offerings made by the King and his family to the temple. These consist of two objects only, state palanquins and figures of elephants. The palanquins are the gifts of the late King's wives and concubines, bequeathed by the will of the deceased to the temple. It is among the superstitions of the royal family, that the houses and equipages of the individuals belonging to it cannot, as things too sacred, be used by others after their death. Their costly edifices are constantly allowed to go to decay, and their equipages are presented to the temples. The palanquins now alluded to are litters of immense size and weight, with two poles, and each requiring forty men to bear them. They are all richly gilt and carved, with a high wooden canopy over them. In each of those in the temple there was placed one or more large figures of Gautama or his disciples. The figures of elephants are about a foot and a half high, standing upon wooden pedestals. The material is wood gilt over, and the figure of the animal is very well preserved; for the Burmans pride themselves upon this, as we found when we submitted our drawings of the white elephant to them. These figures, which would be considered as good children's toys amongst us, are annually presented by the King, to the number, I believe,

IMAGE OF GAUTAMA ON HIS THRONE, FROM A TEMPLE AT SAGAING.

of four, and have increased now to a hundred and eighty, the accumulated donations of five-and-forty years. Why the gifts to this temple in particular consist of elephants, I was not able to learn. In another temple of Sagaing, which I visited a few days back, the greater number of the offerings consisted of small marble images of Buddha, not above fifteen inches high. Of these I counted not less than between three and four hundred.

On the river-face of the temple which I have now been describing, there are two large houses of brick and mortar of one story, with flat stone roofs, called Taik by the Burmans, and purporting to be in imitation of European dwellings. These are also considered Za-yats, or caravanseras. They are comfortless places as can be, the interior being so occupied with stone pillars that there is hardly room to move about. These two buildings were occupied by the Cochin Chinese Mission in 1821, and were proposed for our accommodation; but we declined them, chiefly on account of their dampness and want of light.

The guardian Nat of the temple now described, is Tha-kya-men, or, more correctly, Sakya Men, or the Lord Sakya. He is, according to the Burmans, the second in power of the two Kings of the Nats. Of this personage there is in a small temple a standing figure, in white marble, not however of a very good description, measuring not less than nine feet eleven inches high. The statue seems to be of one entire block.

I have been thus minute in describing the present temple, not only because it is a complete specimen of the best Burman modern architecture, but still more on account of the history of the building itself, which is extremely curious, and places the character of the Government in a very odious light. In a small vaulted building, within the area surrounding it, there is a handsome marble slab, with an inscription on both sides in the Pali character. From this it appears, that the temple is named Aong-mre-lo-ka; which, as far as I can understand, means the "ground or spot of victory;"—that it was built by the late King, in the year 1144 of Burman time, or 1782 of ours, being the second year of his reign;—that he endowed it with four hundred and thirty-seven slaves; and, that he fed and clothed

five thousand priests on the occasion of its consecration. His Majesty, in the inscription, vaunts of his own wisdom and power; describes himself as master of one-fourth of the universe, meaning the whole terrestrial globe; and states that one hundred kings paid him homage. The authentic history of the foundation of the temple is less to his Majesty's credit, and, in truth, paints him as an odious and unfeeling tyrant. He was the fourth son of Alompra, the founder of the present dynasty. His first and second brother, and his nephew, the son of the last, had respectively succeeded Alompra. Maong-maong, the son of the elder brother, had been excluded from the throne by his uncle, who first occupied it himself, and then left the succession to his own son, Senku-sa. Men-ta-ra-gyi, the founder of the temple, conspired against the son of his younger brother, raised the son of the elder brother to the throne, and in a few days seized the throne for himself, and caused his nephew, the legitimate successor of Alompra, to be drowned in the Irawadi. It was to consecrate such deeds as these that he built the costly temple which I have just described, and upon the very spot where his own house, as a prince, had stood, and from which he had commenced his successful rebellion. The persons made slaves were the unoffending inhabitants of the district allotted for subsistence, while a prince, to the nephew whom he had murdered. To make this picture of tyranny complete, it is necessary to understand what is the lot of those condemned to be slaves to a temple. They are reduced, hereditarily and for ever, to the same degraded rank in society as the Chandalas, or burners of the dead. They cannot intermarry with the rest of the people, nor indeed in almost any manner associate with them, and few persons will even condescend to sit down and eat with them. This is a fair sample of the united effects of despotism and superstition among the Burmans.

The perpetrator of these acts was not only an eminently pious prince but he was a learned theologian, and from a very early period of his reign aimed at the character of a religious reformer. He was in the habit of summoning the Rahans or Pun-gyis* into his presence, and catechising and instructing them in their duties. The result of this was a declaration on his

* The two names by which the Burman priests are commonly known.

part that he found them extremely ignorant. For the last three or four years of his life, his passion for reform proceeded to very great lengths indeed, and he issued an edict, in which he professed his determination to bring the worship of Gautama back to its ancient purity and simplicity. In this he stated that the Rahans were not only ignorant of their religious duties, but that they lived luxuriously in comfortable convents, that they had fine gardens and good furniture, all which was contrary to the ancient purity of the Buddhist worship; and he blamed one of his predecessors, a prince of Pugan, for having introduced this criminal laxity of discipline. He accordingly ordered all priests, on pain of being reduced to the condition of laymen, to retire from the convents—to live in caves and forests, there to study the sacred scriptures assiduously—to content themselves with clothing sufficient to cover their nakedness, and to eat only at night, and as if by stealth! The priests were by no means prepared to conform to such austerities, and for about three months there was scarcely one to be seen. His Majesty at this time was in his dotage, and the then Heir-apparent, the present King, took upon him to issue a secret order, permitting the priests to return to their convents, which they accordingly did; and his Majesty's attempts at reform, which continued for nearly thirty years, proved in the sequel completely abortive. It is only surprising that, as they do not appear to have been very discreetly managed, they did not cost the reformer his life and throne. Some have been of opinion that his Majesty altogether disbelieved the popular religion, and that his pretended reforms were a mere cloak for subverting it altogether, but this does not appear probable.

The Burman negotiators did not make their appearance to-day till half-past four o'clock in the evening. This was premeditated. There was but one point which they were desirous to introduce, and they knew that the lateness of the hour would preclude the discussion of any other.

The following conversation took place:—

B. At Yandabo the war was brought to a close. We ceased from all military operations, and we have completed the second instalment, when your troops ought to have withdrawn from Rangoon. You engaged with us

yourself that you would write to the English general, requesting him to withdraw.—*E.* I will comply to the letter with any promise which I have made. My engagement with you was to write to Sir A. Campbell to withdraw the troops, without regard to the adjustment of the accounts of the second instalment, if you brought me the Commercial Treaty signed and sealed on the 15th instant, this day.

B. We shall not sign the treaty until your troops shall have first quitted Rangoon. We beg you, therefore, to write to the general; and as soon as authentic accounts shall have been received that your troops have retired, we will sign the treaty and deliver it to you.—*E.* I have already informed you that I have accounts from Sir A. Campbell, stating that the second instalment is not completed, and requesting me to demand from your Government a balance of 142,682 rupees. This balance, as it was a disputed account, I was willing to take upon myself the responsibility of remitting, to show the favourable disposition of the British Government. Sir A. Campbell, I have very little doubt, will evacuate Rangoon immediately, whether the balance be paid or not; but if he does so without an adjustment of the account, you will still be considered liable for the balance. My engagements cease with you to-day, since you have not brought the treaty. I decline complying with your request to write to Sir A. Campbell to withdraw the troops before the signature and delivery of the Commercial Convention, as well as accepting this document on the terms you propose. To evince the sincerity of the promise made by me, I prepared an instrument in the form of a convention, binding the British Government to consider the second instalment as completed, as well as to withdraw forthwith from Rangoon. A Burman translation of it is before me, and you are welcome to peruse it. You stipulated at Yandabo to make a Commercial treaty: I heretofore argued for such an one as I thought would be mutually beneficial. I will now take any one you may think proper to give, and I decline farther discussion on the question. Here is a note containing my final sentiments.

"Since it is contained in the seventh article of the Treaty of Yan-

dabo, that 'in order to promote the prosperity of the two nations, an additional treaty shall be made, relative to opening 'the gold and silver road,'* and carrying on trade: for the purpose of making such a Commercial Treaty I have come to the Royal presence. If the treaty of five articles, which I ask, be agreed to, the gold and silver road will be opened, and this will, in my opinion, promote the prosperity of both countries. If the Atwen-wuns think that it will not promote the prosperity of the Burman country, I shall not demand it. Give such a treaty as the Atwen-wuns are disposed to make. Let us use our endeavours to perpetuate friendship."

I proceeded to take steps to sign and seal this paper,—a circumstance which occasioned great alarm to the Burman chiefs, who feared that it contained something which, like the note respecting the Martaban frontier, would have brought the discussion to a close. Putting off the perusal of it, they entreated me not to give it in; thus evincing, in a manner which they could not conceal, their great anxiety to obtain the terms which had been offered to them. The first Atwen-wun had commenced the conference in a noisy manner, almost bordering upon rudeness; but upon the production of the note, he entirely changed his tone, and solicited to be allowed to peruse the instrument which I had prepared, stipulating for the evacuation of Rangoon, and the remission of the balance claimed by the British Government. This, which was as follows, was handed to him in the Burman language:—

"*Article* 1.—With a view to cement the bonds of friendship between the two powers, and for the accommodation of his Majesty the King of Ava, the British Government hereby consents that the payment of the third instalment of twenty-five lacs of sicca rupees, and that of the fourth instalment of a similar amount, due by the Burman to the British Government, according to the fifth and additional articles of the treaty concluded at Yandabo, and payable respectively on the 24th day of February 1826, and 24th day of February 1827, shall not be considered to become due—the

* A figurative expression of the Burmese language for commerce.

first of these instalments, until on or before the 15th day of November 1827, and the last, until on or before the 15th of November 1828.

"*Art.* 2.—The British Government hereby consents to forego any claim which it may have on the Burman Government, in as far as regards the second instalment of twenty-five lacs of rupees, due on the 4th day of June last; and it is hereby agreed, that within twenty days of the receipt of this convention by the British commander of the forces at Rangoon, that town shall be delivered over to the Burman authorities, and the British army finally evacuate the Burman territory."

B. This is all very well, but we wish an article to be added, stating, that if these terms be not fulfilled, neither shall the Commercial Treaty be valid.—*E.* I agree that such a condition should be added.

B. I see that when we disagree, the interpreters only are to blame. When they interpret correctly every thing goes on right.

This charge against the interpreters had no foundation whatever. The Atwen-wun made it smiling, and intended it as an apology for any thing unpleasant which might have escaped at the commencement of the conference. The additional article was prepared on the spot, translated, and handed to the chiefs. They immediately commenced a strict analysis and examination of the whole instrument, amplifying and changing the forms of expression; but making no material alteration, except in one particular,—that of extending the period of paying the third and fourth instalments. Pretending not to understand the times specified in my draft, they inserted one year for each instalment, after the period stipulated for in the Treaty of Yandabo; which, by Burman reckoning, would have made the time of payment later by four months than that which I had engaged for. This attempt was immediately checked by Mr. Judson.

E. Have you made the necessary alteration in the fourth article?—*B.* The day after to-morrow we will take into consideration the alterations to be made in the Commercial Treaty; and two days after that again, all the papers will be ready to be sealed and signed.

The conference concluded with a speech from the junior Atwen-wun, recommending to all parties such a line of conduct as would tend, in his phrase, "to gladden the heart of the sun-rising King." This person had not hitherto taken any leading share in the discussions, and was evidently a man of inferior capacity to his coadjutor, as well as less in the confidence of the party in power.

Nov. 16th.—Having obtained permission some time ago, although with considerable difficulty, to send our people to the range of mountains to the north-east of Ava, Dr. Wallich's assistant, and two of his plant-collectors, proceeded thither on the morning of the 10th, and after two days' journey arrived at the foot of the hills, which appeared to be twenty or five-and-twenty miles distant from Sagaing. On the 12th, he ascended the hills, which it took seven hours to accomplish. Dr. Wallich's assistant, who had been with him at Nepaul, thought the height not less than that of Siwapoor, near Katmandu, and this is known to be four or five thousand feet above the level of the valley. There are three ranges of hills, and our people went as far as the most distant. The table-land is of considerable extent, and there are several villages upon it, with a scanty cultivation of mountain-rice, some maize, ginger, and other esculent plants. The hills, however, are principally covered with forest trees, from thirty to forty feet high, with very little underwood. The cold experienced was very considerable. Specimens of the rock were collected all the way from the foot to the top of the hills, and proved to be every where compact limestone, white, blue, and red. The Irawadi passes close to the foot of the hills; and along its banks our travellers returned to-day. The part of the country they passed through was much infested by robbers; and yesterday they saw the spot where a man had been a few hours before murdered, on account of a load of rice which he was carrying to Ava. A little of the rice was still scattered about; and the bamboo, on which the baskets were carried, was still lying on the ground.

The Ministers last night reported to the King the progress of the ne-

gotiation. His Majesty was highly indignant, said his confidence had been abused, and that now, for the first time, he was made acquainted with the real state of affairs. He accused the Ministers of falsehoods, malversations, and all kinds of offences. His displeasure did not end in mere words; he drew his Dá, or sword, and sallied forth in pursuit of the offending courtiers. These took to immediate flight,—some leaping over the balustrades which rail in the front of the Hall of Audience, but the greater number escaping by the stair which leads to it; and in the confusion which attended their endeavours, (tumbling head over heels,) one on top of another. Such royal paroxysms are pretty frequent, and, although attended with considerable sacrifices of the kingly dignity, are always bloodless. The late King was less subject to these fits of anger than his present Majesty, but he also occasionally forgot himself. Towards the close of his reign, and when on a pilgrimage to the great temple of Mengwan, a circumstance of this description took place, which was described to me by an European gentleman, himself present, and one of the courtiers. The King had detected something flagitious, which would not have been very difficult. His anger rose; he seized his spear, and attacked the false Ministers. These, with the exception of the European, who was not a party to the offence, fled tumultuously. One hapless courtier had his heels tripped up in his flight: the King overtook him, and wounded him slightly in the calf of the leg with his spear, but took no farther vengeance.

Nov. 17.—The Burman chiefs came, as usual, at one o'clock.

A Than-d'hau-than read a copy of the Commercial Treaty, as agreed upon at former conferences; and Mr. Judson held in his hand the copy given in to us in the handwriting of the same Than-d'hau-than. The first, fourth, and fifth articles agreed exactly. In the third article, the words "hinderance" and "molestation," as applied to British ships in Burman ports, were omitted in the draft produced by the Burman negotiators, but were inserted after a short explanation. In the second article, respecting the free exportation of money, the ominous words, "according to custom," were twice over interpolated. It became necessary to remonstrate against the unfairness of making

alteration in a document which was the groundwork of the engagement which had been entered into.

E. You have inserted an expression in your draft which is not contained in the original, and upon which I made my engagement with you: no alteration, even verbal, ought to be made without my sanction, unless you desire the engagement should no longer be binding, and that you propose entering upon a new arrangement.—*B.* The words inserted are of no consequence whatever.

E. As this is the case, you will have the less difficulty in striking them out.—*B.* We will not strike them out. It is not proper that ancient customs should be changed.

E. Will you be so good as to strike out the expression which you have inserted without my sanction.—*B.* We will not strike them out. If you think proper, you may depart from your engagement.

E. The draft furnished to me is in your own handwriting, and you certainly ought to have made no alteration; but, as the change is not material, I will not object to it.—*B.* We made no alteration. The draft is exactly as it originally stood.

I was not prepared for so stout an assertion as this, and had no wish to contend the point any longer. The Atwen-wuns, however, continued the conversation with Mr. Judson, whom they did not hesitate to charge directly with having erased the expression in his copy. Mr. Judson warmly remonstrated, handed over the copy to the Than-d'hau-than who had written it for perusal, and made him acknowledge that the whole was in his own handwriting, and that no alteration whatever had been made. The Atwen-wuns passed the matter over with a laugh; which did not surprise me, after the repeated examples I had of their great *sang-froid* on such occasions.

The subject of the convention, for prolonging the period of the payment of the third and fourth instalments, and for adjusting the accounts of the second, was introduced.

E. The sketch of a convention which I produced at the last meeting, and which you altered and corrected according to your own views, is now before us. Let them be compared, and favour me with any observations you may wish to make on the subject.

The drafts were read, compared, and found to agree *verbatim.*

E. I propose to you to introduce a clause in the third article of this convention, providing, that in the event of the breach of any one article, none of them shall be binding on either party.—*B.* We object to this. The penalty should fall on you only, if your troops do not evacuate Rangoon.

E. You must be well aware that the conditions here are not reciprocal, but contrary to the principle upon which all negotiations ought to be conducted between friendly nations. However, to evince my disposition to oblige you, and to show that I have no inclination to create obstacles, I will assent to the article as it stands.—I wish to make a fair copy of the treaty, as it has now been agreed on; and, to prevent any future discussion or disagreement, I prefer making it from your draft.—*B.* We object to this. You had better make it from your own.

E. In your copy there are alterations which I have assented to. It will therefore be much better that the copy should be made from yours.

Here a tedious conversation followed upon this subject; and the Atwenwuns at length were induced, although very unwillingly, to permit a copy to be taken from their draft.

B. We have some alterations to propose in this convention, which we will submit at the next conference. We beg also to state, that we wish to give farther consideration to the second article of the Commercial Treaty, respecting the exportation of gold and silver.—*E.* From what you stated to me at the last conference, and from the discussions which have just taken place, I had reason to imagine that this matter was finally decided upon.

B. We are desirous of giving the second article mature consideration before we put our final signature to the treaty. We have a farther answer to make to the paper given in by you on the subject of the Martaban

frontier. We will produce it at our next meeting.—*E.* I shall be happy to receive the reply you allude to, and record it for the information of the Governor-General. If it contain any new matter, I will furnish such explanations in writing as it may be in my power to afford.

B. Let the next conference be held the day after to-morrow. We promise then to bring a definitive answer. In the event of every thing being settled to your liking, is it your intention to return immediately, without waiting upon the King; or do you wish to pay your respects to him,* and amuse yourself for a short time in the country?—*E.* Whatever may be the result of the negotiation, and whether the particular points requested by me be conceded or not, it is most certainly our wish to pay our respects to his Majesty, and to part with you on terms of friendship.

B. Shall we report to his Majesty that you desire to wait upon him?—*E.* Most certainly. I take this to be a matter of course, and intended to have made the application.

Notes upon this last subject were carefully taken down by the Atwenwuns, and read to us; the names of the two interpreters being introduced, to attest the accuracy of their report. This statement was evidently prepared in order to be exhibited to the King, who still continued to be much displeased with his courtiers, and declined giving them an audience.

The following is a translation of the Commercial Treaty and Convention, as read, and apparently agreed upon:—

"COMMERCIAL TREATY.—According to the Treaty of Peace between the two great nations, made at Yandabo, in order to promote the prosperity of both countries, and with a desire to assist and protect the trade of both, the Commissioner and Envoy Crawfurd, appointed by the English Ruler, the Company Buren, who rules India, and the Commissioners, the Atwen-wun Mengyi-thi-ri-maha-nanda-then-kyan, Lord of Sau, and the Atwenwun Mengyi-maha-men-l'ha-thi-ha-thu, Lord of the Revenue, appointed

* The literal expression made use of was, "Do you wish to look with reverence at the royal golden countenance?"

by his Majesty, the Burmese Rising Sun Buren who reigns over Thu-na-pa-ra, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries, these three, on the — of November 1826, according to the English, and the — of the decrease of the moon, Tan-soung-mong, 1188, according to the Burmans, in the conference tent, at the landing-place of Sagaing, north of the Golden City of Ra-ta-na-pura, having produced and shown to each other their credentials, with mutual consent signed and sealed this engagement.

"*Article* 1.—Peace being made between the great country governed by the English Prince, the India Company Buren, and the great country of Ra-ta-na-pura, which rules over Thu-na-para, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries, when merchants with an English certified pass from the country of the English Ruler, and merchants from the kingdom of Burma, pass from one country to the other, selling and buying merchandise, the sentinels at the passes and entrances, the established gate-keepers of the country, shall make inquiry as usual, but without demanding any money; and all merchants coming truly for the purpose of trade with merchandise, shall be suffered to pass without hinderance or molestation. The Governments of both countries also shall permit ships with cargoes to enter ports and carry on trade, giving them the utmost protection and security. And in regard to duties, there shall none be taken, beside the customary duties at the landing-places of trade.

"*Art.* 2.—The transportation of gold and silver from one country to the other shall not be prohibited, nor shall duties be taken on those articles. In regard to such exportation, when piece-goods, and articles of use in one's own country, are brought from another country, things sold for gold and silver are to be sold, and things exchanged for piece-goods and other articles in demand in one's own country are to be exchanged. And notwithstanding the exportation of gold and silver from Burma has always been prohibited, since now the English and Burmese Governments have become friends, when merchants with an English certified pass come in boats and ships to Burmese ports for the purpose of trade, they shall, after paying the customary

duties, sell their goods, according to custom, and take away the gold and silver for which the goods are sold, and gold and silver obtained in any other way. And if they wish to buy and take away goods, they shall be allowed to do so; and the gold and silver taken away shall pay no duties. When Burmese merchants also come in boats and ships to English ports for the purpose of trade, they shall, after paying the customary duties, sell the goods, according to custom, which remain and take away the gold and silver for which the goods are sold, and gold and silver obtained in any other way, duty free, if they wish to do so: or they shall be allowed to buy and take away without hinderance such piece-goods and other rarities and articles of use as they may desire.

"*Art.* 3.—Ships whose breadth of beam on the inside (opening of the hold) is eight royal Burman cubits, of nineteen and one-tenth English inches each, and all ships of smaller size, whether merchants from the Burmese country entering an English port under the Burmese flag, or merchants from the English country with an English stamped pass entering a Burmese port under the English flag, shall be subject to no other demands beside the payment of duties, and ten ticals, twenty-five per cent., (ten sicca rupees) for a chokey pass on leaving. Nor shall pilotage be demanded, unless the captain voluntarily require a pilot. However, when ships arrive, information shall be given to the officer stationed at the 'entrance of the sea.' In regard to vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight royal cubits, they shall remain, according to the ninth article of the Treaty of Yandabo, without unshipping their rudders or landing their guns, and be free from trouble and molestation as Burmese vessels in British ports. Besides the royal duties, no more duties shall be given or taken than such as are customary.

"*Art.* 4.—Merchants belonging to one country, who go to the other country and remain there, shall, when they desire to return, go to whatever country and by whatever vessel they may desire, without hinderance. Property owned by merchants they shall be allowed to sell. Property not sold, and in the care of Englishmen, or Kulas, subject to the English Government, wives,

sons, and daughters, they shall be allowed to take away without hinderance, or incurring any expense.

"*Art.* 5.—English and Burmese vessels meeting with contrary winds, or sustaining damage in masts, rigging, &c. or suffering shipwreck on the shore, shall, according to the laws of charity, receive assistance from the inhabitants of the towns and villages that may be near; the master of the wrecked ship paying to those that assist, suitable salvage, according to the circumstances of the case; and whatever property may remain, in case of shipwreck, shall be restored to the rightful owner.

"THE CONVENTION.—The Commissioner and Envoy Crawfurd, appointed by the English Ruler, the India Company Baren, and the Commissioners the Atwen-wun Mengyi-thi-ri-maha-nanda-then-kyan, Lord of Sau, and the Atwen-wun, Mengyi-maha-men-hla-thi-ha-thu, Lord of the Revenue, appointed by his Majesty the Burmese Rising-Sun Buren. These three, on the —— day of November 1826, according to the English, and the —— of the decrease of Tan-soung-mong, 1188, according to the Burmese, in the Conference Tent, at the landing-place of Sagaing, north of the Golden City of Ra-ta-na-pu-ra, with mutual consent signed and sealed this engagement.

"*Article* 1.—Whereas it is contained in the fifth and the additional article of the Treaty of Yandabo, that within one year of the date of that treaty, the third instalment, and within two years the fourth instalment, shall be paid, with a view to perpetuate the friendship between the two great countries, and to please the golden heart of the Rising-Sun Buren, the third instalment shall be paid within three hundred and sixty-five days from this day, and the fourth within three hundred and sixty-five days from the time of the payment of the third instalment.

"*Art.* 2.—Whereas the Wungyi and the Wundauk say that the Burman Government have paid in Rangoon the second instalment, according to the Treaty of Yandabo, the English Generals shall not say that the first and second instalments are not yet fully paid. Having made the engagement of five articles, this engagement that the English General shall leave Rangoon, and

the engagement about putting off the third and fourth instalments, within twenty days after they come to the hand of the Commissioner, the English General,* the Chief General now in Rangoon, shall deliver up Rangoon to the Commissioners, the Wungyi, and Wundauk, appointed by the Burman Government, and the English troops shall evacuate the kingdom of Burma.

"*Art.* 3.—If the English Governor and Generals remain, notwithstanding the treaty now made, the treaty of five articles shall not stand, but be destroyed, nor the engagement concerning the deferment of the third and fourth instalments."

* Literally, "the chief wearing the cock's plume," the name by which Sir Archibald Campbell was always known to the Burmese.

CHAPTER IX.

Treatment of Prisoners of War by the Burmese.—Conference.—Village of Lepers.—Treatment by the Burmese of maimed persons and those labouring under incurable maladies.—Conference, at which the Commercial Treaty is signed.—Mission receives letters and dispatches, and jealousy of the Burmese Government.—Visit from the Burmese Negotiators, and conversation which ensued.—Visit from a Burmese chief.—Burmese loud talkers.—Second visit from the Burmese Negotiators, and conversation which ensued.—Burman compliments.—Dr. Wallich's account of his visit to the chain of hills north-east of Ava.

Nov. 18.—A FEW days ago, passing along a road close to our dwelling, I met a native of the district of Sylhet, in Bengal, who described himself as having been, during the war, seized by the Burmans, while on business in the country of Assam, and carried off with many others as a prisoner; that is, as a slave: he was very ill for want of food, and labouring under dysentery. We had him carried to our quarters; but his disease had gone too far, and he died to-day. The conduct of the Burmans, in their predatory excursions, is cruel and ferocious to the last degree, and scarcely any people of Asia have more greatly abused the right of conquest. They are not themselves unaware of the barbarous spirit in which their wars are conducted. "You see us here," said some of the chiefs to Mr. Judson, "a mild people, living under regular laws. Such is not the case when we invade foreign countries. We are then under no restraints—we give way to all our passions—we plunder and murder without compunction or control. Foreigners should beware how they provoke us when they know these things." This was said at the commence-

ment of the late war, and when the Burmese detachments were preparing to invade Cassay, Cachar, and Assam. They appear to have kept their word. Maong-kayo, a Burman chief, invaded Cachar in 1824. I took the examinations, in June 1826, of two of the prisoners who had been made in this expedition. The following, which conveys a frightful picture of the brutal ferocity of this people, is the deposition of one of them; and that of the other agreed with it in every essential point:—"My name is Mahomet Ruffy. I am a native of the village of Udarbund, in the country of Cachar. I have been a prisoner of war in Ava. I was seized at my native village, about twenty months ago, by a party of Burmese, belonging to the army of the Chief Maong-kayó. About six thousand persons, including men, women, and children, were seized about the same time. We were all taken away from Cachar.—We were treated with great rigour; we were chained two and two,—got very little food,—were made to carry heavy loads on the march. Women, with infants at the breast, and who, on this account, could not carry loads, had the infants snatched from them, their heads chopped off before them, and their bodies thrown into the rivers. I have witnessed murders of this description twelve or thirteen times myself. Old and sick persons, who could not carry burthens, were often killed by the Burman soldiers; and their loads, which consisted of plunder, were divided among the other prisoners. The reason that so many persons were seized was, that the Burmans sent numerous parties throughout the country, who surprised and surrounded the villages, making prisoners of the inhabitants. All the prisoners were afterwards collected and marched off together. After arriving in Ava, we were dispersed all over the neighbourhood, three hundred being sent to one place, four hundred to another, and so on. Another native of Cachar, by name Tareef-gah, and myself, effected our escape from Ava, along with the Bengal Sepoy prisoners, who were lately liberated. I desire to return to my native country, provided I can effect the release of my relatives and friends, who are in captivity."

Among the Burmese, all prisoners of war, whose lives are spared, are con-

demned to slavery, and generally given by the King as presents to the principal officers of Government. As their fidelity cannot be relied upon,—as they frequently make attempts to escape, and as too many are generally brought at once into the market, the value set upon them is very trifling. An old Siamese woman, who was taken prisoner in her youth, in one of the incursions into Siam, and whose prime cost was a flask of spirits, was pointed out to me at Rangoon. She was sold a second time, I was told, at the enhanced price of five ticals, or 12*s.* 6*d.*!!

Nov. 19.—A person waited upon me, in the course of the afternoon, in behalf of the Atwen-wuns, to say that they could not, according to their promise, give me a final answer to-day, as neither they nor any of the other public officers had been able to get a sight of the King for five days. They would come, however, they said, if I wished it, lest I might charge them with breach of engagement, or, as they styled it, Halí-kamá, which means, literally, "falsehood," or "deceit." I sent word, that the explanation was quite sufficient for not giving a definitive answer; but that I hoped they would come over, as I had a proposition to make, which might possibly facilitate the business in discussion between us. They came immediately upon receiving this message, and the tenth conference commenced as follows:—

B. We promised at our last meeting to give you to-day a final answer on the subject of the Commercial Treaty, and the other arrangements connected with it; but, from unavoidable causes, we are unable. We hope you will excuse us.—*E.* I understand that there are some difficulties respecting the second article, which regards the free export of gold and silver. I wish to make these difficulties as few as possible, and therefore I shall be satisfied that silver only shall be freely exported. At Yandabo you engaged that the "gold and silver" road should be opened. I shall be satisfied with the fulfilment of one-half of this promise. Let the gold, therefore, be prohibited as heretofore. You consider it peculiarly excellent, and for this reason I concede the point to you.

B. As to taking away *silver* from the country, it has not heretofore been

the custom; nevertheless, as we are friends, we will permit the exportation of silver on the following conditions:—When English merchants come to the country, let them sell their goods, and with the proceeds purchase the produce of the country, as long as there is any produce to buy. When they cannot procure produce, they will have permission to export silver, on making application to the public authorities to the amount of the balance.—*E.* It is a maxim with us, that all interference of public officers in the concerns of merchants is hurtful. Merchants dislike it, and trade never thrives when Governments meddle. The plan you have just proposed is full of inconvenience and difficulty, and will never answer. I have already said as much upon this subject as was proper, and it is not fitting that I should insist farther upon it. Let the subject, therefore, be dropped.

B. In the first article of the treaty, it is provided that both Governments shall look after the concerns of merchants; what you now advance is inconsistent with this.—*E.* Merchants desire no protection from Government, except a fair administration of justice. The first article of the proposed treaty, to which you have alluded, provides that the two Governments shall afford protection and security to merchants. Surely this can never be construed into a permission to officers to interfere in the private concerns of merchants —concerns of which all public officers must be totally ignorant.

B. What you desire, then, is, that English merchants should have permission to carry away gold and silver at their pleasure, received for goods imported by them. This is something new!—*E.* That is exactly what I want; but there is nothing new in it. It is exactly what is contained in the second article which you have yourselves altered and corrected, and which, in this state, has been in your possession for several days. I have demanded nothing but what is practised in all countries in which trade is understood and cherished.

B. If you consider the interference of the officers of Government vexatious and improper, let the matter be settled by the *Poe-xas*, or brokers, of the merchants themselves.—*E.* The brokers to whom you allude are appointed

by the Burman Government, and completely under the control of the local officers. Their acts, therefore, would be exactly the acts of the Government itself. This will never answer. The concession, in the shape in which you make it, is of no value whatever to us, and not worth any sacrifice on our part. Your Government is evidently not prepared to permit the free exportation of gold and silver. Let the subject, therefore, be henceforth dropped; and let it be considered that all my engagements with you, as connected with this matter, are cancelled from this day. You have engaged to make some commercial treaty. I proposed and heretofore argued in favour of such an one as I believed would be mutually beneficial. I will say nothing more upon the subject, but will accept any treaty you think proper to give. I hand you a statement, under my hand and seal, containing these sentiments.

The note proposed to be delivered in at the conference of the 17th, was here laid before the Burman negotiators.

B. We decline taking this paper with your seal to it. We prefer taking a copy only.—*E.* What objection can there be to the paper having a seal and signature to it? I prefer giving it in this authentic shape.

B. We have not said that the free exportation of silver would not be granted. We only said that we could not grant it just now. We beg you, in the mean while, to give due consideration to the proposal which we have just made to you.—*E.* I have entirely made up my mind with regard to your proposal, and you may consider the reply which I now give as conclusive. I reject it at once, and it is not necessary for you to renew it. Had I contemplated the difficulties which have been made to the free exportation of gold and silver, I never should have proposed the subject at all.

B. We have now copied the paper given in by you, but we object to receiving the original. It is not good to receive such a document, because it looks as if there was no room for future discussion.—*E.* As you object to it upon this particular ground, and since you have an authentic copy, I will take it back. I have now been here approaching two months, and it is time that I should

return to make my report of what has taken place to the Governor-General. The treaty, with the exception of the second article, is agreed upon, and may be got ready and signed in a day or two. Will you signify my wish to his Majesty, and solicit permission for us to pay our respects to him before we go away? I have ordered the steam-vessel to be got in readiness, and request your assistance in supplying such boats as may be necessary."

To this last communication the Burman officers gave a civil answer in general terms. The proposition respecting the surrender, on my part, of gold in the second article, was carefully noted down, but no answer whatever was given to it. They were in fact not prepared for the subject, and had no authority to speak. They saw, however, that there was some concession in it, and seized upon it from the first moment, as if it were a point actually stipulated for, and not contingent upon concessions to be made on their side. In accordance with this, when the subject of exporting the precious metals was alluded to in the conversation which ensued, *silver* alone was mentioned, and *gold* carefully excluded. I was induced to make the proposition of confining the free export of money to silver, on the following grounds:—gold is in steady demand among the Burmans for gilding and plate, and, from what I can understand, is generally higher priced in the Burman dominions than in our own territories. It is also easily smuggled, and has always been so to a considerable extent by the Burman traders themselves. Under these circumstances, the prohibition to export it would be no great detriment or restraint to British commerce; while it might be a considerable inducement to the Burman Government to concede the main point, the exportation of silver.

Nov. 21.—I received information yesterday evening, from two quarters, that the Burman Government had made up their mind not to grant the free exportation of gold and silver, but that they had another project to offer, with a view of getting the period of paying the third and fourth instalments put off for a time. The proposal, as I understand, had in view the paying of interest for the debt for a limited time. The Burman Go-

vernment, notwithstanding the mysteriousness of its character, certainly does not possess the art of keeping its own counsel. Every thing of consequence which transpired in the Palace was soon made known to us, and we were generally made acquainted with the different propositions to be brought forward by the Burman negotiators, always a day or two before the conferences on which they were introduced. I was this morning informed that a boat had arrived at Prome with dispatches from Sir A. Campbell. Our situation, I have no doubt, had excited some uneasiness among our friends at Rangoon, for the watchfulness and suspicion of the Burman Government had prevented us from writing ever since our arrival; so that no accounts of us could have been received for nearly two months and a half.

Nov. 23.—The old Governor of Bassein and the Commander of the Guard of Swordsmen called twice yesterday with confidential messages from Kaulen Mengyi. These were of a very extraordinary character. The free export of gold and silver, these chiefs stated, could not be granted, because it was contrary to the laws of the empire. The Burman chiefs, however, took a new ground, certainly one not very easy to defend. They said that the Governor-General had sent an Envoy to cement the bonds of friendship between the two nations, and they asked by what means he, the Envoy, proposed to do this. The Burman Government, they said, were prepared, on their side, to grant four favours, meaning the four articles of the Treaty of Commerce which remained, and they wished to know what the Envoy would grant in return. They fully expected, they said, in return for the favours granted by them, without at all considering that the conditions of the treaty were strictly reciprocal, that they should receive at least a promise not only of restoring the provinces, but of remitting the debt of fifty lacs of rupees. In regard to the provinces, Kaulen Mengyi instructed them to hint that they had not been ceded to us in perpetuity. Such an argument, however, was never afterwards brought forward, nor at any time, indeed, publicly mentioned. The question of paying interest, which had been before suggested by the same officers, was evaded upon this occasion. These

sentiments were communicated to Mr. Judson only, and were accompanied, as usual, by many compliments to this gentleman. They did not hesitate to declare to him, to his face, that he was a person of the utmost prudence, wisdom, and discretion, and they repeatedly addressed him by the name of Pun-gyi, or "holy man," the most usual appellation of the Burman priesthood. It was in vain to attempt any rational answer. They had been commanded to deliver a certain message, and, without any regard to its reasonableness or propriety, they thought it their duty to insist upon and enforce it.

In our ride this morning, Mr. Chester and I visited a village of lepers, consisting of about twenty houses. Many of the inhabitants were out begging at a considerable distance above Ava, where rice was said to be somewhat cheaper than in the town itself, and therefore charity more easily practised. About one-half the inhabitants of this hamlet, we were told, were affected with the malady. The disease, which the Burmans call Anú, is very frequent in the country. It is the *Lepra Arabum*, or *Elephantiasis*. We examined several persons suffering under it. The lepers described the complaint as commencing with a white spot generally on their thighs or arms. The chief seats of the disorder are the hands and fingers, and the feet and toes; but other parts of the body are not exempt, and it occasionally attacks the bones of the nose. The parts affected have a livid look and a mottled appearance, produced by the cicatrices of old sores. When it attacks the fingers and toes, it destroys the joints and nails, and distorts them. The open sores are not numerous, are generally superficial, and, upon the whole, the appearance of the patients, in ordinary cases, is by no means so offensive as might be expected; nor was there any thing disagreeable in their residence to distinguish it from an ordinary village. The affected part, from the description of the lepers themselves, seems to be nearly dead and insensible. They stated they had no pain when not obliged to move, and that their rest was not disturbed. The disorder probably does not much contribute to shorten life, for I have often seen very old persons labouring under it. One of those whom we examined to-day was a woman, apparently seventy, a captive

brought from Aracan, and she said that the disorder broke out when she was a girl of fourteen years of age, and that she had been a martyr to it ever since. Leprosy, according to the Burmans, is not contagious, but, in rare cases, may be communicated by actual contact. Even this much, however, is probably not correct; for sound children may be seen at the breast of leprous women, and we ourselves saw abundant examples of sound women married to leprous husbands, and sound children the offspring of leprous parents. We were particularly struck by seeing one little girl about three years of age, in perfect health, clinging close to her father, who was begging by the road-side, and who was a great martyr to the disorder. That the complaint, however, is frequently hereditary, and may be communicated by parents to their offspring, seems to be generally admitted. Like scrofula and gout, however, it is said to disappear for one or two generations, and to break out in the third or fourth. Like these also, it affects some members of a family, and not others. The disorder, although generally incurable, is not always so: we saw several persons in the village above-mentioned, who, by their own account, had recovered from it, and upon whose persons its scars were still visible.

It would be difficult, I imagine, to trace this disorder to any thing peculiar in the climate, the food, or the habits of the people. It occurs in the moist climate of Rangoon, and the drier climate of Ava; and, generally speaking, the country throughout is healthy. The effectual price of labour is high, and consequently the Burman peasantry are, upon the whole, well fed, clad, and housed. For an Asiatic people, they are an active and athletic race, remarkably free from bodily infirmities; but, above all, they are free from diseases of the skin to so remarkable a degree, as to strike every stranger who has observed them. With respect to the frequency of leprosy amongst them, it ought, however, to be observed, that a stranger who has visited only the principal towns may easily be deceived, and led to consider it greater than it really is, owing to the circumstance of the lepers naturally coming to the vicinity of these for the facility of getting charity. A number of those whom we examined this morning were certainly natives of distant parts of the country.

The Burman leprosy appears to be the same with the worst form of that disease among the Jews, and also with the leprosy of the middle ages in Europe; and it is singular, how nearly alike is the treatment of the unfortunate persons labouring under it, and the prejudices which exist in regard to the subject. Among the Burmans, lepers are held to be unclean; they are expelled from society, and compelled to live in separate villages, which may be considered as so many lazarettos. The Burmans, however, go much farther than either the Jews or our European ancestors. The lepers themselves are not only expelled from society, but the interdict extends hereditarily, and for ever, to their descendants, who are considered as outcasts, ranking with the burners of the dead, or Chandalas, and other impure classes. A leper, or the child of a leper, can only marry with another leper, or the descendant of a leper. When a candidate presents himself for ordination to the priesthood, he is made to swear that he has no taint of leprosy, and even a priest who is detected with the disorder is expelled forthwith from the monastery. The bodies of all respectable Burmans are burnt and not interred. This rite is denied to the lepers, who can be buried only, or as we would express it in our own case, they are "refused Christian burial." Leprosy also is considered a sufficient cause for the dissolution of marriages. A leprous wife would be immediately repudiated by her husband, and a wife will part without scruple from a husband who is affected with the disorder. Money however, which can effect wonders among the Burmans, will purchase an exemption for the wealthy; and the penalties, of course, fall chiefly on the poor. This however, in persons of all ranks, becomes, like almost every other, a subject of the grossest abuse, by affording to the public officers grounds for extortion. A wealthy leper has to pay large sums to the Government and its minions for the privilege of not being expelled from society. A person without influence, of respectable character, having the scar of a sore of any kind, is liable to be seized by the officers of the Arawun or "superintendent of outcasts," under pretext of being affected with the leprosy. To avoid the scandal of a public examination, or the risk of being driven from society, they are obliged to pay heavy contributions. It was but two days ago, that a case of this kind occurred at Sagaing. An old woman, with

the recent scar of a common boil upon her hand, was seized by one of the petty constables of the Ara-wun, and to avoid being dragged before the tribunal of that chief, a heavy fine was exacted from her. The leprosy, as well as every other physical evil, is considered by the Burmans as an infliction for some crime or transgression in some former state of existence. I believe that adultery is the particular offence for which leprosy is the supposed punishment.

This subject leads me to say a few words regarding the barbarous opinions and customs obtaining amongst the Burmans in regard to some other bodily infirmities or defects. Among the lepers, we found in the village a man afflicted with epilepsy. He told us he had been driven from his native village on account of this malady—that his friends would not own him, and that he was consequently obliged to take up his residence among the lepers. A strong prejudice appears to run not only against all natural deformities, (and I imagine this is one cause why so few are to be seen amongst the Burmans,) but against those labouring under incurable diseases, and even against such as have been accidentally mutilated. There is an indescribable mixture of caprice, folly, and inhumanity, in the different modes in which this is evinced. One who has lost the sight of both eyes, is forbidden to enter the Palace inclosure; but if he has lost the sight of one only, he may enter. The dumb are also interdicted from this privilege, and the loss of an ear or nose is a sufficient disqualification for the same honour. The loss of any limb, even in action, and when defending the rights of his sovereign or country, deprives a Burman of the right of entering the Palace enclosure, and is attended with the inevitable consequence of the loss of Court favour and preferment. It would be no invidious deduction from these facts to say, that the religion and customs of the Burmese are not calculated to make heroes or patriots. This will account for the extraordinary conduct of some of the Burmese prisoners who were wounded in different actions with us, and who refused to suffer amputation; or tore off the bandages, and bled to death after it was performed. One young man who had submitted to the operation, mistook the nature of it altogether, and, conceiving that

this was our peculiar mode of treating prisoners of war, with the passive courage and disregard of life so frequent with the people of the East, presented the sound leg also for amputation! These lamentable prejudices originate from their religious belief. Every physical evil, it must be repeated, is considered by the Buddhists as the punishment, not so much of offences committed in the present state of existence, as of transgressions in some previous migration. They are not considered as punishments for the benefit of the soul of the sufferer, according to the more generous and consoling view taken of such cases by our ancestors, but as inevitable inflictions merited by the individual on account of himself or ancestors, and the necessary results of the present imperfect order of the world. Those afflicted, consequently experience, generally speaking, little compassion or sympathy. There is indeed some merit in bestowing charity upon lepers and other beggars; but it is very trifling indeed, in comparison with that of giving alms to the priests, or making gifts to or endowing temples.

Nov. 24.—I received intimation yesterday, that the Burman negotiators would meet us to-day, and they accordingly came about one o'clock. A short time before their arrival, I was informed that they would come ready to sign and seal such a Commercial Treaty as they had made up their minds to give. I was a good deal surprised at this statement after the procrastination which had been practised; and would have discredited the account altogether, had I not learned to understand, by this time, that the Burman Government is capable of acting upon occasions with a caprice which baffles all calculation. The account which I had thus received proved to be strictly true. The two chiefs made their appearance with the public seal of the Government, and two expert writers, for the purpose of making fair copies of the proposed treaty, should I accept it. Under the belief that farther discussion would serve no useful purpose, and might even produce an unpleasant degree of irritation, I resolved to accept of the proffered document, provided it contained nothing extravagant or improper.

The conference commenced as follows:—

B. "At the last conference you stated, in reference to the Commercial Treaty, that you would insist upon nothing which it would be unpleasant to us to grant. We have now prepared such a treaty as we are disposed to give. If you accept of it, we will cause two copies to be made.

The paper was here given in, and proved to be the draft heretofore agreed upon; the second article, providing for the free export of gold and silver, being omitted; and that clause of the fourth article, now become the third, allowing the families of merchants to quit the country, being struck out.

E. I agree to the treaty as you now present it, and I am ready to sign and seal it. As there were considerable discrepancies between the Burman and English copies in the Treaty of Yandabo, and as, out of consideration to you, the Burman copy has always been acted upon, I propose now that the original treaty should be in Burman only.—*B.* We agree to this, but request you will furnish us, at the next conference, with an attested English translation.—*E.* I will be sure to supply you with the translation you require."

The copyists now began to make drafts of the treaty, which, from the tedious manner in which they proceeded, took up nearly three hours, during which time, little or no other business was transacted. My chief motives for proposing a Burman original copy of the treaty only, I have expressed in my observations to the Atwen-wuns. In addition to these, I may state, that so many Burman idioms, and so much amplification had been introduced by the chiefs, from time to time, that I found it would be very difficult to make a fair translation in tolerably good English, that would correspond strictly with the Burman version.

B. The treaty is now nearly ready for seal and signature. You intimated to us at the last meeting, that, whatever might be the result of the commercial negotiation, the friendship between the two nations should not be interrupted. We beg you now to inform us, by what means you propose to cement the friendship you alluded to, and to furnish us with some proofs of it.—*E.* When the treaty is signed and sealed, I shall be glad to take

into friendly consideration any proposition which you have to make. For my own part, my business is now done. I have no favours to ask.

The junior Atwenwun was here upon the point of insisting that the granting of the four articles of the Commercial Treaty were favours conceded by the Burman to the British Government, but was interrupted by his co-adjutor.

B. Although it be not a subject relating to the Commercial Arrangement, we beg to state that we desire now to renew the question of the postponement of the third and fourth instalments, on the score of friendship.—*E.* I request you will state to me distinctly what your wishes are upon this subject.

Jun. Atw.—A Commercial Treaty has now been signed and sealed, and friendship must increase in consequence. We hope, therefore, that you will agree to put off the payment of the third and fourth instalments, as heretofore arranged.—*E.* If you mean to say that you expect me to defer the payment of the third and fourth instalments unconditionally, and without receiving an equivalent from you, I must plainly say, that I will not.

The Atwenwuns made a reply to this, in which the question of paying interest was introduced; but after some hesitation they requested Dr. Price not to translate it.

B. When we have made up our minds upon the subject of the proposition which we have to offer on this subject, we will solicit another conference.—*E.* This is putting the conferences off indefinitely. I beg you to fix a day for the next. My business is now concluded, and I wish to return, that I may be able to report to my Government. It is my intention to leave Ava, if possible, in about seven days.

B. You, of course, desire to see the King before your departure.—*E.* Certainly, if his Majesty expresses a wish to grant us an audience.

B. We beg you will take into your consideration the difficult circumstances of our situation in respect to this point. If you fix on too early a day for your departure, it may not suit the King's convenience to give

you an audience within that period.—*E.* Although the principal business of my mission to Ava is now settled, I beg you to understand, that I shall not, on that account, be the less disposed to give a friendly attention to any fair proposition which you may desire to make.

A civil reply, in general terms only, was given to this observation. The Burman commissioners, from the moment of my accepting the treaty, were greatly out of spirits, especially the senior, who, for the first time, allowed the junior to take a lead in the conversation. The impression which their behaviour made upon us, was, that they had proffered the treaty not in good faith, but as a mere artifice; and that they were mortified and disappointed that difficulties were not made upon our side, especially on the subject of the fourth article, from which they might have drawn some advantage, when their proposition to defer the payment of the third and fourth instalments should be brought forward.

The treaty was signed, sealed, and delivered, about six in the evening. The following is a literal translation:—

"A Commercial Treaty, signed and sealed at the Golden City of Ra-ta-na-pura, on the 23d of November 1826, according to the English, and the ninth of the decrease of the moon, Tan-soung-mong, 1188, according to the Burmans, by the Envoy Crawfurd, appointed by the English Ruler, the Company Buren, who governs India; and the Commissioners the Atwenwun, Mengyi-thi-ri-maha-then-kyan, Lord of Sau, and the Atwenwun Men-gyi-maha-men-l'ha-thi-ha-thu, Lord of the Revenue, appointed by his Majesty, the Burmese Rising Sun Buren, who reigns over Thu-na-pa-ran-ta, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries.

"According to the Treaty of Peace between the two great nations made at Yandabo, in order to promote the prosperity of both countries, and with a desire to assist and protect the trade of both, the Commissioner and Envoy Crawfurd, appointed by the English Company Buren, who rules India, and the Commissioners the Atwenwun, Mengyi-thi-ri-maha-nanda-then-kyan, Lord of Sau, and the Atwenwun, Mengyi-maha-men-l'ha-thi-ha-thu, Lord

of the Revenue, appointed by his Majesty the Burmese Sun rising Buren, who reigns over Thu-na-pa-ra, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries :— these three, in the Conference Tent at the landing-place of Ze-ya-pu-ra,* north of the Golden City of Ra-ta-na-pura, with mutual consent completed this engagement.

"*Article* 1.—Peace being made between the great country governed by the English Ruler, the Indian Company Buren, and the great country of Ra-ta-na-pura, which rules over Thu-na-pa-ra, Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries, when merchants with an English certified pass from the country of the English Ruler, and merchants from the kingdom of Burma, pass from one country to the other, selling and buying merchandise, the sentinels at the passes and entrances, the established gate-keepers of the country, shall make inquiry as usual, but without demanding any money; and all merchants coming truly for the purpose of trade with merchandise shall be suffered to pass, without hinderance or molestation. The Governments of both countries also shall permit ships with cargoes to enter ports and carry on trade, giving them the utmost protection and security. And in regard to duties, there shall none be taken, beside the customary duties at the landing-places of trade.

"*Art.* 2.—Ships whose breadth of beam on the inside (opening of the hold) is eight royal Burman cubits, of nineteen and one-tenth English inches each, and all ships of smaller size, whether merchants from the Burmese country entering an English port under the Burmese flag, or merchants from the English country with an English stamped pass entering a Burmese port under the English flag, shall be subject to no other demands beside the payment of duties, and ten ticals, twenty-five per cent. (ten sicca rupees) for a passport on leaving. Nor shall pilotage be demanded, unless the captain voluntarily requires a pilot. However, when ships arrive, information shall be given to the officer stationed at the entrance of the sea. In regard to vessels

* A corruption of the Sanscrit Jaya-pura, or "city of victory"—a name for Sagaing.

whose breadth of beam exceeds eight royal cubits, they shall remain according to the ninth article of the Treaty of Yandabo, without unshipping their rudders or landing their guns, and be free from trouble and molestation as Burmese vessels in British ports. Besides the royal duties, no more duties shall be given or taken than such as are customary.

"*Art.* 3.—Merchants belonging to one country, who go to the other country and remain there, shall, when they desire to return, go to whatever country and by whatever vessel they may desire, without hinderance. Property owned by merchants they shall be allowed to sell. And property not sold, and household furniture, they shall be allowed to take away, without hinderance, or incurring any expense.

"*Art.* 4.—English and Burmese vessels meeting with contrary winds, or sustaining damage in masts, rigging, &c. or suffering shipwreck on the shore, shall, according to the laws of charity, receive assistance from the inhabitants of the towns and villages that may be near; the master of the wrecked ship paying to those that assist suitable salvage, according to the circumstances of the case; and whatever property may remain, in case of shipwreck, shall be restored to the owner."

Nov. 25.—The Armenian Sarkies Manook, who brought up our dispatch on the 9th, and whose useful services, as interpreter to Sir A. Campbell during the war, are well known to those acquainted with the history of the Burman war, did not think it prudent to call upon us until about four days ago, in consequence of the jealousy with which his movements were watched by the Burman Government. He called again to-day, and expressed his alarm at his situation, signifying that his personal safety required that he should return to Rangoon along with us. Spies were set round his house, and although he had brought a large investment of goods, well suited for the market, he was not able to effect sales even to the smallest extent, no Burman merchant daring to come near him. This affords a true picture of the Burman Government. Should any one in such a case, that is, when an individual is labouring under the displeasure or suspicion of Government, presume to

purchase goods belonging to him, and they are afterwards discovered in the possession of the buyer, they are declared to be illegally obtained, and in due course confiscated,—the offender being farther liable to fine, imprisonment, or corporal punishment, according to circumstances. This is not a matter which happens now and then, but an established and well-known custom, of frequent occurrence. S. Manook had made to the King and his officers presents to the value of 22,000 rupees; but, notwithstanding this, he had not found it safe even to hint at his claims upon the Government, which, according to his statement, amount to above four lacs of rupees, or 40,000*l.*

Yesterday we had again the pleasure of receiving another dispatch from Rangoon, which came in nineteen days, under the escort of a corporal and four Sepoys. This brought us Indian and Europe letters and public dispatches from Rangoon and Calcutta.

Nov. 26.—Yesterday forenoon the two Atwenwuns paid us a complimentary visit at our house, which they had never done before. The object of this condescension could not be mistaken: they were desirous of using every means and every persuasion to induce me to put off for a time the payment of the third and fourth instalments without the payment of interest,—a project which seems now to have been dropped, though at one time eagerly courted. The visit was long, but it was not until towards the close of it that any business was introduced.

The following notes of the conversation that took place were taken down:—

E. I received letters yesterday from Sir A. Campbell. He was upon the point of quitting Rangoon, and by this time has left it, without staying out the whole time by which you had exceeded the period of paying the second instalment. Every thing is amicably settled in that quarter. This has happened as I repeatedly informed you it would. There was no occasion, therefore, I must remind you, of the doubts and anxieties expressed by you upon this point. We never depart from the solemn engagements which we have made.—*B.* This is all right. We have information from the Wungyi at Henzada, that he has been invited to Rangoon by Sir A. Campbell. The

time is now drawing near for the payment of the third instalment. We shall not be able to fulfil our engagement, for we have not the means. We beg to bring this circumstance under your consideration.

E. I communicated my sentiments to you at the last meeting. Have you any new proposal to make?—*B.* What we request is, that you would engage to put off the payment of the third and fourth instalments, in the same manner you proposed doing, had we assented to the free exportation of gold and silver, as well as given permission to merchants to take away their families.

E. As I mentioned to you before, I have no specific authority to put off the third and fourth instalments even one day. I promised you, however, that if you could show that you had difficulty in making prompt payment, and that you executed at the same time such a Commercial Treaty as was promised at Yandabo, I would take upon myself the responsibility of prolonging, for a moderate time, the period of paying the third and fourth instalments. You have not executed such a treaty; and I have, therefore, now no plea whatever to urge with my Government for taking so heavy a responsibility upon myself as is implied in your proposal.—*B.* At a conference some time ago, you held out some hopes to us that you would take it upon yourself to postpone the payment, if we could convince you that we were not able to pay at the time appointed by treaty. The known distress of the country, for a long time back, will satisfy you of our inability to pay at the period agreed upon.

E. I must repeat to you that my engagement was to postpone the period of payment on *two* sufficient grounds, viz. the execution of the treaty in the form in which I wished it, and your exhibiting evidence of your incapacity to make prompt payment.—*B.* Bassein, Dalla, Rangoon, and the other southern provinces, which are the most productive parts of the country, have long been out of our hands, and we have drawn no revenue from them.

E. There is no occasion at present to bring forward any arguments upon this subject. Some days ago you sent me confidentially the Wun of Bassein,

with certain propositions respecting the deferment of the third and fourth instalments. I told him, for your information, that, as a favour to the Burman Government, I would take upon myself the risk of postponing payment upon your conditions. You do not, however, advert to the proposition in question, although it originated with yourselves.

No reply was made to this observation. The Atwenwuns had been sitting one on each side of me. They now changed their places, and along with Dr. Price, the two Than-d'hau-thans, the Wun of Bassein, and the Commander of the Guard of Swordsmen, formed a group, and consulted together for near half an hour without being able to come to any determination. I was afterwards informed that various projects were started and discussed to induce us to prolong the period of paying the money, such as paying interest, and even conceding one or both of the articles heretofore refused; but they finally came to no determination, and concluded by saying that they would renew the discussion upon some other occasion. I renewed the subject of taking my departure, stating that my business was completed. I requested the boats which had been promised, and begged that a day might be fixed for paying our respects to the King, and taking leave. The officers of the Burman Government were aware that we could not quit without boats, and that no one dared to give them without their sanction. They were therefore anxious to throw delays in the way of our departure, hoping they might gain some advantage by having us thus in some measure in their power. They would have considered it a weakness and want of political sagacity not to have availed themselves to the fullest extent of such opportunities. A like conduct was systematically pursued during my mission to Siam; and I may safely venture to assert, that every agent of an European Government to these two States may reckon upon encountering similar difficulties. With a view to procrastination, the Atwenwuns now proposed a number of visits for our amusement,—such as one to Amarapura, one to the temple containing the celebrated Aracan image, oneto the great tank of Aong-ben-lá, and one to the celebrated temple at Mengwan, which I have before mentioned. To put off time, they would

have had a day allotted for each of these places, though some of them are within two or three miles of each other.

We received a visit this morning from a chief named Maong-Shwe-lú, whose office is named "North Commandant of the Palace." This person had always shown a great partiality for Europeans, and was a staunch friend and protector of Mr. Judson during his imprisonment. When Captain Lumsden and the other officers from the camp of Sir Archibald Campbell visited Ava, they were hospitably received and entertained in the house of Maong-shwe-lú. We received him, of course, with as much attention as was in our power. In manners he was plain and blunt, and spoke with a loud voice. This, by the way, is a remarkable circumstance with Burmans of all ranks. Even in common conversation, they usually pitch their voice to a high key, as if they were delivering an oration. Maong-shwe-lú, as usual, told us his age: it was sixty-two, but he had not a grey hair in his head, and did not look more than forty. Indeed, from the great number of old people that are to be seen about Ava, there is ground to suppose that the climate is perfectly salubrious, and that longevity is probably as frequent as in any other part of the world.

Nov. 28.—I had another visit to-day from the Atwenwuns, accompanied, as usual, by Mr. Lanciego and the two Than-d'hau-thans. The circumstance of coming to our dwelling, instead of meeting us half-way and formally, at the shed or tent, was intended as a mark of conciliation and compliment. The following conversation took place, and the substance of it was carefully noted down by the Atwenwuns, a matter which was not done at the last meeting:—

B. We are now great friends. We have granted you four articles of the Commercial Treaty; but there is one article to which we have not acceded,—that respecting the exportation of gold and silver. You came here as a commissioner, (Than-ta-man, one vested with full powers,) and we imagined you had authority to remit the third and fourth instalments of the money-payment due on the Treaty of Yandabo, as well as to restore the provinces which were ceded to you. You have told us that you have no such au-

thority. We think it better, therefore, to withhold permission for the free exportation of gold and silver, until we can make final arrangements through our ambassadors in Bengal.

E. I am satisfied with having done my duty in arguing in favour of such a commercial arrangement as it appeared to me was provided for in the Treaty of Yandabo, and which would certainly have been equally beneficial to both parties. I do not mean to discuss the subject again; but if you consider it for your interest to renew the topic, it can be done advantageously through your ambassadors in Bengal.

B. Do you approve of our sending an embassy to Bengal, for the purpose of farther discussing the Commercial Treaty, and for making arrangements for the remission of the money payment, and the restoration of the ceded provinces?—*E.* You can send ambassadors to Bengal at any time, either to reside there permanently, or to return, as you may think proper. This is provided for by the second article of the Treaty of Yandabo. The same article gives us a right to send ambassadors to be resident, or otherwise, at the Court of Ava. I certainly approve of your sending ambassadors generally, because I am convinced that an interchange of missions will contribute materially to cement the bonds of friendship. With respect to the particular objects which you state you have in view by sending an embassy, this is your own affair, and I do not presume to offer any opinion upon it. I have to repeat, that I consider my principal business as settled, and I therefore wish that a day may be fixed for my departure.

B. We suppose you are desirous of seeing the King?—*E.* I have said so before. We are certainly desirous of having an audience of his Majesty, provided it be agreeable. Will you be so good as to make arrangements for determining the day.

B. This is a matter of some difficulty, but we will consult our superiors upon the subject. A lucky day must first be found, and then preparation must be made for your reception, for the King is desirous of receiving you handsomely.—*E.* I have spoken several times before to yourselves and the

inferior officers respecting boats, and they are not yet furnished. It will take some time to arrange and prepare our baggage.

B. The boats will be supplied without loss of time."

The question put to me, asking my opinion respecting the propriety of sending an embassy to Bengal, and the reply given to it, excited some uneasiness in the Atwen-wuns; and after an interval of at least half an hour, they renewed the subject.

"*B.* When we requested your opinion respecting sending a mission to Bengal, we wanted only your private sentiments upon the subject. We did not mean that we should act upon your opinion, for we have already decided that an embassy is to be sent. Much, you know, depends upon the manner in which such a question is put, and the tone in which the words are delivered.—*E.* My public and private sentiments upon such a subject must be exactly the same. The more frequently you send ambassadors to Bengal the better. Missions from you will be considered by us as marks of your friendship. What favours your ambassadors are to ask when there, and what points they are to discuss, are subjects upon which it is impossible for me to offer any opinion."

The Atwen-wuns, having made arrangements for our paying a visit to Amarapura to-morrow, took their departure. I may mention here an extraordinary example of the extravagance of Burman compliment. Turning round to me immediately before going away, the junior Atwen-wun congratulated himself upon his good fortune in having met "so valuable a friend: a true friend," he added, "is not to be met with above once in a creation or existence!" This piece of bombast was delivered with immovable gravity. The Burmans, on such occasions, make no scruple of borrowing assistance from their theological opinions. Sir A. Campbell informed me, that at one of the negotiations, which preceded the peace, and in which the Burmans had no object but that of putting off time and deceiving us until the force was collected, which was afterwards defeated near Prome, one of the chiefs, the Governor of the province of Sarawadi, a little shrewd

old man, who was always counting his beads, was loud in his praise of all peace-makers; and assured the commander of the British army, that he in particular would be quite sure of meeting his reward in some distinguished and elevated transmigration, if through his means the British granted a favourable peace to the Burmans. I was present when Sir A. Campbell saw this person for the first time afterwards, and when he was reminded of the compliment in question: the old man was nothing abashed, but joined very heartily in the laugh which the recollection of this circumstance created.

Dr. Wallich returned to-day from a botanical excursion to the range of mountains lying east of Ava, which he performed with the sanction of the Burman Government. The following is the narrative of this short but interesting journey, which was replete with botanical discoveries:—

"I left Sagaing with Lieutenant Montmorency at half-past eleven o'clock on the forenoon of the 22d of November, and crossed the Irawadi opposite to the mouth of the Myit-ngé, or little river, which bounds the town of Ava to the east. The early part of this day's journey was along the right bank of that stream, the course of which is remarkably tortuous,—more so, I think, than that of the river Gumtee in Hindostan, which takes its name from this circumstance. We passed two villages, and saw some fields of cotton and rice, with several gardens of betel pepper. These last consisted of latticed enclosures, covered in with mats. There were no trees within, but the vines were trailed on the latticed walls, which were at least double the height of any which I had ever seen before. The leaves were piquant, juicy, and high flavoured. The road was generally good, but our progress was delayed by the small number of our carriers, and we were obliged to hire two carts. A shower of rain forced us to take shelter under a shed on the road-side. Here we saw an old lady riding on an elephant, one of the Royal Family, recognized as such by her gilded umbrella: she was followed by a numerous train of females. At half-past five in the evening we halted at the village Shwezí, putting up at a Zayat, or caravansera: close to this place was a large group of ancient temples, resembling in form those of Pugan. The country around

was scarcely less bleak and sterile than in the neighbourhood of that place. I found here, however, the first new plant, a beautiful single lanceolate-leaved *crotolaria*, cultivated for hemp. Our course, in to-day's journey, was north-east; and when we halted, the hills were not above three miles distant. These are the first of several ranges visible from Ava.

"We left our ground at eight o'clock in the morning of the 23d. The road soon became very indifferent, and we passed through a country much covered by the *Zizyphus Jujuba*, or *Bher*, as it is called in Hindostan. Here and there, there were a few patches of cultivated ground. The course of the Myit-ngé was at no great distance to our right. At three in the afternoon we arrived at a spacious range of Zayats, the best of which we took possession of. The Myit-ngé was still close at hand; and not far off was a group of temples, and a very splendid monastery, well filled with priests. The temples, we were told, were constructed by the present King. One of the buildings had its inner wall crowded with odd grotesque paintings, each group or figure having underneath it an inscription. Some of these paintings represented Hindoos, Mohammedans of India, Chinese, Aracanese, Shans, and Europeans, carrying offerings to a temple of Gautama. We were particularly struck with the representation of a Mohammedan horseman riding over and upsetting his followers, the horse plunging and rearing, and the rider unsaddled and clinging to his neck.

"In this day's route we met a caravan of Shans returning to their own country. The principal part of their merchandise consisted of Ngapyi, or pickled fish. Their numerous cattle, consisting of oxen, large and in excellent condition, were grazing in an extensive plain, not far from the road-side. The path we were pursuing was the common route between the Shan country, or Lao, and Ava.

"Delays and difficulties, occasioned by the laziness and apathy of our Burman attendants and guides, prevented us from pursuing our journey, on the 24th, until eight o'clock in the morning. The carts would not accom-

pany us to the foot of the hills; and the porters, whom we got in lieu of them, insisted upon being relieved before they had got on two miles. This was at the village of Kwe-napa,* close to the bank of the Myit-ngé, which at this place is very narrow, with steep banks. At a ferry, which is here, we saw ten or twelve boats, with a number of carts waiting to cross. We resumed our march at eleven o'clock, and began to pass through a forest of bamboos, some of which were in flower. Here I had the satisfaction to find the plant of *Sapindi*, on the very spot where my assistant had discovered it not many days before. It is nearly allied to *Cardiospermum*, with a heart-shaped, flat fruit, resembling an ace of spades; I called it *Cardiopteris*. Hitherto, with the exception of the caravan of Shans, we had seen few travellers; but in passing through this forest we met with several. The ground soon began to rise in a gentle acclivity, and we shortly reached the foot of the hills. In the low land, detached rocks were seen here and there, composed of compact limestone. The ascent of the mountains occupied exactly five hours. The road was winding, but far from steep or difficult: for the greater part of it I rode my pony. No section of the rock was any where to be seen; but we frequently passed over masses of it, forming the road. About half-way up we passed the village of Ziben, near to which there was cultivated a little rice and some millet. A little beyond it I found the species of oak which my assistant had brought to me. Along with it was seen the teak, although not very frequent; so that here probably, for the first time, by an European at least, was seen growing naturally, side by side, the two greatest glories of the forests of Europe and Asia. I did not, in all, see above forty teak trees, and they were evidently not at home, for their stems were irregular, not exceeding ten feet high to the crown, nor above ten or twelve inches in diameter. The trees were in fruit; and under the old ones were to be seen numerous seedlings. At six in the evening we reached Tongtaong, or the Village of the Three Mountains, and found shelter for the night

* The Buffalo's Nose. This seems to be the name of the hill.

in a tolerably good wooden house. The evening soon became cold, and we were glad to get under our blankets at an early hour. The village we were at was but small: it is situated on a spacious table-land, considerably below the highest portion of the mountain. Our *cicerone*, rather a disagreeable person, addicted to strong potations and other irregularities, and who slept in the same apartment with us, was the lord, or, as the Burmans call it, "the eater" of this village and the lands attached to it. Belonging to it are some good fields of millet, nearly ripe, with fields of sesamum, tobacco, and maize. In its gardens and orchards there were, ginger, papya figs, jacks, and guavas, with some common esculent vegetables. Among the latter there was abundance of pumpkins, and a large kind of bean, pretty frequent in Hindostan (*Dolichos tetra gonolobus.*) Among the trees there was one remarkable for such a situation, the common pear-tree. The greater number of these were covered with a profusion of blossoms; on some, however, there was fruit nearly ripe. This was round, a little depressed, tolerably smooth, and of a brown colour. Although neglected, and nearly in a wild state, it was not without flavour.

"Part of the forenoon of the 25th we spent in arranging and putting up the rich harvest of plants which I had made the day before. At noon we made an excursion into the forest, where I discovered a second species of oak, larger than the first, and a new species of raspberry.

"On the 26th, we ascended the highest part of the mountain, which I estimate to be between three and four hundred feet above the level of the table-land on which the village stands. In this excursion, I made a fine collection of rare plants, among which were two additional oaks and a walnut-tree, with ripe fruit, smaller than the common kind; of which last, by the way, we found the nuts in the village, said to be brought from the country of the Shans. No strawberries nor firs were found in any part of the hills, and, upon the whole, but few ferns. I discovered but one *Carex* and no arjemony, though this be found on the hills of the Nepal. I did not find either the tea or *Camellea*, nor do the people seem to be aware that they exist in these hills. I found, however, one *Gordonia*, a genus nearly allied to them. Among the plants

found in this day's excursion, were some noble gigantic *Hedycheæ*, out of flower. Of these and other *Scitamineæ* and *Orchideæ*, I took large roots.

"The ascent to the top of the hill was now clearing for cultivation, and traces of that of the last season were visible. It is curious to observe that the only trees allowed to stand are oaks. These are of no great height or size, seldom exceeding two feet in diameter: they certainly do not exceed in size those found upon the lowest hills of Nepal. Two of the species were in flower.

"At seven, in the morning of the 27th, we commenced our journey back to Ava. At nine o'clock we arrived at a village about two-thirds of the way down; and after halting there for some time, we prosecuted our journey, reaching the foot of the hills at two in the afternoon. It took us an hour more to pass through the bamboo jungle; and after a march, which we estimated at ten miles, we halted for the night at a village, putting up, as usual, at a Zayat. On our way down we met a number of loaded cattle proceeding to the country of the Shans with merchandise; and near the place where we halted we saw a still greater number of oxen, belonging to Shan merchants, grazing in the fields.

"We did not leave the village until eight o'clock in the morning, delayed, as usual, in collecting porters to carry our luggage. In the early part of our journey we passed several villages, and at twelve entered the high-road leading to Amarapura. We passed under the walls of that town, having a large lake to our left. Proceeding towards the Irawadi, we went through the extensive suburbs of Amarapura, and soon reached the river. At two o'clock our party embarked in three small boats, and in an hour and a half reached Sagaing.

"That portion of the mountain which we ascended lies due east from Sagaing, which was so distinctly visible from the top, that we found no difficulty in taking its bearings. The distance, calculated to the place where we began to ascend, we computed at about twenty miles. The general direction of the whole range is nearly north and south. The thermometer,

before sunrise in the morning, stood at the lowest at 56°. At Sagaing, at the same hour, it stood at 67°. This makes a difference of eleven degrees, which, allowing three hundred feet of elevation to each degree, will make the height of the hill, above the level of Sagaing, 3300 feet. The thermometer, however, was observed at the village, which I estimated to be from three to four hundred feet below the highest portion of the hill which I ascended; so that the greatest elevation of the mountain may be estimated at about 3600 feet above the Irawadi.

"We found the air bracing and elastic. At night heavy dews fell. The thermometer, in the morning at sunrise, as I have already mentioned, was at 56°, and at the highest 60°. I had it in my power to make but one observation in the afternoon, when it rose to 74°. The medium of three observations, taken in the evening at eight o'clock, gave 61°. In the dry season these mountains are probably healthy, at least to those accustomed to live on them, who had all the appearance of good health. The inhabitants of the plains, however, consider them extremely insalubrious; and it is probable, from the great quantity of forest, that they are so in the wet season, at least to those whose constitutions are unaccustomed to them.

"I brought with me abundant specimens of the rock, wherever it presented itself: this proved to be every where compact limestone, either of a blue or reddish brown colour. The only mineral was calcareous spar; but the inhabitants of the village gave us a few small specimens of *Iron Pyrites*, which they said was procured in the neighbourhood.

"The soil was of a dark reddish brown colour, tolerably deep, and not hard or stubborn; the cultivation consisting of a little rice, maize, tobacco, some pulses, but chiefly large millet, *(andropogon cernium,)* and sesamum. These throve well, especially the two last, which were very luxuriant crops. The inhabitants are supplied with water from a fine spring, about half a mile from the village. Several small brooks of limpid water were to be found amongst the hills, and here and there a few pools in the beds of torrents which had existed during the rainy season.

"With respect to plants, I was particularly fortunate in my researches; having obtained, in the short space of four days, between three and four hundred new species. Respecting these it is not necessary to add more than I have already said, as an ample account of them will be given in another place.

"In our visit to the hills we saw very few wild animals. Of the larger, those said to exist are a small species of cow, called by the Burmans Shat; elephants, hogs, a few deer, tigers, leopards, and monkeys. The elephants appeared to be very numerous, and troublesome to the inhabitants. On the second night of our arrival, the village we were at was alarmed by a threatened incursion of these animals, and we were kept awake for several hours by the blowing of horns and the shouting and howling of the inhabitants, to frighten them away.

"The population of the hills appeared to be extremely scanty. We saw but two villages. The inhabitants spoke the Burman language, but were dressed in the costume of the Shans. There is, however, a wild race on the mountains, known to the Burmans under the name Danno, but we saw none of them."

Images of the Cochin Chinese Buddha.

CHAPTER X.

Visit to Amarapura, the late capital.—Celebrated Aracanese Image of Gautama, and Temple containing it.—Numerous ancient Inscriptions.—Translation of two of them.—Description of Amarapura.—Burman Funerals and singular custom.—Visit from the Atwenwuns, and discussion which ensued.—A fire breaks out in the city of Ava, on account of which the first Minister is punished.—Another visit from the Atwenwuns.—Arrival of a dispatch from Bengal, and discussion respecting it.—Another Visit from the Atwenwuns.—Mission presented to the King, and account of the catching of a wild Elephant, with other Amusements.—Another Audience of his Majesty.—Weaning of a young Elephant, and Elephant Fights.—Description of the King of Ava's Elephants.—Farewell Visit from the Atwenwuns.—Titles of honour conferred by the King on some Officers of the Mission—and presents delivered for the Governor-General of India.

Nov. 30.—YESTERDAY we paid a visit to Amarapura, which by land is reckoned to be three taings, or six miles, above Ava; but, I think, by water not more than three and a half or four miles. It is on the same side of the river, but far less conveniently situated for a capital. Before the latter, the stream of the Irawadi is clear of islands, and, in one quarter, nearly washes its walls: all round it in other directions there are navigable rivers, which are extremely convenient. Amarapura, on the contrary, has an extensive island, fronting the town and suburbs, with but a narrow and inconvenient channel between them. There is no river but the Irawadi near it, and from this the walls of the town are now distant about three quarters of a mile, occasioned, I understand, by a change in the course of the river. We passed through a suburb fully more extensive than any of those of Ava; and, leaving the walls of the town on our right hand, proceeded in a north-west direction towards the hills, on the road to the temple which is so celebrated for

containing the image of Buddha, brought from Aracan. On this road, not far from the town, there is a temple of some repute, called Sand'haumuni, built by the late King: it contains the first bronze images which I had seen in the country. These were a figure of Gautama himself and those of four of his disciples: the latter were very well executed. Around the principal temple (an area intervening) were eighty small temples, each containing the image of a disciple of Buddha.

The Aracan temple is distant from Amarapura about two miles, and was a very costly fabric; as usual, with abundance of gilding, carving, and wooden pillars: the latter amounted to no less than two hundred and fifty-two, all massive, tall, and well gilded. This may convey some notion of the extent of the building. The celebrated image is a sitting statue of Gautama, in bronze, which has the reputation of having been cast in his own lifetime, and is therefore looked upon as peculiarly sacred: it measures seven and two-thirds royal cubits, or about twelve feet, in height: it is gilt all over, as usual: in features it does not much differ from the ordinary figures of Gautama, although, upon the whole, probably these are a little more animated. This image was brought from Aracan in the year 1146 of the Burman era, corresponding with the year 1784. I am told that it was transported from Aracan by the difficult route of Pa-daong, and not by that of Senbewgioun. To facilitate its carriage, it appears to have been taken to pieces,—a circumstance which does not well accord with the current tradition, that it was cast in one entire mass. It was the principal trophy of the present King's father, as Heir-apparent, when he conquered Aracan in 1783.

A handsome marble slab, similar to others which I have already described, gives an account of the building of the temple, which was the work of the late King, who called it Maha-Myat*-Muni, after the Aracan idol, which, for distinction sake, is known by the Pali title of Maha-Muni, or "the great

* The word "Myat" means, in Burman, "excellent."

saint." He condemned for ever one hundred and twenty families of Aracanese, in all likelihood, the stoutest and most obstinate defenders of their country, to the degrading servitude of slaves to the Pagoda, giving each a Pé of land for subsistence. This was the endowment for the temple.

This building is more frequented by votaries than any other which I have seen, owing to the sanctity attached to the image. Those whom we saw were persons of respectable appearance, and by far the larger number, aged women. The resort of votaries brought with it, of course, a proportionate number of beggars, most of whom were persons lame, blind, or very old.

Here, in a long gallery constructed for the purpose, the late King had collected an enormous number of stone inscriptions, from Sagaing, from Pugan, from San-ku, a place about three days' journey beyond Ava, and Ang-le-ywa, in the country of the Shans—places which contain many relics of antiquity. I counted these, and found they amounted to no less than two hundred and sixty. A few of these inscriptions are on marble slabs, but the greater number on good sandstone: they are all of the form which I have already described: the character is occasionally the old Pali, but more frequently the common round Burman;—the writing, in both cases, is in very good preservation. Such inscriptions as these are only employed to commemorate the founding of temples of the first importance; and the frequency of them, in past times, may be estimated from the extraordinary assemblage of inscriptions here brought together.

To satisfy the curiosity of my reader, I shall give, in the APPENDIX, two of these inscriptions as they were translated for me by my friend Mr. Judson. They are, as usual with all such productions, mystical and puerile. The only merit which can be said to belong to Burmese inscriptions is, that they all contain dates, with some remote allusion to historical events, and that they afford some slender illustrations of the religious opinions and manners of the people.

The first inscription commemorates the building of a temple in honour of the arrival of a saint from Ceylon, bringing with him certain relics of Gau-

tama. The principal date in it, or 794 of the common Burman era, corresponds with the year of Christ 1432. The founder was a king, whose capital was Ava, and whose reign commenced in the Burman year 788, corresponding with the year of Christ 1426. This circumstance is mentioned in the inscription, and corroborated by the Burman chronological MS. which I have already mentioned.

The second inscription seems to be a grant of land endowing several pagodas and monasteries. The date of this corresponds with the year of Christ 1454.

Close to the Aracan temple there is a large wooden building, containing a single handsome image of Gautama. We were induced to visit this place, for the purpose of seeing some images of brass which were among the trophies brought from Aracan, along with the celebrated idol already described. They consisted of several gigantic statues in the human form, three griffins, and one three-headed elephant. The human figures, all more or less mutilated, were lying neglected on the floor: they were represented in a standing attitude, on pedestals, had crowns on their heads, and might measure in all about eight feet high. These, when the image of Gautama was in Aracan, are said to have represented warders or guardians of his temple. The Burmans call such images "Balu," a kind of demon or malignant being. One of them had a third eye in the forehead, and, I thought, might be intended for the Hindoo god Siwa.

Within two miles of the Aracan temple is the tank of Aong-ben-le, which we intended to have visited, but the day was too far advanced. This tank, the only one of the kind that I have heard of in the country, is about two miles long, and one broad, and irrigates an extensive tract of country in its neighbourhood. It was constructed by the late King, and, with the exception of the road from Senbewgioun to Aracan, may be said to be the only considerable work of utility in the kingdom. In returning home, we were desirous of viewing the interior of the fort of Amarapura, but unexpectedly found the gates shut against us. Whether this arose out of jealousy, or caprice, or

an anxiety to conceal from us the "nakedness of the land," we could not find out. This place comparatively so populous as late as 1819, does not now, I am informed, contain more than between two and three hundred houses; the greater number of the inhabitants who did not choose to remove to Ava, having settled in a more convenient situation, in the suburbs, on the river-side.

The fortress of Amarapura is much smaller than that of Ava, but a good deal more regular, and better constructed: it is said to be an exact square. The rampart is of brick, with many small square bastions, in which, and in the curtain, or parapet, there are innumerable small embrasures. The work is surrounded in every direction by a ditch, dry when we saw it. This appeared to us to be about fifty feet broad, and about fifteen deep. Both the scarp and counter-scarp are cased with brick. At the edge of the scarp there is a brick wall, and between this and the rampart a *berme*. There are in all twelve gates, three to a side, to each of which there is a causeway across the ditch. Colonel Syme reckons each side of the fort to measure two thousand four hundred yards, and states that the Burman estimation is four thousand nine hundred royal cubits, which he considers as an exaggeration: it only exceeds his own estimate, however, by two hundred yards nearly, and is probably correct.

I should have mentioned that, in passing through the suburb to the Aracan temple, we called at the house of an Armenian, to see some rubies and sapphires which he had for sale. He produced a few small ones, which we purchased; and told us in confidence, in the Hindustani language, that, for fear of the Government, he dared not produce some large and valuable ones which he had, but which he would offer to us at Rangoon, to which place he was proceeding in a few days. Any ruby worth more than five viss of silver, or five hundred ticals, is considered the property of the King; and to be possessed of it, or to expose it, is deemed a fraud punishable by fine and confiscation.

The lady of Dr. Price, who, as I observed in a former place, was a Bur-

mese, died on the 27th, of an attack of cholera morbus, which was at present prevalent in Ava, but generally not fatal. In her case, the complaint was aggravated by her pregnancy. The disease brought on premature labour, and she sunk in a few hours. Although a convert to Christianity, the funeral ceremony was according to Burman rites, excepting that the body was interred instead of being burnt. The King, as a mark of attention to Dr. Price, whom he considered as his servant and subject, ordered that the funeral should be public, and directed some of the Atwenwuns and other principal officers to attend. The circumstances which accompanied it afforded curious illustration of Burman manners, and deserve to be mentioned. No person dying of cholera morbus, which is considered an infectious complaint, is allowed a funeral with the customary solemnities, but must be interred on the day of death. The body of a woman who dies in labour before the birth of the child, is subjected to a horrid rite. Poor Mrs. Price's case came under both heads; and it was necessary therefore, in order to secure a respectable funeral, that the King should be deceived on both points. A public officer of high rank, a friend of Dr. Price, therefore came forward and declared that the deceased had died in child-birth, and that the infant was born before death. On these assurances, the public funeral was accorded, and took place with all proper solemnity. Funeral expenses amongst the Burmans are defrayed not by the heir or next of kin, but by voluntary contribution among the friends of the deceased. The collections for this purpose are continued for seven days after the decease of the party. This custom was followed upon the present occasion; and the public officers, according to their notions, contributed liberally,—a collection having been made, amounting to one hundred and fifty ticals.

The custom to which I have above alluded, in reference to the funerals of women dying in labour before the birth of the infant, is one of the most revolting rites of Burman superstition. The belief is, that the souls of women dying under such circumstances would become evil spirits, haunting the towns or villages to which the deceased belonged, if a certain ceremony

were not practised to exorcise them. The horrid ceremony in question is as follows:—The husband, with dishevelled hair, and bearing a Dá, or sword, in each hand, goes before the coffin, in the procession, from his house to the funeral ground, using the gestures of a maniac, and cutting the air with the weapons in every direction. When the procession has arrived at the place, the case is inquired into by the public officers, and a regular deed of divorce between the husband and the deceased is drawn up. The body is then opened by one of the burners of the dead, the *fœtus* extracted, and held up to the spectators. The husband, after this, walks thrice round the coffin, goes home, washes his head, and returns, when the corpse is burned with the usual ceremonies. In parts of Pegu there is some refinement upon this abominable ceremony. The body is opened in effigy, by substituting for it the stem of a plantain-tree, of which the pith is extracted, to represent the infant.

This matter, in common with almost every other, is rendered a subject of extortion on the part of the Government officers. Among the public papers in the court of justice at Rangoon, I found the record of a transaction of this nature, which is worth transcribing, No funeral can take place without the sanction of Government, which, as in other cases, is applied for by petition. A person of inferior condition, a painter by profession, lost his wife in child-birth, and makes the following application:—

"The petition of the Painter Ngatwantha. Your petitioner's wife having died in a state of pregnancy, he asks permission to perform the funeral rites according to the custom of the country."

Upon this the Rewun, or second governor, gives the following order:—

"ORDER.

"In accordance with the petition, let the funeral take place agreeably to custom.

"In the year 1183, third day of the waning moon, Tobhaong, the secretary writes the Rewun's order."

At the bottom of the petition is a list of the charges which the husband had to pay, of which the following is a literal translation :—

	tcs.
" For permission to open the abdomen . .	30 0
Fine on the husband	30 0
Fees of justice	30 0
Permission to burn the body . . .	15 0
Principal peace officer, for his attendance . .	15 0
Executioner for his services . . .	17 8
Secretary for recording the transaction . .	10 0
Total ticals . . .	147 8"

December 2.—We had another conference to-day with the Atwenwuns, and again, it was at our private dwelling, instead of the public shed. The Atwenwuns sat near two hours, without touching upon any public question; which led me at first to imagine that they had come upon a visit of ceremony only. To introduce business, I began with the subject of our approaching departure, when the following conversation took place :—

" *E.* The river is falling fast, and the steam-vessel may have difficulty in getting down to Rangoon, if her departure be much longer delayed. May I beg to know whether the boats, which were promised fourteen days ago, be ready ?—*B.* We had secured boats, but finding them too small, we are now looking out for others.

E. May I beg also that you will fix a day for our taking leave of the King, provided it be agreeable to his Majesty to see us?—*B.* Will you fix a day for your departure from Ava; and if within that period it be convenient to the King to receive you, we will give you notice of the particular day?

E. I intimated my intended departure about fourteen days ago. Will

seven days more be sufficient?—*B.* Yes: within that time we pledge ourselves to have all your boats ready.

E. As it will be desirable to send the steam-boat away in a day or two, to save time, I beg you will kindly furnish me with a pilot for her.—*B.* We wish that you would not send the steam-vessel just now, but keep her for a few days, until you go yourselves."

The real business which brought the Atwenwuns was now introduced—the case of the Burman emigrants into our territories. It was the first time that the subject had ever been hinted at, and I imagine it was now introduced in consequence of some communication from Rangoon or Henzada, for previously the matter did not seem to excite much interest here, or to be well understood. It will be seen from the conversation which follows, that the claim to the eastern bank of the Saluen seemed now to be abandoned.

"*B.* Now that the principal business of your mission is over, we wish to say a few friendly words to you on the subject of the future intercourse between Martaban and Molamyaing. Those persons that are emigrating from our country into yours are bad men; therefore, we hope you will be on your guard against their machinations, and hinder them from doing us harm. —*E.* That is a matter of which you may rest assured. It is necessarily implied in the peace and friendship which exist between the two nations. It is the business of friends to assist each other, and not to do them harm. I wished to have inserted an article in the late treaty, expressly providing for this, but you yourselves excluded it.

B. We bring this matter to your notice, in order that, when you arrive at your new settlement, you may take counsel with Sir A. Campbell,* and, as far as respects a person called Mendama and others, do as may be suitable

* None of our officers, during the war, were known to the Burmese by name. All the principal officers were designated Tambo, meaning "general or military chief;" to which an epithet of their own framing was attached. Major Jackson, the Quartermaster-general, for example, a very active officer, was well known under the name of "the Chief with the spectacles;" and the Commander of the Forces was known by no other name than Kyit-tambo, or "the Chief wearing the cock's plume."

and proper—*E.* It is the custom among European nations to protect strangers who have sought refuge among them: we do not permit such persons to be claimed as a matter of right. But when they have committed crimes in their own country, we do not encourage them to settle in ours;—on the contrary, we shall be disposed to give them up,—reserving to ourselves, however, the right of doing so, or otherwise. Formerly you did not understand this custom. You insisted peremptorily on refugees being delivered up to you, and you even crossed our frontier in pursuit of them. This, as you know, led to troubles, and must not happen again. In our country we put no restraints upon our own subjects; they are free to go away when they please. We never think of enticing the subjects of other Governments to settle in our lands. If any Talaings or others in our territory desire to return to yours, we will never prevent them. In return, we expect that you will not forcibly detain any natives of our country who may happen to be in your territory.—*B.* The custom of the English and the Burmans is different in the matter to which you allude. What we said in respect to Mendama and other Talaings was said in friendship. We do not claim any one."

The present appeared a favourable opportunity for claiming the native prisoners who had been seized by the Burmans in their incursions into Cassay, Cachar, and Munnipore. The terms of the eleventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo required, even by the Burman interpretation, that all persons coming under the name of *Kula-net*, or "black strangers," should be delivered up. Several thousand natives of Cassay, Cachar, and Assam, I had ascertained while at Rangoon, were prisoners amongst the Burmans; and since my arrival at Ava, I found that, besides these, there were above one hundred and fifty natives of Sylhet in a state of captivity. These were removed to Amarapura upon our arrival. The day we visited that place, they were removed from thence to a distance of three hours' journey, that they might have no opportunity of representing their case to us.

"*E.* You may be assured that none of your former subjects will be retained by us contrary to their inclinations. If there be now any of our subjects

here, we expect, as a matter of course, that they will either be given up, or permitted voluntarily to quit the country.—*B.* We have given up all you Sepoys.

E. Have you delivered up all persons taken prisoners during the war, who come under the name of Kula-net, whether natives of Cassay, Cachar, Assam, or Bengal? The release of all such persons is stipulated for in the eleventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo.—*B.* We have given up all persons for whose liberty the treaty provides.

E. I can furnish you with a long list of natives of our provinces who were captured during the war, and who are now, I fear, in a state of bondage in this country. I am convinced that, when I make this known to you, you will voluntarily cause them to be liberated.—*B.* We are of opinion that we have already complied with the Treaty of Yandabo, by rendering up all who were demanded of us.

E. The treaty provides that all persons taken prisoners during the war should be delivered up. You cannot say that this has been done; for there are many persons here now desirous of returning to their country, and who are prevented from doing so.—*B.* We know of none that are willing to go away. Do you mean to say that we are to deliver up such persons also as are willing to stay?

E. Certainly I do not. Those who desire to stay are very welcome to do so. It is our wish only to afford an opportunity to those who wish to return to their respective countries, to do so. I can name a number now who are very anxious to return. If you will call them before me, it is easy to ascertain those who want to stay, and those who want to go away.—*B.* You came here to negotiate a Commercial Treaty, and we do not think it is proper to call these people before you.

E. I am vested with powers to inquire into this matter. You have yourselves discussed with me various subjects, not connected with the Commercial Treaty; and hitherto you had only expressed your disappointment that my powers were not more ample."

The Burman negotiators, at this point, seemed to regret that they had introduced the question of Emigration on the Saluen frontier; imagining that it had been the cause of an unpleasant discussion, which might not otherwise have been agitated.

"*B.* When we mentioned the subject of Martaban and Molamyaing, we did not call upon you to deliver up any one to us.—*E.* We have long ago delivered up every Burman prisoner taken during the war, in strict conformity to the eleventh article of the treaty, and no doubt you will also do the same. If you are not prepared to deliver them up to me just now, still you must expect that the British Government will ultimately claim them.

B. We understand perfectly what is in the Yandabo Treaty.—*E.* I must beg you to read it. There are many persons now here in a state of slavery, who are entitled to be released by the eleventh article of that agreement."

One of the objects of the Atwenwuns' visit to-day was to claim the surrender of a native of Madras, who had joined our party shortly after our arrival. Of this I was informed by Mr. Lanciego, before the subject was introduced. This person had been the servant of an officer in Sir A. Campbell's army, and was immediately recognized by Mr. Montmorency as such. He had been taken prisoner between Shwegyen and Setaung, and carried to Ava, where he was ordered to instruct the Burmans generally in the use of fire-arms and cannon! By his own account he had professed his ignorance of such matters; but the Burmans, deeming him contumacious, ordered him into the stocks; from which he was ultimately released, by acknowledging that he was an adept—in spite of himself.

"*B.* There is a person now living in the Envoy's dwelling, whom we desire to be delivered over to us. *E.* Who is this individual? If he be a subject of his Burman Majesty, he will be immediately delivered over. If, on the contrary, he be a native of our country, I expect that you will not make any such demand.

B. The person we allude to took service with the King."

I now ascertained, for the first time, who the particular individual was that was demanded, for I was not aware that such a person was living among our followers and had never seen him.

"*E.* I have ascertained who the person is that you claim. He is a native of our provinces, and was in service in the British army a few months ago. If he desires to stay here, you are very welcome to him; but if he is anxious to leave it, you will certainly not think of detaining a British subject forcibly."

I took this opportunity, which I thought a favourable one, of bringing forward the case of two deserters from his Majesty's 89th regiment, who were known to be at Ava. One of these, the elder, was a person of worthless character, who had seduced the other to desert. Mr. Lain, an English merchant, who had been for some months back at Ava, saw them both but three days before our arrival, but had never seen them since; so that, in all probability, they had either been secreted, or removed to a distance. Mr. Lain described them as being ill provided with food and clothes, and very anxious to deliver themselves up.

"*E.* There are two European soldiers now here, deserters from the British army, who were promised to be delivered up at Yandabo. One of these I claim, in consequence; and I desire to see both, that I may ascertain what their own wishes are.—*B.* We do not know that there are any such persons here, but we will make the necessary inquiry and inform you. We wish to say a few words more, respecting the native of Madras to whom we have already alluded, as matters of this kind are calculated to breed dissensions.

E. I presume you are satisfied that he belonged to the British army; that he is a subject of the British Government, and that he desires to return to his own country.—*B.* This is all very right, but we think the matter ought to have been mentioned to us. The individual in question had engaged to give instructions in certain matters. Our reason for saying so much upon this subject is, that when you are gone, the King may possibly

inquire for this person, and we shall be involved in trouble if we cannot render a satisfactory account of him.

E. All that it is necessary to say to the King is, that this individual was a prisoner of war, and intitled by treaty to his release."

On receiving this explanation, the Atwenwuns got up, charged the two interpreters with not translating properly, laughed very heartily, and said they were quite satisfied. In this humour they took leave.

Dec. 3.—Through the night of the 1st, a fire broke out in the populous suburb which lies between the walls of the town and the little river, and property to a considerable value was destroyed. The house of the widow of the Saya-wungyi, who had been the King's tutor and favourite, was in great danger; and this old lady, who had the reputation of being very frugal, if not avaricious, irritated at her loss, repaired forthwith to the King, and made complaint that, during the conflagration, the Ministers, and especially Kaulen Mengyi, who was her husband's successor, and of whom she was very jealous, were not at their posts; for it appears that it is their special duty to attend upon such occasions. The King, who was still very much out of humour, summoned the Ministers before him; sent for a sword, drew it, and ordered them, one by one, to come forward and swear upon it that they were present at the conflagration, and assisting in extinguishing it. Kaulen Mengyi came forward and avowed that he was not present; but that he had gone as far as the Rung-d'hau, or Town-hall, to give the necessary instructions upon the occasion. He was immediately ordered to be taken out of the Audience-hall; and, to avoid being dragged thence by the hair of the head, according to usage, voluntarily made as rapid a retreat as could be expected from a man between sixty and seventy, and of a weakly constitution. An order was given that he should be punished after a manner which I shall presently describe. The other Ministers, none of whom were present at the fire, escaped under various pretexts of business or sickness. The punishment now awarded to the first Minister is called, in the Burman language, *Ne-pu m'ha l'han thé*, or, "spreading out in the hot sun." The offender who undergoes it is

stretched upon his back by the public executioners, and thus exposed for a given number of hours, in the hottest part of the day, with a weight on his breast, more or less heavy according to the nature of the offence, or rather according to the King's opinion of it. It was at first thought that the sentence, on the part of the King, was a mere threat. Not so; the most faithful and zealous of his Ministers underwent the punishment this afternoon, from one to three o'clock, and not as is customary, on such occasions, with culprits of distinction, within the Palace enclosure, but in the public road between the eastern gate of the Palace and the Town-hall, and in the view of a multitude of spectators. The old malefactor, whom I once or twice before mentioned as being at the head of the band of executioners, superintended the infliction. This person and others of the same class are themselves not intitled to a trial; but may, by the law of the country, be put to death by any of the Ministers, at pleasure, and no questions asked. Here was the first Minister, then, delivered over into the hands of this ruffian, in whose power it was to make the punishment more or less severe. Such are the anomalies of this truly rude and barbarous Government. The stretching and sunning process, I ought to have mentioned, is the punishment of mere peccadillos, and is a very frequent infliction on persons of condition. Kaulen Mengyi had since appeared in the Lut-d'hau, and in the King's presence, and has been carrying on the business of the Government, just as usual. It cannot be supposed, however, but that the ignominy of such a punishment is felt by the person on whom it is inflicted; and consequently those who had seen the Minister since, described him as being low-spirited and downcast.

By the dispatches which I received from Government on the 24th of last month, it was intimated to me that an attempt would be made to open a communication between Calcutta and Ava, by the route of Aracan; and that duplicates of the dispatches which I received by Rangoon would be sent by this new conveyance. The Aracan dispatch had been so long in coming, that I began to give it up, and was of opinion that it had been intercepted

and detained like the letters from Munnipore. This, I have not the least doubt, would have been the case but for the remonstrances made on the subject of the latter. It at length arrived this day, having taken in all two months to reach us, of which forty-five days were spent in the route from Akyab in Aracan. Our accounts from Calcutta, received by way of Rangoon on the 24th ult. came in forty-three days, or in seventeen days less than the Aracan dispatch, although they had not the advantage of being conveyed to Rangoon in the steam-vessel.

The two Atwenwuns came over with breathless haste with the dispatch, as if it had been a matter of the first moment to them. Along with it was an open passport in the Persian and Burman languages, the last of which stated, as a very proper precaution to prevent the imputation of a clandestine transaction, that it should first be brought into the King's presence. The Atwenwuns put their own construction upon this: they said that the passport implied that there were letters for the King of Ava, and therefore that it would be suitable that they should be present when the dispatch was opened. I proceeded to inform them what the nature of the dispatch was; that it contained no secrets whatever; and I explained to them the desire of the Governor-General, to open, with the consent of the Burman Government, a communication between Calcutta and Ava, by the route of Aracan. I stated that I was already in possession of duplicates of the letters which the dispatch contained; and that it was my intention, without any requisition on their part, to have opened the packet in their presence. The Atwenwuns then, with much ceremony, handed the dispatch to me, and requested me to open it, which was done. It contained a joint letter from Mr. Hunter and Mr. Paton, the commissioners in Aracan, very cautiously worded; one from their assistant, Captain Phillips, equally so; a confidential letter from Mr. Secretary Swinton, and duplicates of the Government dispatches received from Rangoon. I handed the letters of the commissioners and their assistant, to Dr. Price, the interpreter of the Atwenwuns, and requested them to make any use they pleased of them. The duplicates,

as soon as I ascertained them to be such, I tore up in their presence, to convince them that they contained nothing of importance. The Atwenwuns began, without scruple or delicacy, to take down, in Burman, the substance of the letters which were handed to them. While I was absent for a moment, bringing the Rangoon dispatches, I left Mr. Swinton's confidential letter on the table. This the Atwenwuns would have laid hold of, had they not been prevented. They observed to Mr. Judson, "Why should not the contents of this also be made known to us, as well as the rest." When I returned, I gave Mr. Swinton's letter for perusal to Dr. Price, and caused to be transcribed from it the following passage for the use of the Atwenwuns. "I shall be happy to hear that the King has given you a good reception, and that he is as anxious as we are to be on good terms. The golden road must now be open for ever." Having thus done as much as possible to satisfy them, I informed them that their desire to be informed of what passed between a Government and its public agent was contrary to the custom of all civilized nations; but that as the Burmans were not aware of this, I had complied with their wishes in order that their Government might be assured that every thing on our part was done openly and in good faith. They pleaded the orders of the King—his belief that there were letters for himself, and the great anxiety he had expressed on the subject of this dispatch. Fortified with this authority, the first Atwenwun proceeded to demand a specification of the contents of each letter, public and private, including the duplicate dispatches. I replied that they had already been furnished with the contents of all the letters which had arrived, with the exception of those torn up in their presence, the contents of which they had nothing to do with, as I was aware of them through another channel. Five natives of Aracan were described as the messengers who had brought the dispatch. I requested they might be sent over to me, that I might reward them for their trouble, and send them back to their own country with answers to the letters I had received, of which answers the Burman Government should be made acquainted with the contents, if desired. They promised to send them in the course of the evening, or

on the following morning. In the discussion which now took place, the importunity and indelicacy of the first Atwenwun were so remarkable, that even his coadjutor disapproved of his conduct, and, turning round to Dr. Price, he observed, "He does not understand good manners; I am ashamed of him." In the course of the interview, I endeavoured again to impress upon the Atwenwuns the impropriety of breaking seals, and intercepting letters and dispatches; and once more demanded the public intercepted letter from Munnipore, already mentioned. They replied as formerly, that they were looking out for it, and would produce it; but this was a mere evasion, for it was never delivered.

Dec. 4.—The Atwenwuns, although we did not expect them, came to-day. Their object was to inform us, that all preparations had been made for our departure. The following conversation took place on the subject:—

"*B.* We have apprized his Majesty of your approaching departure. We have acquainted him that we have furnished you with boats, and we have submitted to him your anxiety to have an audience of leave. He has expressed his pleasure to receive you, to-morrow morning, at the Elephant Palace, where there is to be the exhibition of catching a wild elephant, to which you are invited. Boats will be sent for your party, when the signal of three guns announces his Majesty's coming out.

E. We shall be in readiness to attend. I beg again to introduce the subject of the Bengal prisoners, discussed at our last meeting. I confine my demand at present to such persons being natives of the British provinces who were captured during the war, although, by the strict words of the eleventh article of the treaty, all prisoners whatsoever are entitled to their release. I hand you this paper containing my sentiments on the subject."

The paper alluded to was given in, in Burman, and read by Dr. Price. The following is a translation:—

"By the eleventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo, all English, American, and other white and black foreigners, who were prisoners at the time of making peace, were to be delivered to the English Commissioners and

Envoys; and this ought to have been done, in consideration of the friendship existing between the nations. Down to the present time, however, there are many captive 'black foreigners' in Ava not released; some of them are in a state of slavery; such is not agreeable to the laws of right—such is not the custom of those rulers who observe those laws. It is not to be supposed that the Rising Sun Buren knows this. Release all the black foreigners that are in confinement, and allow them to return to their own countries. Inflict punishment on those officers who have prevented them from returning. I now deliver to the Atwenwuns a list of some who are detained, and will hereafter transmit a complete list from Bengal. The English Government has faithfully kept the Treaty of Yandabo; they have released all their captives; still more, no Burman is ever forcibly detained in the British dominions, but has liberty to go or stay, as he may choose.

B. The arrangement for your departure has been made with the King, and this being the case, we are afraid to enter upon this discussion. We decline receiving the paper which you have given in.

E. It is sufficient for me that I have formally demanded the prisoners. I cannot insist upon your taking the paper, but you have publicly heard my sentiments.

B. We have listened to the contents of the paper, but we are afraid to receive it.

E. The paper is upon a public subject, and I think it ought not to be declined. Have you any objection that I send it to the Lut-d'hau?—

B. We have no objection that you send it to the Lut-d'hau."

A Mr. Stockdale, an English merchant, who had been for some time in the Burman dominions as a trader, died at Ava in 1823. His property, said to amount to twenty thousand ticals, was seized and appropriated to her own use by her Majesty the Queen, under pretext that Mr. Stockdale had no heirs in the country. This was done contrary to the wish of the members of the Lut-d'hau; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of some European merchants, who were at the time at the capital, Mr. Stockdale's pro-

perty had been claimed at Yandabo by the British commissioners; but in consequence of the Burman deputies declaring their total ignorance on the subject, and there being no accounts ready to produce, the claim was not prosecuted. I had received, since arriving at Ava, communications from the agents of the late Mr. Stockdale, at Madras and Calcutta, and thought it my duty to bring the subject forward. The following conversation ensued in regard to it:—

"*E.* A Mr. Stockdale, a British subject, died at Ava, about three years ago. His property was taken charge of by the Burman Government, and is now demanded by his friends and relations. I will either receive it here on their behalf, or, if you prefer it, you may send it to Calcutta. Here is a paper stating the case."

The paper in question, which was in the Burman language, was read. The following is a literal translation:—

"In the Burman year 1185, an English merchant, named Stockdale, died at Ava, and his property was taken possession of by the Burmese Government. His relations and friends have sent letters representing that the Envoy Crawfurd should claim and receive that property. It is contained in the eighth article of the Treaty of Yandabo, that the property of subjects of the English Government dying in Burma without heirs, shall, according to the custom of 'white Kulas,' be delivered to the English officer residing in Burma. Moreover, Stockdale was a merchant, and not concerned in war, and guilty of no offence against the Burmese Government. It is not proper to oppress such a person, or to take his property without any reason. Petition his Majesty, the Rising Sun Buren, who observes the laws of right, which Kings are to observe, that Stockdale's property may be restored."

"*B.* The transaction referred to in this paper took place previous to the Treaty of Yandabo, and ought not therefore to be brought forward. We are ourselves totally ignorant of its nature.—*E.* This subject, I understand, is very well known at Ava. It is true, it took place previous to the Treaty of Yandabo; but the eighth article of that treaty, according to your own

version of it, provides that 'all debts contracted previous to the war, by Government people or common people, shall be completely liquidated, according to good faith.' The property of the late Mr. Stockdale was taken charge of by some person belonging to the Burman Government; it is therefore a debt owing to the heirs of Mr. Stockdale.

B. The property was confiscated, not taken charge of.—*E.* How could the property be confiscated? The two nations, at the time of Mr. Stockdale's death, were at peace. It is not alleged that Mr. Stockdale had committed any offence against the Burman Government, and why should the property of a foreign merchant be confiscated? The treaty provides, that all debts should be paid, whether owed by common people, or Government people. The Burman Government is therefore bound by good faith to restore the property.

B. We will oblige all private persons who are indebted to the late Mr. Stockdale to pay their debts.—*E.* I know of no private debts owing to the estate of Mr. Stockdale: the only property to which I allude is that which was taken charge of by the Burman Government on his demise at Ava."

The Atwenwuns now recurred, of their own accord, to the subject of the prisoners of war, with the following observation:—

"*B.* The Yandabo Treaty stipulated for the liberation of prisoners. All have been delivered that ought to have been delivered up. It is not proper in you, after so long a time has elapsed, to come now and claim others.—*E.* It is surely more improper on your part to detain prisoners that ought, in good faith, to have been long ago voluntarily given up.

B. There are no prisoners here who are anxious to return. Have we prevented any from returning?—*E.* Yes, you have prevented a great number from returning. Will you promise to deliver up to me all those who express a desire to return? I want no others.

B.—Are there any here now?—*E.* Yes, a great many. I have furnished you with a list of some of the principal people.

B. In what place, or in what battles were the persons you allude to captured?—*E.* It is not necessary for me to tell you in what particular situations the unoffending inhabitants of towns and villages were seized and carried off by you. It is enough that they were taken during the war—that they are subjects of our country—that they are forcibly detained by you, and made bondsmen of. I claim not only the persons named in the list I have given in, but their families, friends, and followers.

B. We settled all these matters with Sir A. Campbell at Yandabo, who made no mention at the time of the persons you allude to.—*E.* The Commissioners at Yandabo made a treaty with you, providing, without exception, for the release of all prisoners. The fulfilment of this was left to your good faith, according to the custom of nations. Sir A. Campbell did not know that the individuals I have named were prisoners, or he certainly would have claimed them. This is no ground for your evading the treaty.

B. General Campbell has been a long time at Rangoon, and has not demanded these persons.—*E.* It was but a short time before I left Rangoon, that the matter became known to the British Commissioners. I come now to demand them.

B. We observe, in perusing your instructions, that you are not authorized to treat upon such points.—*E.* I have full authority to treat upon all such points, as you will see on perusing the copy of my credentials with which I furnished you."

The Burman commissioners here proceeded to read aloud a translation of the Governor-General's letter to the King, and observed, that there was not one word in it respecting prisoners of war. It became necessary to send for my credentials, and to hand over, for perusal and explanation, the passage which vested me with powers to treat on such matters as that under discussion.

"*B.* You were selected by the Governor-General as a prudent man, in order to promote the existing friendship. It is not proper in you to introduce subjects that are likely to give offence to the King.—*E.* In bringing

forward this subject, and calling your attention to the fulfilment of the treaty, I am sure that I am taking the best means of promoting peace and friendship between us. A strict execution of the treaty on both sides will be the best means of insuring a lasting friendship. If you are indisposed to enter into the discussion at present, I will not prosecute it any farther; but you may rest quite assured that the British Government will insist upon the delivery of every one of these prisoners, according to the letter of the eleventh article of the treaty. At the last conference I claimed two European prisoners of war, soldiers of the British army, and you stated that you would make inquiries respecting them. Will you be so good now as to deliver them over to me?"

The Atwenwuns, after evincing a good deal of hesitation, made the following answer:—

"*B.* We have inquired respecting the persons you allude to, and can hear nothing whatever respecting them.—*E.* There are just now with Ozana, the Governor of Martaban, several European soldiers, prisoners of war, detained by him in violation of the eleventh article of the treaty. I claim the immediate restoration of these persons, and request that orders may be issued to Ozana to that effect.

B. You can apply upon this subject to the Wungyi Maong-kaing, the Governor of Pegu.—*E.* I have no authority from the British Government to treat with Maong-kaing. My instructions direct me to discuss all such matters directly with the Government of his Majesty: will you therefore give me an order, directed to Maong-kaing, for the delivery of the prisoners?

B. The Wungyi Maong-kaing exercises the authority of a high commissioner, (Than-ta-man,) and it would be improper in us to control his conduct. He will make no difficulties about delivering over the prisoners.—*E.* What difficulty can there be in giving me a letter signifying the wishes of the Government on this subject?

B. It is not necessary; the Wungyi will do every thing of his own accord."

A respectable Mohammedan merchant, of the name of Mohammed Ally, had first at Rangoon, and afterwards since he arrived at Ava, made application to me, to assist him in the recovery of property to the value of 10,000 ticals, nominally owed to him by a private merchant to whom he had sold his goods. The real facts of the case, however, were, that on the breaking out of the war, the goods of Mohammed Ally, sold to a Burman merchant, and only in part paid for, had been seized and confiscated by the Burman Government, according to custom, as the property of an enemy. Mohammed Ally was evidently entitled to relief and assistance, in accordance with the eighth article of the Treaty of Yandabo.

"*E.* I bring to your notice the case of a Mohammedan merchant, named Mohammed Ally, to whom a debt is owing by one Maong-mya. Mohammed Ally is a subject of the British Government, and intitled to assistance by the eighth article of the Treaty of Yandabo. I hand you a paper upon the subject."

A Burman paper was here given in, of which the following is a literal translation:—

"A Mohammedan merchant, Mohammed Ally by name, a townsman of Masulipatam, and a subject of the English Government, states, that Maong-mya, a townsman of Ava, owes him ten thousand ticals of silver, and will not pay. I request that the Burman Government, according to the eighth article of the Treaty of Yandabo, and the first of that Sagaing, will grant protection and assistance, in order that Mohammed Ally may recover his property."

"*B.* Who is this person Maong-mya? Is it the present Rewun of Rangoon?—*E.* The person alluded to is not the Rewun of Rangoon, but a merchant of Ava, of the same name.

"*B.* We think we understand this case, and pledge ourselves that justice shall be done to Mohammed Ally."

The three papers delivered in at this meeting were left, by the Burman commissioners, on the table. They were evidently anxious to evade the subjects of them, or at least wished to reserve to themselves the power of

putting their own construction upon the subject of them. I had not signed or sealed them; for these formalities, on a former occasion, had excited so much apprehension, that I forbore from doing so, in the hope of inducing the Burman officers to take them in any shape. Notes were taken by the Burmese negotiators on the subject of the claims of Mr. Stockdale and the Mohammedan merchant, but no memoranda whatever respecting the prisoners.

Dec. 6.—Our promised presentation to the King took place this forenoon. A suitable number of boats were sent to receive us, and at twelve o'clock we crossed the river, and arrived at the Elephant Palace, which is about a mile below the town, and close to the banks of the Irawadi. The Elephant Palace and its appurtenances is a place appropriated for exhibiting, for the King's diversion, the taming of the wild male elephant. This place is a square enclosure, surrounded every where by a double palisade, composed of immense beams of teak timber, each equal in diameter to the mainmast of a four hundred ton ship. Between the palisades there is a stone wall, about fourteen feet high and twenty thick. On the top of this the spectators are seated to view the sport. The Palace is situated on the south-west angle of the square, and is upon a level with the highest part of the wall. The enclosure has two entrances; the gates of which are composed of beams, which can be moved at the bottom by means of ropes. The centre of the enclosure is a green sward, in the middle of which there is a temple surrounded by a palisade. This temple is dedicated to a Nat, named by the Burmans Udin-main-so. This personage is said to have been king of a country called Kosambi in Majima Desa, or the "middle land;"—that is to say, Western India, or the country of the Hindoos. He was cotemporary with Gautama; and in his transmigration became, in consequence of his skill in taming elephants, a King of Nats, and the guardian and protector of elephant-hunting.

We were received under a shed which represents the Lut-d'hau, and which is situated on the north side of the enclosure. We had not been here above a few minutes, when we were summoned to the western side of the enclosure,

where the gate is, at which the elephants were about to enter. We left our shoes behind us in the hall, and proceeded along the top of the wall, to within no great distance of his Majesty; when we sat down, making our obeisance by touching the forehead with the right hand. A cloud of dust announced the approach of the elephants, about twenty in number: these, with the exception of the captive, were all females, several of them with their young following them. A few of the best broken-in only were mounted. Partly by persuasion, and partly by force, there was seen driving before them a small male elephant, not, as we were told, above thirteen years old: it required at least half an hour to induce him to enter the gate of the enclosure. A very docile female elephant led the way, conducted by her keeper; but the half-tamed females were nearly as reluctant to enter as the wild male himself: they went five or six times half-way in, before they were finally entrapped; and, twice over, the male had run off to the distance of a quarter of a mile from the enclosure, but was again brought back by the females. A message was sent to us by the King, to say, that we were at liberty to stand up to view this part of the sport, but unluckily we were already standing when it reached us.

The elephants having entered, we were requested to come into the King's presence, in which situation we should have a better view of the sport. We walked round accordingly by the southern and eastern angles of the enclosure, and seats were assigned to us in the same line with, and next to the Princes; not only the most distinguished, but the most convenient situation. We made a bow, as before, and the sport went on. From the smallness of the elephant, there was neither much danger nor amusement in it. The females were withdrawn from the enclosure, one by one; and then the elephant-catchers, who are a distinct race, went into the square unarmed, and provoked the wild elephant to pursue them, which he did with great fury. The keepers took shelter from his pursuit within the palisade, through the apertures of which he lashed his trunk in vain. The elephant-keepers exhibited much boldness and agility; but, from what we saw, I should conceive that they ran very little risk. Accidents, however, sometimes occur. A few years ago,

one of the hunters, when pursued by the elephant, tripped and fell: he was killed on the spot by the enraged animal. The King, who was present when this happened, immediately retired, the sight of blood not being fit for him to behold, either as a sovereign, or a votary of Gautama.

Some goats were put into the square, and these were pursued by the elephant in the same way as the keepers, and with as little effect. These animals eluded his pursuit with the utmost ease; and were so little concerned at his presence, that they soon began to quarrel amongst themselves. When the elephant was sufficiently tired, three huge tame male elephants were brought in to secure him, each mounted by his keeper, who had in his hand a rope with a noose, which one of them, after the second or third effort, succeeded in casting round the foreleg. The animal made comparatively very little resistance, appearing to be quite subdued by the presence of his three powerful antagonists, who, after the noose was fixed, drove him by main force into a pen at the south side of the enclosure, from which he was afterwards withdrawn, and tied to a post by a comparatively slender rope put round his neck, through his mouth, and round his tusks. We saw him in this situation, under a shed, as we were returning home, very restless and sullen. He was so closely tied to the post, that he could scarcely move, and had no power to do any mischief. We were told by the keepers, that the male elephants, when thus secured, refuse food for about five days. It takes six or seven months to tame them effectually, and occasionally as much as a whole year, for their dispositions are very various.

After the elephant was secured, we had an exhibition of boxing,—not less than five-and-twenty or thirty matches. In these gymnastics, the Burmans display a good deal of strength and agility; but would make but a sorry figure, after all, even among the third or fourth class of our London prize-fighters. The boxers were stripped naked, with the exception of a piece of red cloth tied round their waist; and advanced into the ring, using provoking language and gestures. They closed almost immediately, and wrestled; using in the mean time their hands, feet, and knees with consi-

derable adroitness. The fight consists of three rounds, unless decided earlier by some obvious advantage on one side. An umpire sits in the ring, and decides who is to be considered the victor. The loss of a single drop of blood is the loss of the battle. To determine this point, we observed some curious and minute examinations set on foot; those who had got bloody mouths endeavouring to conceal the mishap. Their detection always occasioned a loud laugh among the spectators. Both parties receive prizes from the King, consisting always of articles of dress, of which the victor of course receives the most valuable.

These were, after all, but bloodless combats, and were evidently not intended to be otherwise; for when there appeared the least risk of mischief being done from the irritation of the combatants, they were carefully parted by the umpires and their assistants. Notwithstanding the partiality of the Burmans to such exhibitions, one of our English battles would, I am convinced, shock and frighten them exceedingly. During the many battles which took place upon the present occasion, no serious accident took place; and I saw but one instance where one of the combatants was temporarily disabled: this was occasioned by a blow with the knee, given by his antagonist, in the mouth, which knocked him down; but it was inflicted with so much dexterity, that we could scarcely perceive how it was done. It excited loud applause, not only in the ring, but among the courtiers.

The behaviour of his Burman Majesty towards our party was not only condescending, but extremely affable. Refreshments, consisting of betel, pickled tea, and sweetmeats, were served to us in profusion, by his orders; and while we were eating, he came up close to us and addressed us frequently. He expressed his regret that the elephant was so small as to afford little sport, and invited us to another entertainment of a similar nature on the following day. He asked if the art of boxing was understood in England, and was assured by Dr. Price and Mr. Lanciego that the noble science of pugilism was as much practised, and as much admired by the English as by the Burmans themselves. During several hours that we were in his presence, his Majesty

never sat for ten minutes in the same place, but moved and strutted about in a very restless manner. He conversed with considerable affability, and, in short, there was no possibility of recognizing in him the prince who, a few days before, had spread his prime-minister to dry in the meridian sun for a trifling *faux-pas*. We had, of course, a good view of his Majesty's person: I should suppose he is not above five feet two inches high, which, after all, is not much below the middle size of Burmans; his person is slender, but active; he is what is called bandy-legged to a remarkable degree; his features are cheerful and sprightly, but not very intelligent, and not at all handsome. The most remarkable part of his countenance is his forehead, which slants back to so singular a degree, as to amount nearly to mal-conformation. This is even still more the case with the Prince of Sarawadi, his full brother; and was also the case with the late King. I am told it is a family feature in the descendants of Alompra. He was dressed in a plain white muslin, and had on a profusion of gold chains, crossing both shoulders; the buckles or clasps of these were studded with a few diamonds and emeralds, and some very large and fine uncut rubies: there was not a sapphire about his person—this stone does not seem to be much valued by the Burmans. The Princes who were present upon this occasion, were the Heir-apparent, the Prince of Sarawadi, the Prince of Mekara, the Queen's brother, and four young Princes, brothers to the King. The Queen did not make her appearance.

The crowd assembled upon the present occasion was by far the greatest we had seen since coming to Ava. Boxing and elephant-catching are favourite amusements with the populace; and these, rather than the presence of the King and Court, had brought them together. There must have been several thousands assembled. The top of the wall was completely crowded, and so was the space between the inner palisade and the wall, as well as that between the temple and the palisade which surrounded it. When the boxing commenced, the populace formed a ring with as much regularity as if they had been true-born Englishmen. This was preserved with much more regularity, with the assistance of the constables,

with their long rods or staves, whom I before mentioned. The King frequently said, when he saw the constables exercising their authority, "Don't hurt them,—don't prevent them from looking on." Not a single female was to be seen among the crowd, although the curiosity of the women leads them to mix with the men upon almost every other occasion. They are not prohibited from attending; but it would be considered not feminine to do so, and contrary to custom, the amusements being considered male sports only.

In respect to the arrangement or police of such places, a whimsical and barbarous custom prevails, which ought to be noticed. If any one come with money on his person, he may be plundered of it by a public officer, or almost any one else, and can get no redress. The same practice prevails in two other places, where it is still more unpardonable, viz. at the principal gate of the Palace, and under the L'hut-d'hau, or principal council-hall, and court of justice. A few years ago, the head man of one of the King's barges was plundered, at one of the elephant exhibitions, of some money which he had about his person. The thief was detected and apprehended on the spot, brought before the King, and ordered to have his head immediately struck off. The Myolat-wun, the foster-father of the young Princess, had the boldness to order the execution to be stayed; and to represent to his Majesty, that the culprit was justifiable by immemorial usage. The King attended to the argument, and he was pardoned.

A regular dinner, in the European fashion, was prepared for us under a shed. We did not return home until about sunset, and of course much fatigued from the disagreeable attitude in which we were obliged to sit during the greatest part of the time.

As we sat in our tent, the royal procession passed close by us, and our conductors threw up the screen to give us a full view of it. The King was mounted on his favourite elephant, on a small box or Howdah. The white elephant which he never rides, went before him. His escort consisted of several hundred musqueteers and spearmen, mixed, in the full military cos-

tume of the Burmans. This consists of a jacket, with skirts, close buttoned in front; over the shoulders, back, and breast, there is suspended a kind of ruff, or collar, of detached pieces, of the thinness and stiffness of pasteboard, covered with cloth. This is meant, I presume, for armour. On the head there is a round brass helmet ending in a peak, and decorated with a wreath of tinsel for the soldiers, and gold flowers for the officers. The Myolat-wun was the commandant of this bódy-guard. The costume is unbecoming, grotesque, cumbrous, and not less unsuitable to the climate than to military habits.

Dec. 7.—The amusements of this day commenced at eleven o'clock, and took place near the King's water-palace, on a kind of glacis which lies immediately between the river and the walls of the town. It consisted of weaning a young male elephant, and of elephant fights. The young male elephants are weaned at three years old,—that is to say, they are then separated from their dams and broken in,—a process which appears to be nearly as tedious and difficult as that of breaking in a full-grown elephant taken in the forest. The process which we saw much resembled that of yesterday; but a singular ceremony was performed before it commenced, which deserves mention: it consisted of an invocation to the Nat Udin-main-so, the genius of elephant-hunting, whom I mentioned yesterday. Between the walls of the town and an artificial mount planted with trees, and raised upon a ledge of rocks, jetting into the Irawadi, there is a small elephant paddock, consisting of a single square palisade having two gates. The King sat under a little pavilion on the side of the mount, and directed in person the ceremony to which I allude. A banana tree had been planted in the middle of the paddock, which was removed with great ceremony; and on the spot where it stood, five elderly persons came forward, with a solemn strut and dance, holding in their hands branches of a species of eugenia or jambu, and carrying offerings of rice and sweetmeats to the Nat. I could not learn the exact words of the incantation; but the substance of it was, that the demi-god was informed that a glorious prince, the descendant of great kings, presided at the present ceremony; that he, the demi-god, therefore, was requested to

be propitious to it, to get the elephants quickly into the pen, and generally to lend his aid throughout the whole ceremony. About two-and-thirty female elephants, with their young included, were now driven into the enclosure: they were shortly followed by four male elephants, the riders of which had long ropes, with a noose at the end, in their hands. After many unsuccessful efforts, they succeeded at last in entangling the young elephant that was to be weaned, by the hind leg. This was a matter of great difficulty, for he was protected by the adroitness of the herd of female elephants which crowded round him for the purpose. When taken, he was a great deal more outrageous and obstreperous than the wild elephant caught yesterday. The large mounted elephants had to beat him frequently; and I observed, once or twice, that they raised him quite off the ground with their tusks, without doing him any material injury. The cry which he emitted, on these occasions, differed in no way but in degree from the squeak of a hog that is in pain or fear. He was ultimately confined in a small pen beyond one of the doors of the paddock, where two of the male elephants continued to watch him. He was still very outrageous, and making violent efforts to extricate himself, but all to little purpose.

After some time we were summoned into the King's presence, who was now on board of a large vessel chiefly constructed of bamboo, which is occasionally used by him as a bath. We found him here seated on a common gilded chair. Our reception was not formal, but very polite. We were seated immediately in front of him, at no great distance. He asked Dr. Wallich how he liked his visit to the mountains, what new plants he had collected there, and what was the nature of his employment in Bengal. He made inquiry respecting my visit to Siam, and its object. The answer was, that I had gone there to form a commercial arrangement, as here; and to negotiate for the restoration to his country of a Malay prince, called the King of Queda. The Burman courtiers did not at first understand who this King of Queda was, but recognised him at length under the appellation of Prince of Gita. It was possible that their information respecting him

was better than they pretended; for the Court of Ava, in 1823, had carried on an intrigue with this chief, with the view of supplanting the Siamese in the supremacy which the latter had long exercised over his country. The King observed, that he understood that our departure was fixed for to-morrow; and caused it to be explained to us, that it would be agreeable to him if we put it off for a day or two.

It was now signified to us that the elephant combats were about to commence, and we took leave with a respectful bow. Dr. Wallich, upon this occasion, presented the King with a large collection of seeds, and with some fine growing plants from the Botanical Garden of Calcutta. The circumstance which attended the conveyance of the latter from the spot where we were first sitting to the King's boat, a distance not exceeding a hundred and fifty yards, afforded us a very curious and unexpected illustration of the character of the Burman Government. Four or five public officers of considerable rank were our conductors; and it might have been expected that these persons would have had influence enough to procure from the crowd of idle persons in attendance, a sufficient number, to carry a few plants intended for the King himself, and almost in his own presence. No such thing: they had not authority to command a single individual; and it was only after a considerable delay, and after much intreaty and persuasion, that a few volunteers were obtained. I suggested, as an experiment, the offer of one or two ticals, which, from my experience at Rangoon, I knew would be quite effectual; but this is the last remedy that would have been thought of by a Burman chief. The disobedience of the lower class, upon this occasion, is easily accounted for: the order did not come through their immediate chief; it was therefore not legal, and, according to universal custom, they were perfectly justified in disregarding it.

The elephant combats took place immediately on the river-side, upon a piece of level ground, in the centre of which there is a stout paling, across which it is customary to fight the animals. There were five combats, but they afforded little amusement. The elephant is not a courageous animal,

nor is it pugnacious: they have but one mode of fighting,—that of butting with their forehead, and endeavouring to wound each other with their tusks. After a *rencontre* which does not last above a few seconds, one of the parties is sure to run away. In one or two instances they refused to fight altogether over the paling, and they were therefore brought into the open plain. On one of these occasions, the vanquished elephant, after turning round in his retreat, happened to be too near a pond, and being gored in the flank by his antagonist, was thrown in: no accident happened to the riders, nor does there, I am told, upon almost any of these occasions. The guides seemed by no means wanting in intrepidity, and appeared to us to bring up the elephants to the charge with much spirit.

After the elephant combats were over, the King prepared to take his departure. His elephant, one of the noblest animals I have ever seen, having the trunk, head, and part of the neck of a white flesh colour, and in other respects altogether perfect, was brought up close to the shed under which we were sitting, and he mounted it with great agility, placed himself upon the neck of the animal, took the hook in his hand, and seemed to be perfectly at home in this employment. We afterwards saw the Heir-apparent, a child of thirteen years of age, guiding his elephant in the same way. This practice is, I believe, peculiar to the Burmans; for, in Western India, at least, no person of condition ever condescends to guide his own elephant. There is at least some manliness in the custom; and I should not be surprised to find that the neck of the elephant would be found, on experience, the most agreeable and easy seat to the rider. After the King's departure we repaired to a shed, where dinner was prepared for us, as yesterday. At this entertainment we had walnuts and chesnuts, just arrived from China; and some very good oranges, from Lao. This last fruit does not grow well at Ava; and among the Burmans, what is not good almost spontaneously, is not likely to become so through their care or skill. The junior Atwenwun of the two negotiators did the honours of the feast, and, with three or four other chiefs, partook heartily of our fare. As a mark of attention, when we were done, the relics

of the feast were ordered to be distributed to our Indian servants; but the Burman chiefs were surprised when it was explained to them that these people would not eat what had been cooked or touched either by them or us, and, what was still worse, what had been supplied by order of "the great and glorious" King!

Having now seen so much of the royal elephants, I shall describe what has come to my knowledge respecting these animals. All the elephants of the kingdom, tame or wild, are considered royal property: they are a royal monopoly; but the King, as a mark of special favour, gives the use of them to his wives, concubines, brothers, and sons, and occasionally, but rarely, to some of the highest dignitaries of his Government. Every one who takes an elephant must deliver it to the King; and the killing even of a wild elephant is deemed an offence punishable by a heavy fine: it is done notwithstanding, both on account of the ivory and flesh, which last is eaten by the Burmans, after being dried in the sun, when, to save the penalty, it passes under the name of buffalo beef. The King, I am told, is possessed, in all, of about one thousand elephants, divided into two classes: those which are thoroughly broken in and tamed, consisting principally of males; and those that are employed as decoys, all females, and in a half wild state. They are under two chiefs: that of the first called the Senwun, or Elephant Governor; and that of the second, the Aok-má, or Aong-ma-wun; words which signify "governor of female decoys." The latter are exclusively used as decoys; and, for this purpose, generally kept in the neighbourhood of forests frequented by elephants. Here they are frequently joined by wild females, as well as by males. When the latter is the case, the particular herd that has been joined by the male, is driven into town; and the last caught, in the manner which we saw yesterday, for the King's amusement. I believe that elephants in general are not caught in this country in the large way practised in India, Ceylon, and other countries; the mode of taking them by decoys, and *breeding*, being quite sufficient to keep up the stock. With respect to breeding in the domestic state, or at least in the half domestic

state, in which the female elephants are generally kept, I have made frequent inquiries into it; and it is, in fact, such an every-day occurrence, that there can be no doubt respecting the truth of it. I have seen no herd of elephants without three, four, five, or six young ones,—some not more than a month, and others between three and four years old. Among these animals the intercourse of the sexes goes on exactly as among other quadrupeds. There seems to be no foundation whatever for the pretended delicacy which has been ascribed to them: it is, in reality, a romance of European origin. In addition to the testimony of many natives, I have on this subject the assurance of two Europeans, who have lived for years in Ava. I may add, that the courage and sagacity of this animal have been nearly as much exaggerated as its modesty. Its bulk, its strength, and its trunk, are its great recommendations, especially the latter. If man has been called the wisest of animals, because he possesses hands; the elephant may, with as much truth, be called the wisest of quadrupeds, because he possesses a trunk. But for this instrument, and its great strength, I think it doubtful whether it would be ranked higher in intellectual endowments than a despised animal of the same natural family,—the hog.

The best elephants belonging to his Burman Majesty are procured in the mountainous parts of the country, and those of the plains are said to be inferior in strength, symmetry, and courage. The finest are obtained in the district of Ramathen, on the Kyendwen river, and in that of Sandapuri in Lao, which is no doubt the Chantanaburi or Lan-chang of the Siamese,—a country celebrated amongst these latter people also for its fine elephants. The elephants of Pegu, a low country, are not esteemed, their tusks being considered small, their limbs feeble, and their carcases large. The elephant is said to be found in perfection, only within, and about the Tropics; but if the statement now made be accurate, their character also seems considerably influenced by the local and physical circumstances of the different countries of which they are natives.

Yesterday Mr. Lanciego informed me, at our audience of the King, that

although the Atwenwuns had declined to submit the representation respecting the Bengal prisoners to the King, he himself had done so. His Majesty, he said, had received his statement favourably—thought the request a just and reasonable one, and demanded that their names should be given in—their native country particularized, and the time and manner of their being made prisoners stated. To-day it was hinted to me, that there was some intention of sending the captives thus claimed back to Bengal, with the Burman embassy. It seemed, however, to be the wish of the Burman Government, that every matter in discussion should be left for adjustment in Bengal; and as this was consonant to the letter of my instructions, I willingly encouraged them in it.

Dec. 11.—The two Atwenwuns paid us a complimentary and farewell visit this forenoon. I made them each a small present, on behalf of the Government, and made presents also to the two Than-d'hau-thens. It was intimated to me now, for the first time, that it was the intention of the King to send presents to the Governor-General, consisting of rubies, sapphires, &c. The Atwenwuns requested to know which of the gentlemen attached to the Mission had not yet received titles of honour from his Majesty. They received a list of seven, for this honour had been conferred on myself at Rangoon. The chiefs went away, after staying about half an hour.

Dec. 12.—In the course of yesterday and the day before, we were employed in putting our baggage on board, and last evening embarked ourselves. After many applications, we at last succeeded in getting seven small boats from the Burman Government, and were obliged as we could to make up the number to twelve. So large a number became requisite, in consequence of the necessity of lightening the steam-vessel to six feet draft of water, on account of the great fall of the river since coming up, which had not been less at Ava than eighteen or twenty feet. I have before mentioned the difficulty of procuring boats from the Burman Government: this, it appears, did not arise altogether from a disposition to refuse prompt compliance with our wishes, or from the spirit of procrastination which reigns over all its proceedings; but from the chicanery and extortion of the public officers, which is

conspicuous here, as in every thing else. Boats are to be had in Ava in abundance: the Government, however, never pays for any thing, but presses men, horses, carts, boats, or whatever else it requires at the moment. This office is intrusted to the Myosarés, or town scribes, who make such matters a capital subject of perquisite. An European informed me that he had been once employed to execute some small work for the King, in which two boats were required: he accompanied the Myosaré to point out the description required, and was personally a witness to the iniquities which he practised on the occasion: he made a visitation to almost every boat in the river, exacting fines from the owners to let them off; and it was a whole fortnight before the two boats were finally procured; the lot of course falling at length on the most miserable of the boatmen, or those who could not pay in money or influence for exemption.

As our people were embarking, the Burmese officers sent word that there were three persons among our followers who had not come up with the Mission, and who therefore ought not to go down with it. I stated, on receiving the necessary information, that the persons in question were natives of Bengal and subjects of our Government, who had been forcibly carried away, and were now unjustifiably detained. This remonstrance had no effect: one of the Atwenwuns immediately came over, and stated that it was the King's peremptory order that no one should go back with the Mission except the persons who had actually come with it. I was compelled reluctantly to give up the point, after taking a list of the names of the individuals, and stating that they would be claimed in due course along with the other prisoners.

Late last night, messengers came on board to us, with a royal order, requiring the attendance at the Palace, on the following morning, of the gentlemen who were to be honoured with titles. They repaired thither accordingly to-day, after breakfast. There was a pretty full attendance of courtiers, and they were received respectfully; but the King did not present himself. They received their titles in the customary way, which were read aloud, and addressed to the throne, just as if his Majesty had been present.

At twelve o'clock the presents for the Governor-General were brought on board by a Than-dau-then, but there was no reply to his Lordship's letter. The following is a translation of the list which accompanied the presents :—

A list of return presents given by his Majesty to the English Ruler.—Two ruby rings; two sapphire rings; five pieces of silk cloth; two fur coats; two Chinese hats; two gilt umbrellas; two boxes, decorated with glass; two high-cover boxes, decorated with glass; two do., gilt; two Shan boxes, large; two do., middle-sized; two do., small; two high-cover Shan boxes; two Shan cups, large; two do., middle-sized; ten do., small; one block of Sagaing white stone; one mass of rock crystal, weighing ten viss; ten elephants' teeth, weighing five thousand one hundred and ninety viss; two horses.

Along with the presents came two boxes of Burman books, with a list, of which the following is a translation :—

"A list of sacred writings.—Ra-ta-na-ga-ra Wuttu;* Ma-ni-kong-ta-la Wuttu, 9 vols.; Ma-la-ler-ka-ra Wuttu (a life of Gautama); Na-ga-thing-ma-ling, questions and answers (a metaphysical work); Sundry small works, 6 vols. (poetry chiefly); Pali Dictionary; Pali Grammar, (the original text); Pin-nya-ka-ta-ra Wuttu; Pali Grammar, (the text, accompanied with a Burman translation); Thu-ka-wa-ha Wuttu; The 550 Zat Wuttu, (the adventures of Gautama in pre-existing states); Dam-ma-pa-ta Wuttu.

When we first arrived at Ava, we were anxious, especially Mr. Judson, to purchase Burman books. This came to the notice of the Government; and we were requested to give ourselves no trouble on the subject, as the King would furnish us with all we wanted, if a list were supplied. The list was accordingly given in, in which was included some historical works and treatises on law. The books now produced were those requested, with the exception of the latter description, not one of which was supplied. It was thought, it appears, that these would have afforded us some insight into the mysteries of Burman Government, and this was a sufficient ground for refusing them!

* Wuttu means, a religious tale or romance.

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J. & C. Walker Sculpt.

A Burman Chapel, or Zayat.

CHAPTER XI.

Description of the Capital.—Ava.—Name, Site, and Fortifications.—Dwellings.—Markets.—Temples.—Town of Sagaing.—Towns and Districts annexed to the Capital.—Population.

I SHALL devote this short chapter to such a description of the towns of Ava and Sagaing, as I was enabled to collect during my residence at the capital. The town of Ava, twice before the capital of the Burman Empire, was made so, a third time, in 1822, by his present Majesty. It lies in North latitude 21° 50′, and East longitude 96°. The native popular name of the place is Angwa, meaning a fish-pond, which the Hindus and Malays have corrupted into Awa, and the European nations, again, borrowing from them, into Ava, a word which we have extended to the whole kingdom. In all public writings, as already mentioned, the capital is denominated Ratanapura, or the City of Gems. The following description of the fortifications and site of the town was carefully drawn up by my friend M. Montmorency, and will be readily understood by a reference to the accompanying plan, laid down by the same gentleman.

"The city of Ava is surrounded by a brick wall fifteen and a half feet in height, and ten feet in thickness: on the inside of which there is thrown up a bank of earth forming about an angle of forty-five degrees: on the top of this bank there is a *terre pleine*, in some places, of a good breadth, but in others, so narrow as scarcely to admit the recoil of a gun. The parapet of brickwork is four and a-half feet in height, and two in thickness, measured across the superior slope.

"There are innumerable embrasures at about the distance of five feet from each other, the cheeks of which are formed in such a way as to prevent any thing but a direct fire. On the Irawadi face there is scarcely one flank defence. The wall of the outer town is miserably built, and is continually requiring repair, no doubt chiefly from the pressure of the earth thrown up inside. The ditch round the outer wall is also inconsiderable, and during all the dry season fordable in every part.

"The south and west faces of the town are defended by a deep and rapid torrent, called the Myit-tha, leading from the Myit-ngé. This is not fordable, for the banks are very steep; and even when crossed, the swamp and jungle on the west face, between it and the town, with the extensive plain of rice culture on the south, are formidable obstructions. There is a good road, however, on the banks of this brook all the way up, as well as by the banks of the Irawadi towards the north-west angle. The approach to the south-west angle is well defended, the wall there being constructed *en cremalliere*.

"The Myit-ngé on the east face forms a considerable part of the defence on that side. This river, about one hundred and fifty yards broad, is a fine rapid stream, and the banks of it very steep and high: the river not running in such a manner as to form any part of the defence of the south-east angle of the city, a deep canal has been cut from the Myit-ngé, at the south-east angle, to about one-third the way down the east face of the city wall, where it again falls into the same river. The torrent here is very rapid,—so much so, that boats can with great difficulty stem the stream. The lesser town, which forms the north-east angle, comprehends one-half of the north and one-third

of the east faces: the wall round it is evidently better constructed than that of the large town. The ditch on the south and west faces of it is also broader and deeper, and when full in the wet season is not to be forded. There are, however, three causeways across it which it would take some time to destroy, in case of a sudden attack. The lesser town is mostly occupied by the palace; the Rung-d'hau, or hall of justice; the Lut-d'hau, or council chamber; the arsenal, and the habitations of a few courtiers of distinction. There is a strong well-built wall, about twenty feet in height, surrounding the square in which these are situated. On the outside of this wall, and at no great distance, there is a teak-wood stockade of the same height as the wall. The Irawadi opposite the Manaong gate, or that fronting the town of Sagaing, is one thousand and ninety-four yards broad."

The circumference of Ava round the walls, and excluding the suburbs, is about five and a half miles. In general, the houses are mere huts, thatched with grass. Some of the dwellings of the chiefs are constructed of planks, and tiled, and there are probably in all not half-a-dozen houses constructed of brick and mortar. Poor as the houses are, they are thinly scattered over the extensive area of the place, and some large quarters are, indeed, wholly destitute of habitations, and mere neglected commons. Including one large one in the suburb, lying between the town and the little river, there are eleven markets or bazars, composed, as usual, of thatched huts and sheds: the three largest are called Je-kyo, Sarawadi, and Shan-ze. We passed more than once through the greater number of these markets, and found them well supplied, at least, on an estimate of the wants and habits of the people. Besides native commodities, there are exposed for sale in them such of the produce of China and Lao as are used by the Burmans, with British cottons, woollens, glass, and earthenware.

In Ava, of course, there are many temples, the tall white, or gilded spires of which, give to the distant view of the place a splendid and imposing appearance, far from being realized on a closer examination. Some of the principal of these may be enumerated: the largest of all is called Lo-ga-thar-bu,

and consists of two portions, or rather of two distinct temples; one in the ancient, the other in the modern form. In the former, there is an image of Gautama in the common sitting posture, of enormous magnitude. Colonel Symes imagined this statue to be a block of marble; but this is a mistake, for it is composed of sandstone. A second very large temple is called Angwa Sé-kong; and a third, Ph'ra-l'ha, or "the beautiful." A fourth temple, of great celebrity, is named Maong-Ratna. This is the one in which the public officers of the Government take with great formality the oath of allegiance. A fifth temple is named Maha-mrat-muni. I inspected an addition which was made to this temple a short time before our arrival. It was merely a Zayat, or chapel, and chiefly constructed of wood: it however exceeded in splendour any thing we had seen without the Palace. The roof was supported by a vast number of pillars: these, as well as the ceiling, were richly gilt throughout. The person at whose expense all this was done was a Burman merchant, or rather broker, from whom we learned that the cost was forty thousand ticals, about 5,000*l.* sterling. When the building was completed he respectfully presented it to his Majesty, not *daring* to take to himself the whole merit of so pious an undertaking.

The Burman monasteries are usually built of wood only; and of those of more solid materials, a few ancient ones in ruins only are to be seen. There is however one exception in a very spacious one lately built by the Queen, close to the Palace. This is a clumsy fabric of immense size, and a very conspicuous object in approaching Ava. Of the population of Ava I shall afterwards speak.

The town of Sagaing is situated on the opposite side of the Irawadi to Ava, and directly fronting it. On the river-face it has a brick wall, which extends for about half a mile: the height of this is not above ten feet; but it has a *terre pleine* parapet and embrasures, like the wall of Ava. To each flank of the brick wall there is a stockade of a paltry description, erected during the late war. Inland there are no defences whatsoever. Sagaing extends along the Irawadi to the distance of better than a mile and a

half, but its depth towards the hills is very inconsiderable: it consists, as elsewhere, of mean houses, thinly scattered among gardens and orchards; the principal trees in the latter consisting of fine old tamarinds. Over the site of the town and its environs there are innumerable temples, ruinous, old, or modern, too conspicuous not to be noticed in describing the place.

The Burman capital is not confined to the town of Ava, but embraces also Sagaing and Amarapura, with the large districts attached to all three. Ava, with its district, extends along the river for six taings, or about twelve miles, and its depth inland is half this extent. Amarapura is of the same size. Sagaing, with its district, extends for six taings along the river, and is of equal depth. According to this wide acceptation, the capital embraces an area of two hundred and eighty-eight miles. The number of villages contained in this space, the subdivisions of the town being each reckoned as one, was given to me as follow:—for Ava, 320; for Amarapura, 45; and for Sagaing, 146; making in all, 511. The returns of the population, in 1825, gave 46,000 houses or families. It is usual, however, for the Wuns, or heads of districts, to give in the census at considerably less than its real amount; and this deficiency is commonly estimated at a tithe, which would raise the actual number of families to 50,600. According to the Burman estimate, each family is reckoned at seven individuals, which would give a total population of 354,200.* This is at the rate of about 692 souls for each village or subdivision, and of 1229 to the square mile,—a very trifling population, when it is considered that three towns and the best cultivated portions of the empire are included in the enumeration. These statements respecting the extent and population of the capital, were furnished to me by a person who had actually perused the public registers, which are kept by one of the Atwenwuns, or privy counsellors, charged with this particular department; and the certain inference to be drawn from them is, that the total population

* The Myowun of Sagaing informed me in conversation, that the number of houses or families in the town and district constituting his jurisdiction was 16,000, and the number of villages about 150,—a statement which may be considered as a corroboration of that given in the text.

of the whole kingdom must be very trifling, and its amount in all former accounts greatly exaggerated. All this will appear the more probable, when it is considered that the inhabitants of the capital enjoy, as will afterwards be explained, peculiar immunities in the way of taxation, which must necessarily have the effect of concentrating the population here, and withdrawing it from the provinces.

With respect to the population of the town of Ava itself, I have never heard any estimate; and probably, considering the mode in which the inhabitants of "the capital" are reckoned, the Burmese have never attempted to make any. It must however, as I conceive, be very inconsiderable. On a rough estimate, the area of the town and suburbs does not exceed two miles, and, as I have already said, a considerable part of this is occupied by the Palace and public buildings; a large portion is thinly inhabited, and much altogether unoccupied. We may compare it with other Indian towns, of which the area and population have been estimated. Calcutta is said to stand on an area of about twelve miles, and to contain 300,000. Were Ava as densely peopled, which I think very improbable, it would contain 50,000 inhabitants. Perhaps half this number would be much nearer the truth.

The Budd'h of Tibet, from a Nepalese drawing.

CHAPTER XII.

Mission quits Ava.—Difficult navigation of the Irawadi in the dry season.—Description of Temples at Nyaong-Ku.—Manufactory of lackered ware at that place.—Fossil remains on the western bank of the river.—Dispatches sent to Bengal by the route of Aracan, and news received of an Insurrection of the Peguans.—Description of the country in the vicinity of the Petroleum Wells.—Steam-vessel takes the ground on a sand-bank, and is detained for eight days.—Remarkable discovery of Fossil Bones.—River Pirates.—Arrival at Prome.—Fossil remains there.—Visit to the Promontory of Kyaok-ta-ran, and arrival within the Delta of the Irawadi.—Arrival at Henzaza.—Entrance into the Panlang branch of the Irawadi.—Farther account of the Insurrection of the Peguans.—Communication held with the Insurgents at Panlang.—Arrival at Rangoon.—Action between the Burmese and Insurgents.—Interview with the Wungyi, or Viceroy of Pegu.—Letter from the Burmese Council to the Governor-General.—Departure from Rangoon for Martaban.—Description of the Town of Rangoon.

December 13.—YESTERDAY, immediately after receiving on board the presents for the Governor-General, we weighed anchor and began to drop down, taking our final leave of Ava. Owing to the intricacy of the passage, and the shallowness of the river, we did not get above six or seven miles below the town, where we anchored for the night.

Dec. 15.—On the morning of the 13th we passed Kyaok-ta-long, which is the great police station in going to and coming from Ava,—a place which, in consequence of the vexations and impositions practised by the public officers, is held in dread by merchants and travellers. Thus far we were accompanied by a Than-d'hau-gan, the same individual who had met us in going up. He was relieved by the old Governor of Bassein, who had been again appointed to conduct the Mission. In consideration of these services, he was appointed, while at Ava, one of the Rewuns of Rangoon; but declined the office, in expectation of the government of Dalla, or of some other superior appointment.

Dec. 16.—The very difficult and intricate navigation between Kyaok-ta-long and Yandabo detained us until this day, when at half-past three o'clock we passed the latter place, and at four the junction of the Kyendwen and the Irawadi: the former appeared now a petty stream not exceeding two hundred yards in breadth, and the latter had diminished to a quarter of a mile: after their union, however, they expand to about three quarters of a mile. In the evening we anchored off Tarop Myo, or Chinese Town. A little way above Kyaok-ta-long the vessel struck against a reef of rocks, and close to the village of Ngamyagyi she took the ground on a sand-bank, where she remained for several hours.

Dec. 21.—Early on the morning of the 17th, we began to kedge down with much caution, but the vessel, notwithstanding, grounded on a sand-bank, and was not got off until the morning of the 20th, and with great difficulty. In order to lighten her, we landed almost every thing, cut off one-third of the poop, and went ashore ourselves, with our servants, taking up our residence on a sand-bank, under temporary tents. This morning every thing was again ready, and we dropped down; the gentlemen of the Mission and servants, however, proceeding in the baggage-boats. The fall of the river since we went up in the end of September, was certainly not less than twenty feet.

I landed at Ngamyagiy and Tarop Myo. The rice had just been cut, and the winter crops of various pulses were in considerable progress.

Dec. 22.—We stopped last night at Rabá-kyaọk-tan, which takes its name from a reef of rocks which at this place runs across the Irawadi. We pitched our temporary tents on a sand-bank in the middle of the river for the night. The reef of rocks alluded to, on examination, proved to be breccia with much iron. The *debris* of it was scattered over the sand-bank, and consisted of quartz pebbles and clay iron ore, among which were many fragments of petrified wood with calcareous incrustations formed upon branches and roots of trees. We found one fragment, which we supposed to be fossil bone. Scattered through these ingredients were to be seen pieces of wood, and a few bones of quadrupeds undergoing the usual process of decomposition without the slightest appearance of being turned into stone, according to the popular opinion; which shows plainly enough that the waters of the Irawadi have no power of petrifying such objects, and that the process by which petrifactions of vegetable and animal substances are formed is owing to some other agency. The steam-vessel passed the reef of rocks this morning, and we followed her about eight o'clock. At twelve we passed the flourishing village of Pakok'ho, where, in going up, we had seen so many trading vessels. There were now few, for the greater number had taken their departure for Rangoon and other parts of the lower country. We stopped for the night at Nyaong-ku, which, as before mentioned, is a suburb of Pugan, and the most noted place in the country for the manufacture of lacker-ware. Immediately above this place, and to the distance of about a mile, the banks of the river are high, often not less than sixty feet, and nearly perpendicular: they chiefly consist of indurated sand, with here and there ledges of a hard calcareous sandstone: the surface of this is every where smooth, as if water-worn; and from it projections, processes, spring out in several places, of a mammiferous form, and frequently resembling stalactites upon a gigantic scale. The wreck of these huge

calcareous incrustations, and of great masses of wood-stone, are found in that part of the bed of the river which is at present dry. In many situations I observed calcareous incrustations formed round a nucleus of wood-stone. In one case the mass had the resemblance of the huge trunk of a tree, the petrified wood forming as if it were the pith.

In the steep bank there are innumerable holes of various sizes, which are the residence of swallows and wild pigeons. The last are of two descriptions, the common blue pigeon and a very handsome and large green one. In the same bank, and nearly midway up, there are several artificial excavations, once the residence of Burmese ascetics; but this race has been long extinct. In Burmese language, such pious persons are known by the name of Rathe,* and in Pali by that of Tápasa and Isino.

Dec. 23.—Employed in making the necessary preparations for quitting the Burman boats and embarking in the steam-vessel, we did not quit Nyaong-ku to-day until two o'clock. This gave us an opportunity of seeing the place, and examining its temples and manufactory of lackered ware. The innumerable temples of Pugan extend to Nyaong-ku, and beyond it. The most celebrated at Nyaong-ku is that called Shwe-segum, or the Golden Temple. The original building is said to have been constructed by Naura-t'ha-sau, a king of Pugan, whose reign commenced in the year 359, and terminated in 392, of the Burman vulgar era. According to this statement, the building cannot be less than seven hundred and ninety-six years old. The temple itself is a solid mass of masonry, in the form of a pyramid, and gilt. The extensive area which surrounds it is crowded with a variety of wooden fanes, very richly gilt and carved, containing images of Gautama and his disciples, some of them of white marble; innumerable images of Nats in red sandstone; and some relics of great celebrity among the Burmans,—such as the statue of a horse in sandstone, representing the favourite steed of the founder; a fish called Nga-kren, which represents Gautama in this form, with three celebrated Nats, one of the female and two of the male

* No doubt, a corruption of the Sanscrit word Rasi, a saint.

gender. These relics are of the rudest description imaginable, and such of them as aim at the form of humanity, hideously ugly. Close to this principal temple there is another in a ruinous state, of the ancient form. Here we found two inscriptions on slabs of sandstone, apparently in the modern character, but of a very rude form, and too much defaced to be read.

Nyaong-ku supplies the greater part of the kingdom with lacker-ware. The articles manufactured consist of betel boxes, cups, bowls, large boxes for keeping fine clothes, and for serving viands. The fabric is very simple. The frame consists of plaited bamboo, over which is laid a paste consisting of coarse varnish mixed up with bone-ashes. When the article thus far prepared is dry, a layer of varnish mixed up with vermilion is laid upon it; this is followed by a second, third, or even fourth layer of varnish, of a finer description, according to the quality of the article to be manufactured. The figures are drawn with a rude iron style, and yet are sometimes extremely neat and tasteful: this ware is comparatively very cheap: a hundred cups, each capable of containing a pint, may be bought at Nyaong-ku for six ticals of flowered silver, or about fifteen shillings: these will last about six months. The finer descriptions of the manufacture, however, are much dearer. A more durable description of lacker-ware, but more costly, is imported in considerable quantity from Lao. These together serve the Burmans, in a good measure, in the place not only of cabinet-work, but of glass, fine porcelain, and the utensils of brass, pewter, and tin, which are used by other nations; and in some cases it is no bad substitute. The varnish used by the manufacturers of Nyaong-ku, is imported from the countries on the Kyen-dwen river: we purchased it here at one tical a viss. Judging by the superior brilliancy of the lacker-ware of Lao, the varnish used in the fabrication of it must be of a finer quality. The coarsest varnish of all, used by the Burmans, is procured in Lower Pegu.

Dec. 24.—We dropped down yesterday afternoon below Pugan, anchoring close to the opposite or western bank of the river. This morning, as some delay was occasioned by necessary repairs to the machinery of the steam-ves-

sel, we took the opportunity of landing to explore the neighbourhood. A range of hills, not exceeding two hundred feet in height, runs parallel with the river, within a few yards of the bank. We penetrated this in two different directions, each route which we took being the dry bed of a mountain torrent. In one of these there was a soft sandy bottom, very generally covered by a saline efflorescence. On each side of it there was abundance of the tamarisk, *(Tamarix Indica,)* which is so familiar to those who have visited the banks of the Ganges: Dr. Wallich saw it now for the first time, in Ava; for, generally speaking, the plant is not to be found on the banks of this river. Connected with the saline formation now mentioned, Dr. Wallich found also three plants, which had not been met with by us before, viz. a new species of *Salsola,* different from the two known Indian ones; a new species of *Trichodesma,* with perfoliate leaves, and the *ammannia vesicatoria* of Roxburgh. The bed of the second torrent was composed of rocks, and rocky fragments, consisting of calcareous sandstone, and an iron-stone breccia. The latter contained an immense quantity of embedded fossil shells, as far as we could ascertain, on a superficial examination, differing from the fresh-water shells, which we had collected in the neighbourhood of the river on our way up. The stone in which these remains are found is very abundant, and we brought away a great quantity of specimens. On our way up to Ava, a native had given us a few specimens of fossil shells, which he said were obtained not far distant from the spot where we now found similar ones: this circumstance of course had directed our inquiry. All the specimens of rocks which we found here smelt strongly of petroleum, or earth oil; and as we proceeded up, we found the substance itself oozing out from the blue clay. Were wells dug, no doubt it would be found in the same manner as at Renan-gyaong. The range of hills where we observed it is composed of immense masses of blue clay, soft sandstone, or rather aggregated sand, containing occasionally round pebbles, hard calcareous sand-stone, iron-stone breccia, in which alone the fossil remains were found, and a coarse pudding-stone; the chert, or petrified wood, and the calcareous incrustations, so

abundant on the opposite side of the river, were scarcely to be found here at all.

On coming on board, the steam-vessel dropped down through a narrow passage formed between the spot which we had just examined and a broad island. The channel navigable here was scarcely thirty yards in breadth, deep, rapid, and therefore dangerous. There was certainly no part of the Irawadi which we had seen of which the passage was so precarious. Between three and four in the afternoon, we passed the town of Salé, and in the evening anchored off the western bank, about midway between that place and Sembegewn, (Sen-pyu-gyun, White Elephant Island.)

Dec. 25.—On Christmas morning, about breakfast-time, we anchored for an hour or two off Sembegewn, to give us an opportunity of sending off our letters and dispatches to Bengal by the Aracanese messengers, who had brought us letters at Ava on the 3d of this month. We reckoned that, by this conveyance, accounts from us would be received at Calcutta in twenty-five days.

While we were at anchor off Sembegewn, the old Governor of Bassein came on board and informed us that he had that morning received accounts, that the Talains, or Peguans, under Maongzat, the chief of Syrian, had rebelled against the Burman authorities, and that a formidable insurrection had broke out immediately upon the departure of Sir A. Campbell from Rangoon, since which time several actions had been fought. In the evening we reached Renangyun, or the Petroleum brook.

Dec. 27.—Yesterday morning, after taking in wood, the steam-vessel dropped down, and about a mile below Renangyun took the ground. A party had landed early in the morning, and proceeded some miles down the river, in expectation of joining the vessel. We were obliged to return, and did not reach her until three in the afternoon. This excursion, and another earlier in the morning, afforded us a highly interesting view of the geology of this part of the eastern bank of the river. The country consists of a series of sand-hills, the highest of which do not exceed one hundred feet,

frequently separated by narrow ravines, which, although torrents in the rainy season, were at present dry. The soil upon these hills was scanty in the extreme, and generally covered with grass, or an under-sized forest, in which the following trees are the most frequent:—Two species of *Arborescent Accacias Celtes-Mollis; Rhus Paniculata,* and *Bignonia Auriculata* of Wallich; *Baringtonia Acutangula;* a few sacred fig-trees, but above all a species of *Zizyphus,* the same which is so universal in the upper part of the Burman country.

The Irawadi had left bare a complete section of the sand-hills along its banks, where they are nearly perpendicular, and generally from seventy to eighty feet high. The whole country hereabouts is evidently of alluvial formation. The hills, at first view, appear to be sandstone, but in fact are nothing more than sand of a moderate hardness, every where more or less intermixed with gravel, sometimes very large, and at others minute. Situated generally below the sand, are beds of iron-stone breccia, and stalactitic masses of calcareous sandstone, the *debris* of which is widely scattered over the bank of the river. It is here, and in the ravines between the hills, that the petrified wood, which I have so often mentioned, is to be found in such abundance; but in the first mentioned situation we found also another object of still greater interest, a quantity of fossil bones. These appeared to be those of an animal of the size of an elephant—of one about the size of an ox, and of an alligator. We obtained in all, in our two excursions, fourteen or fifteen specimens along the bank of the river, in a distance not exceeding in all a mile and a half, from which circumstance the abundance of such remains may be fairly inferred. The quantity of fossil wood which we met was quite extraordinary. It appears here and there on the surface of the hills—in great quantities on the bank of the river, but most abundantly in the ravines. In this latter situation it forms the beds of the torrents, and consists of very large blocks, some of them four and five feet in circumference.

Dec. 31.—The impossibility of getting the steam-vessel off the sand-bank,

after many attempts, had still detained us here, and enabled us to add to our Geological and Botanical collection. On the 28th, accompanied by Dr. Stewart, I took a walk of three miles on the carriage road which leads from Renangyun to the towns of Mait'hila and Ramathan, which are near each other, and distant fifty taings, or about one hundred miles. The way was over barren sand-hills intercepted by frequent ravines, and a country quite uncultivated, indeed incapable of cultivation. We proceeded as far as a hill, a little higher than the surrounding ones, called Man-lan, which was strewed with broken fragments of a stone used by the natives for making tobacco-pipes. The rock looks as if it had been cracked or broken into small fragments by a hasty drying, so that in some places the loose stones on the surface presented the appearance of a regular pavement. This, I may say, was the only place in this neighbourhood, where we had found a perfect rock; all the other stones which had any appearance of being so, having proved on examination to be nothing more than an alluvial formation or recomposed rock. The dry grass and shrubs on the hill had been just burnt, and it appeared that from this place had been brought to us a great part of the fossil bones which I shall presently mention. The hill of Man-lan is higher than any in its vicinity, and is probably about four hundred feet above the level of the Irawadi.

We landed yesterday forenoon, in order to afford every facility for getting the steam-vessel off the bank, and pitched temporary tents on the river-side, at a little valley about a mile below Renangyun, and at a place called Nyaong-h'la, or the "handsome fig-tree," where there is an old temple on the model of those of Pugan. Dr. Wallich and myself this morning visited the Petroleum Wells, and examined several of them. We took the temperature of two of them carefully with a good thermometer: the thermometer being immersed in a pot of oil, just drawn from one of these, which was one hundred and thirty royal cubits, or two hundred and seven English feet in depth, rose to eighty-eight degrees. In the shade the temperature at the same time was sixty-nine degrees. In a pot of oil drawn from another well,

of which the liquid was less mixed with the water, and which was one hundred and forty royal cubits, or two hundred and twenty-two feet eight inches deep, the heat indicated by the thermometer was ninety degrees.

In going over the ground, we observed several old wells altogether abandoned. The natives informed us that, in digging new ones, they came at a considerable depth to coal and fossil shells. Of the latter, we unfortunately could obtain no specimens; but of the former, which proved to be brown coal, we obtained one or two good ones at the village of Renangyun. The oil drawers stated to us, that in clearing out old wells accidents sometimes happened from the fire-damp, and they pointed out a particular well at which two men had lost their lives from this cause.

January 3, 1827.—The steam-boat was got afloat on the forenoon of the 1st, with the assistance of three hundred Burmans, who may be said to have dragged her off the sand-bank by main force, and after lightening her by cutting off the whole of her poop, discharging all the baggage, and landing some of the heaviest parts of her machinery. The detention occasioned by all this, afforded us opportunities of examining the country in the vicinity of the Petroleum Wells, of which we availed ourselves to the fullest extent. Our search after fossil bones was successful far beyond our expectation. As soon as the natives discovered our curiosity upon the subject, specimens were brought in to us every hour, so that we at last obtained a collection amounting to several large chests. Among these we could recognize those of several ruminant animals, of tortoises, and alligators. The most numerous and remarkable, however, were the bones of an animal of the size of an elephant, which, until better informed, we supposed to have belonged to the fossil elephant, or mammoth. The natives had also brought us in a large quantity of petrified shells: these, it is singular, were all of one description,—a bivalve shell about the size of a cockle.*

* This passage and others, respecting these remarkable fossil remains, are allowed to stand nearly as originally written in my JOURNAL; but for an accurate and scientific account of both, I can refer with satisfaction and confidence to the APPENDIX.

Anxious to see the fossil bones and shells in their situations, Dr. Wallich and I proceeded this morning in the same direction in which I had travelled on the 28th. After proceeding as far as the hill of Manlan, we took a northerly direction among the hills and ravines, until our Burman guides brought us to a hill about sixty or seventy feet above the level of the dry bed of a brook, which was immediately below it, and probably about one hundred and fifty above the level of the Irawadi. Not far from the top of this a few fossil shells were shown to us, and we proceeded to dig up the ground. After removing a very superficial soil, we came at once to a bed of blue moist clay, which contained an immense quantity of shells, some broken, but many entire. The greater number were filled with the blue clay of the bed in which they lay; but a few with calcareous matter, which last had been the case with all those brought to us by the natives at our residence, and which therefore were probably procured at some other spot. No vestige of fossil shells was to be seen any where in the immediate neighbourhood. On the opposite side of the brook, and not distant a hundred yards from the bed of shells, a section of one of the hills was laid bare, which consisted of indurated sand and calcareous sandstone breccia, which afforded a good opportunity for determining this point. The deposition of shells, therefore, was evidently very partial, or at least was broken and interrupted by other formations.

After satisfying ourselves respecting the shells, we returned to the Manlan hill, and, under the direction of our guides, took a southerly direction among the hills and ravines in this quarter, in search of fossil bones. After proceeding about a mile and a half or two miles, several specimens were shown to us; and we soon picked up ten or a dozen fragments, seemingly belonging to the same large animal which I have already mentioned. We found them between the hills, in gravelly soil, nearly on the surface, and not in the deepest ravines. We attempted to dig for others, but our search was not successful; indeed, we had neither means nor time to prosecute it with any prospect of success. The fossil wood was met with wherever we passed;

but it increased in abundance as we approached the Irawadi, and was by far the most frequent in those portions of the ravines which lead immediately into it. I may here remark, that the singular formation of barren sand-hills and ravines, which so abound with fossil wood and bones, is confined to the eastern bank of the river. The western bank, to a great extent, is a low champaign country, bearing little resemblance to the opposite one.

To elucidate the subject of the fossil bones, I shall here notice, that according to the report of the natives, or our own observations, the following are the quadrupeds at present existing in the neighbourhood; viz. a leopard, a wild cat, a species of deer the *cervus manjac*, the hare, the hog, with a mole rat. Of these, we saw ourselves the deer, hare, and rat. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the wild cow, and buffalo, with the royal tiger, which are found in different other parts of the Burman territory, exist nowhere near to the situations in which we found the fossil bones in such abundance.

Jan. 4.—We embarked last night, and began again this morning to prosecute our voyage, after a detention of eight days. In the evening we stopped at Magwé, on the eastern bank: about a mile above it, Dr. Wallich and I landed, and walked down to the place. The bank of the river was as high and precipitate as at Re-nan-gyaong, and apparently consisted of the same alluvial formation. Fossil wood was in abundance along the bank; but we did not observe, nor did we hear upon inquiry of any fossil bones. At Magwé we found stationed a person of considerable consequence, called the Mret-sen-wun. This officer has charge of the river police, and is vested with the power of life and death, which was attested by a spectacle seen by two of our gentlemen on the river-side, a little below Magwé—the bodies of six persons who, fifteen days before, had been executed by him for piracy. They were already torn to pieces by the numerous birds of prey that hovered about them.

Jan. 9.—On the morning of the 5th we left Magwé, and at noon arrived at Melun and Patnago. We landed at the latter place and visited a lake

not half a mile from the river-side. When we went up, this was a considerable body of water, but now it was little better than a marsh overgrown with aquatic plants, among which was the *Nelumbo*, or Indian lotus, and a splendid *Nymphœa*, a new species. We expected to find in this season numerous wildgeese and ducks; but there were none of the former, and very few of the latter. After taking in a supply of firewood, we prosecuted our journey, and anchored for the night a few miles above Lungyi. On the 6th our navigation was very intricate and difficult, and we were obliged to take a pilot from village to village, which occasioned much detention. Waiting for one about four or five miles below Lungyi, I landed about noon, with Dr. Wallich, on the western bank, and made a short excursion into the forest, which was low and scanty. Instead of the verdant appearance which it presented in coming up during the rains, it was now parched and withered, and had a very dreary aspect, the trees already beginning to lose their foliage. In March and April, the scene is still more unpromising. The soil was poor and gravelly, and at the place where we landed there was not the least appearance of cultivation. We observed, however, several cart-roads intersecting the forest, and villages surrounded by patches of culture were at no great distance. The rock presented itself in one situation on the river-side: it was a calcareous sandstone breccia, and in several portions of it were embedded numerous small fossil shells.

In the forest we saw no game except wild cocks and hens, which seemed to be very abundant, for we started one covey which consisted of not less than fourteen or fifteen birds. In the evening we stopped at a small village, about fifteen miles above Meaday.

On the 7th, at eleven o'clock, we passed Meaday, where above eighty merchant-boats, in consequence of the piracies and murders lately committed on the river, were glad to take advantage of our safe convoy as far as Prome. Here, on both sides of the river, we found the rock to be calcareous sandstone. At Meaday the fossil wood was still to be seen in small quantities. We

anchored for the night at Tong-taong, or "lime-stone hill," mentioned in our voyage up. Yesterday the navigation of the river had greatly improved; we consequently made a longer journey than usual, and by six in the evening reached Prome. At this place we received some details of the Talain insurrection, which appeared more formidable than we had expected. Maong-zat, the Peguan chief, we were informed, had attacked the Burmans twice near Rangoon, and in a good measure blockaded that place. The people of Dalla, including the Karians of that district, had joined him, and he had established a post as far up the eastern branch of the Irawadi as Panlang, thus intercepting the communication between Rangoon and the upper provinces.

Dr. Wallich and I this morning made an excursion to the hills opposite to Prome. The great fall of the river now exposed rocks, the existence of which we did not suspect in the examination we made going up: they consisted of sandstone, pudding-stone, and slate clay; in short, this seemed a continuation of the same formation which we had traced nearly all the way from Ava. In the sandstone we found abundance of fossil shells, differing entirely, as far as we could determine, from those hitherto found, and to all appearance marine productions. Of these we made an ample collection.

The soil at Prome began already to improve, and the verdure to be more luxuriant. Neither here, nor in any other part from Melun, did we observe the teak tree, which we had seen so often in going up. It sheds its leaves in every country, and being now without foliage, could not be distinguished.

While we were absent on the opposite side of the river, our friends visited the town, and found it much restored and enlarged, affording favourable testimony to the good administration of the Myowun. This person himself was absent, having proceeded about a month before to Rangoon, with four hundred men, to assist in suppressing the insurrection of the Talains. The Akunwun, or collector of taxes, who was acting for him, paid us a visit on board the steam-vessel. There is no Rewun by custom at Prome, and the person next to the Myowun in rank, and therefore his de-

puty, is the collector. Our visitor was a young man of some intelligence. He was desirous to see the steam-engine, and was readily gratified. The observation he made upon it was, that "it was as wonderful as the mechanism of a bee-hive."

We left Prome between eleven and twelve o'clock. At four o'clock, after going about twenty miles, the vessel again grounded on a sand-bank, although we had a pilot on board. The navigation of the Irawadi, at this season, is precarious and uncertain to the last degree. The bed of the river every where consists of sand, and the channel seems to change every season, so that former experience and observation are of no avail. By emptying the boiler, and otherwise lightening her, the vessel was fortunately got off at seven in the evening.

Jan. 10.—We prosecuted our journey early this morning. At ten o'clock Dr. Wallich and I landed a little below the town of Pingyi, and visited the promontory called by the Burmans Kyaok-ta-ran, the last high land on the eastern bank of the river. This is a very romantic and pretty spot, and our visit to it was extremely satisfactory. The promontory is about eighty feet high, and the rocks rise perpendicularly from the river. About thirty feet up there are niches, or excavations, in each of which there is a stone figure of Gautama cut out of the rock, but plastered over every where, and in some places gilt. There cannot be less than fifty of these in all, of various sizes, and some of them very large: they are divided into two or three groups, separate and distinct from each other. The only rock we saw was a calcareous breccia, and there was neither loose sand nor clay, as in some other places. Fossil shells again occurred, and apparently of marine origin. The hills are covered with abundant verdure and considerable forests. Many of the plants were in flower and fruit, and Dr. Wallich found here a greater number of new and interesting species than in any other place, excepting the range of hills north-east of Ava. The following are some of the most remarkable; viz. a large species of *Cacalia*, with deep orange-coloured blossoms; a species of *Codonopsis*, hitherto only found in Nepal; a *Ruellia*, remark-

able for having its stem and branches covered with a milkwhite down; the *Porona Paniculata*, with its profuse and highly ornamental blossoms; a new species of *Eranthemum*, first found by Dr. Wallich in the range of hills north-east of Ava; a handsome *Borderia*, a stately *Arundo*, several mosses, and *Jungermannia* in flower, and several ferns, amongst which was one elegant new species.

The ship had dropped down slowly, and we joined her at two o'clock. We had now taken leave of the hilly country, the natural boundary of the Burman race, and entered into the Delta of the Irawadi, the native country of the Peguans. At four in the afternoon, we passed the large and populous village of Kiyan-k'han, on the west bank of the river, which we had not seen in going up, as we then ascended by the eastern bank. Here a very considerable number of merchant-boats were lying along the bank. This place, although governed only by a Myosugi, has the rank of a Myo, but is without walls or stockade. The district attached to it is productive in rice; and the cattle employed in husbandry are said to amount to ten thousand buffaloes. In the evening we reached Myan-aong, or Loonzay.

Jan. 11.—I walked through Myan-aong this morning, which is a village of considerable extent, but without any thing remarkable to distinguish it. We found the alarm here, on account of the progress of the Talain insurrection, very considerable. The inhabitants were already collecting their grain, and preparing for flight.

Jan. 13.—We left Myan-aong after breakfast, on the 11th. Between Kanaong and Shwe-gain, when we had hardly gone ten miles, the difficulties of the river were found even greater than in any part of the navigation from Ava downwards. We were obliged to come-to for the day, in order to sound for a passage, which was at length discovered on the morning of the 12th, when we pursued our journey. At night we anchored off the little river, which about five miles above Sarwa goes to Bassein, being the first branch which the Irawadi sends off in its progress to the sea. A petty stream at all times, it was now choked up with sand at its mouth, and impassable for the

smallest canoe. In the month of June, 1825, in the height of the rains, a fleet of gun-boats, of the smallest class, came by the route of this branch to join Sir A. Campbell, then at Prôme; but even in that season the voyage was attended with much difficulty. At two o'clock we passed Sarwa, and in half an hour thereafter reached Henzada. The principal person now in charge here paid us a visit, and was very anxious to know what part the English would take in the present contest. The obvious reply was, that we should take no part with either, as to side with the Talains would be contrary to good faith and existing treaties. As to the Burmans, we added, that every Government was the proper asserter of its own rights; and that it did not belong to strangers to intermeddle. The old Wun of Bassein, ever since he communicated to us the insurrection of the Talains, had been most importunate in soliciting our interference. One word from us, he said, would induce Maong-zat to give up his enterprise, and retire with his followers into our territories. I informed him that we should not interfere in any manner whatsoever.

Jan. 17.—On the morning of the 14th we quitted Henzada, where we laid in a stock of fuel, sufficient to last us to Rangoon. In the evening we passed Donabew, and anchored for the night within a mile of the eastern branch of the Irawadi, leading to Rangoon. Donabew we found considerably enlarged. Both this place and the village of Nyaong-gyung, about seven or eight miles below it, we found crowded with refugees, who had fled from the Talain insurrection.

We prosecuted our journey on the morning of the 15th. Before starting we met a number of boats, who had come up the main branch of the Irawadi from Pantano, a district of the province of Bassein. Among them were a considerable number of Chinese. It seemed that the people of Pantano had been ordered to attack the Talains at the post of Panlang. In the mean time Maong-pyu, the head of the Karians of Pegu, who is in alliance with Maong-zat, assaulted Pantano, and took it on his way to the attack of Bassein. He was reported to be at the head of three thousand followers. The old Wun of Bassein, like a genuine Burman Chief, not choosing to incur the personal

risk of entering the districts in a state of insurrection, quitted us that morning. He was, however, sufficiently candid on the subject, and did not conceal his fears. Just at the commencement of the Rangoon branch there was a small post of the Burmese, the only one which they held down to Rangoon. Waiting high-water to pass it, we anchored seven miles within this branch, where there was a bar; this we effected at seven in the evening, being luckily favoured by the highest spring-tides, without which we could not have got over, for even then we had barely a fathom water; and the vessel, now much lightened, drew very nearly six feet.

At seven in the morning of the 16th we proceeded, and soon passed Samalaok, where we found a breast-work newly erected, but abandoned. The village itself, and the few others upon the bank, had been also abandoned, and we saw no inhabitants except a few Karians, who came down to the river-side out of curiosity. At one o'clock we arrived at Panlang. We found the river here strongly stockaded in three places, and in occupation of the Talains. We came to an anchor for a moment to request a safe passage for our boats, which amounted in all to two-and-twenty, twelve of which only were our own, the rest being Burman trading-vessels, belonging to European and other foreign merchants that had sought our protection. We made a signal that we wished to communicate with the garrison, and three boats pushed off without any hesitation. Our visitors were very communicative. Their manner was full of gesticulation, and their language rather boastful: they said they were afraid only of the English; and that if we would not interfere, or, as they expressed it, "if we would but stand upright, and move neither to the right hand nor to the left hand," they would soon settle their quarrel with the Burmans, as one hundred Talains were an equal match for one thousand of the former! The chief, commanding at the post, whose name was Maong-shwe-lung, was anxious to come on board and pay us a visit of ceremony; but I evaded this proposal, which might have led to embarrassment, by becoming the subject of misrepresentation. The Talains informed us that they had been fifteen days in possession of Panlang, and in

that time had fought one petty action with the Burmans, in which one or two persons were killed. They stated that Maong-zat had taken the name and title of King,—that he had created two or three *great officers*, and that Maong-pyo, the chief of the Karians, who was marching upon Bassein, was to have the government of that place as the reward of his services. They readily promised a safe passage for our boats, and seemed indeed but too happy to have an opportunity of obliging us in any thing within their power. The river at Panlang is scarcely sixty yards in breadth, and this post, which commands every access to Rangoon, had been very judiciously selected. If resolutely defended, it might long have intercepted all relief from Ava to the latter place. We anchored at night at a place seven miles above Rangoon. In this day's journey we saw alligators for the first time, and in great numbers, basking in the sun, on the muddy shores at low water: some of them were of great size, and the species seemed to us to be different from either of the two found in the Ganges.

As soon as the ebb-tide had made, and the thick fog, which now prevailed every morning, would allow us to see our way, we prosecuted our journey this morning, and at ten o'clock anchored before Rangoon. In coming down, we found the village of Kemmendine totally destroyed. A much more extensive desolation presented itself in the vicinity of the town: the large suburb lying between the stockade and the river, and the still larger one of Tacklay, were in ruins; such of the inhabitants as had not fled to our settlements, or taken refuge in the forests, and great numbers had done so, were cooped up within the stockade. The town seemed to be completely beleaguered by the Talains, who were in full occupation of Dalla: the Pegu flag was flying on one side of the river, and the Burman on the other. The only post out of the stockade which the Burmans still retained was the Great Pagoda, where the Sad'hauwun, or master of the household, the person whom our soldiers called "the cook," commanded.

Lieutenant Rawlinson, who was left here by Sir A. Campbell to await our arrival, and all the English merchants, were standing on the public wharf,

looking out for us, and immediately came on board, bringing along with them our letters and packets. They informed us that this day had been decided on by the Burmans, as a fortunate one, for making a *sortie*; and indeed they had scarcely given us the information, when the attack actually commenced. We were eye-witnesses to a considerable part of this action, and our friends, who returned to the stockade, and mounted the tops of the houses, had a full view of the whole. The courage and conduct of both parties were upon the very lowest scale. The Burmans crept out of the stockade, and came unawares upon their enemy, on the eastern or Tacklay side of the stockade. The Talains, who were cooking or sleeping, fled precipitately, and without offering any resistance, to their boats, which were soon seen crossing the river in numbers and in great haste, although not pursued. A few Talains were killed, and a few taken prisoners. The Burman attack in the direction of the Pagoda was not so fortunate: here they were repulsed, and sustained some loss. The total killed, wounded, and prisoners, was, after all, very trifling on either side. We received various and different accounts of the casualties; but so discordant, that none could be relied on. The Burmans admitted their own loss in wounded to be fourteen. We had the misfortune to be eye-witnesses to the capture of one petty Talain chief, and an act of more savage ferocity cannot well be imagined. He had attempted to escape by swimming across the river, and was pursued by two armed Burmans in a small canoe. He attempted to avoid capture by repeated diving, but was at last wounded by a spear and taken. He was tied to the canoe, and dragged down the river for a quarter of a mile, to the spot where we were anchored, and within five yards of us. He was landed by dragging him by the hair of the head, and one of the victors drew a sword, as if to decapitate him. We remonstrated against this act of brutality, as an insult to ourselves, and thus for the moment at least saved the life of the prisoner. Thirty ticals, it appears, are paid for every Talain's head. The prisoners are generally taken before the Wungyi, where some are executed and others reprieved. Some of our gentlemen who entered the town after the action had ceased,

saw the prisoners brought in. The men were dragged by the hair of the head, and the women and children were scarcely better treated. Among the prisoners there were some Chinese, who were sold by the captors on the spot to the highest bidder. These had not joined the Talains, nor were they taken in arms: they had not, however, quitted the suburbs, where their dwellings were, when the Burmans retired to the stockade, and this, which was considered suspicious, was an offence which merited punishment.

Jan. 19.—The day we arrived I had a message from the Wungyi, saying he would be glad to receive a visit from me; but it was delivered in such a manner, and through such a channel, that I declined paying any attention to it. Yesterday morning the Akunwun, or collector of customs, waited upon us and apologized on the part of the Wungyi for not having given us a ceremonious reception on the day of our arrival, on the plea of his being busily engaged in the arrangement of the *sortie* which took place. He requested that we would pay him a visit that day or the following. I answered, that I did not think a visit necessary, as I had no public business to discuss with him, being now a mere passenger to Bengal, invested with no public authority. If the Wungyi had any public business on his side, I said, I should be glad to receive him on board the steam-vessel. The Akunwun said that this was impossible, as it was contrary to etiquette for a man of the Wungyi's rank to come without the walls of the fort and expose his person when the place was besieged. I replied, that I had quite made up my mind not to visit the Wungyi in his own house; but as he was anxious for an interview, I would meet him, if he desired it, at any place in the town, not being a government building, and I proposed the house which I had myself formerly occupied when commissioner. This was agreed to, and the meeting took place to-day at eleven o'clock.

The Akunwun had intimated to us that none of the European soldiers or Sepoys of our escort should be permitted to enter the town during our stay, as it was in a state of siege. In reply to this, I answered, that this exclusion had an unfriendly appearance, and that I would not go into the town

without such an escort as the Burman chiefs were accustomed to when Rangoon was occupied by us. This arrangement was assented to with some difficulty, and we entered the town, preceded by twelve men of the European escort. The ladder, which had been taken away from the wharf on the first alarm of the Talain insurrection, was replaced for our convenience; we should otherwise have had to ascend a height of five-and-twenty or thirty feet by a single rope, as other persons did, for it was low-water. The Wungyi kept us waiting at the place appointed for half an hour, and then made his appearance in a very plain dress. The Ex-Myowun of Yé, and the Akunwun, had met us on the wharf, and sat along with us until the arrival of their superior. We had a very civil meeting with the Wungyi. Notes of the conversation which took place were taken as usual, and the following is a sketch of it:—

B. You saw the battle the day you arrived, and how matters are. I stated my apprehensions to you at Henzada, and told you how mischievous a person Maong-zat was.—*E.* I remember your warning me against the Talains generally, and denouncing them as a disloyal and treacherous people; but I have no recollection of your ever having at all introduced the name of Maong-zat.

B. Perhaps I may not have mentioned the name of Maong-zat.—*E.* I take this opportunity of mentioning, that the Wundauk and Rewun stated to me at Rangoon their apprehensions of Maong-zat, and made what I conceived at the time a very unreasonable request, viz. that the British Government should seize that person, his friends and followers, who, at the time, had committed no offence either against the British or Burman Government, and deliver them over to the Burman authorities for punishment. A compliance with this would have been dishonourable to us, and was of course refused; but I offered, on behalf of the British Commissioners, to induce Maong-zat and his followers to retire into the British provinces, in order to remove all cause of apprehension on the part of the Burman Government. This was declined: nothing less would satisfy them than the delivering

over into their hands Maong-zat and his people. The Wun of Yé, who is now before me, was present when the conversation took place, and no doubt will recollect all about it."

This officer, upon being referred to, stated that he recollected the circumstances perfectly.

E. Have you received a copy of the Treaty of Commerce lately concluded at Ava?—*B.* Yes, I have received a copy of it. How long do you propose staying here?

E. I hope to be able to go away in two or three days at the farthest.

The Wungyi here offered to deliver over a letter to my charge, without mentioning what it was, or offering any explanation.

E. Before I receive this letter, I must know from whom it comes, and to whom it is addressed; and I must be satisfied that its contents are suitable.—*B.* It merely contains an account of your arrival at Ava, your presentation, &c.

E. As soon as I am favoured with a copy, and have procured a translation, I shall be able to say whether I can receive it, or otherwise.—*B.* The letter is all right, and contains nothing improper. Why will you not receive it?

E. I shall be able to judge of all this when I see it. Of the suitableness of what I take upon myself the responsibility of delivering to my superiors I am the proper judge, and not the officers of the Burmese Government. You state that the letter is from the Wungyis at Ava. I was not the bearer of a letter to those officers; I was the bearer of a letter to the King. If this letter be an answer to that which I took to his Majesty, I will not receive it. The Wungyis must not address the Governor-General, who is their superior, unless in the form of a petition. If the letter be in this last shape, and have no reference to the letter which I brought for the King, I will take charge of it.—*B.* The letter is not from the Wungyis to the Governor-General, but from the former to "the War Chiefs" in Bengal.

Copy of the letter was here made, read, and delivered.

E.—The contents of this letter have been explained to me, and they appear to be suitable. I conceive it to be addressed from the Wungyis at Ava to officers of similar rank in Calcutta, and with this understanding I now take charge of it."

The Wungyi here produced two ruby rings, the largest of which he requested might be given to the Govenor-General in his name, and of the smallest he requested my acceptance.

After a good deal of conversation on indifferent topics, the English and Burman officers rose together and retired. In going through and coming from the town, we were treated with perfect civility by every one we met.

The following is a translation of the letter now alluded to:—"According to the Royal order of the Most Glorious Sovereign of Land and Sea, Lord of the Celestial Elephant, Proprietor of White Elephants, Master of the Chakra Weapon, Sovereign Controller of Existence, King of Righteousness, we, the Wungyis, War Chiefs, who manage the affairs of the country, make this communication to the English War Chiefs.

"Agreeably to the great friendship subsisting between the English country, and the Royal kingdom of the Burman monarch, the English Ruler sent the Envoy Crawfurd with presents to his Majesty, and he came to the Royal presence (under the Golden Foot). That his journey may be pleasant, we went out to meet and conduct him, and the presents which he brought were carried to the Golden Palace and presented to 'the two Sovereigns.' Houses, tents, and sheds were constructed, and appropriated for the accommodation of the Envoy Crawfurd and his suite, and a sufficient supply of provisions was furnished.

"On petitioning the Throne concerning the trade of the two countries, his Majesty has given permission, calculated to promote prosperity. On petitioning the Throne concerning the Envoy's returning, the two Sovereigns graciously granted the following presents for the English Ruler:—two ruby rings; two sapphire rings; five silk cloths of a certain description; two fur jackets; two Chinese hats; two gilt umbrellas; two round boxes, set with

glass; two high cover boxes, set with glass; two ditto, gilt; two shan round boxes, large; two ditto, middle size; two ditto, small; two shan high cover boxes, large; two shan cups, large; two ditto, middle size; ten ditto, small; one block of Sagaing marble; one mass of crystal, weighing ten viss; ten elephants' tusks, weighing fifty viss; two horses, and some sacred books. All these were safely delivered to the Envoy Crawfurd; boatmen and provisions furnished; and officers of Government were made to conduct the Envoy on his return to Han-tha-wati.

"As the two great countries are now great friends, keep in mind the importance of maintaining the grand alliance."

Jan. 23.—From our arrival until to-day we were busy in making arrangements for sending the escort, our followers, and baggage to the new settlement of Amherst, on the river of Martaban. For this purpose I was obliged to take up the Bombay Merchant, an English ship of above 500 tons burthen. We were in readiness to-day, and left Rangoon about half-past eleven o'clock.

I had recommended to Lieutenant Rawlinson to continue at his post until he heard farther from Sir Archibald Campbell; being convinced, from what I had seen and heard, that such a step was necessary for the protection of the persons of the British merchants at Rangoon, and the large property in their warehouses. I had explained this to the Wungyi in the interview which I had with him. He seemed, however, not to be satisfied with what I then stated; and just as we were weighing, a message came from him to ask what object we had in view by leaving Lieutenant Rawlinson at Rangoon. I stated shortly, that such a measure was considered necessary in the present state of the country, and that by treaty we had a right to maintain an agent in the kingdom.

From the time of our arrival to our departure, a period of six days, no action was fought between the hostile parties; and but for the occasional report of a gun or musquet, and the desolate appearance of the neighbourhood of Rangoon, it might be supposed that the country was in a state of

perfect peace. Last evening, however, we saw a great number of Talain boats moving up the right bank of the river, and heard that the Talain chief Maong-zat, in person, had arrived at Dalla with a considerable force, and meditated an attack upon Rangoon. The Burmans immediately began to make preparation against it, and by two o'clock the remaining houses in the suburbs were set on fire, with a view of clearing the glacis in front of the stockade. The meditated attack, however, did not take place. The Burman garrison, it appears, amounted to about 4000 men, 2500 of whom were called *regular troops*. The provisions in the stockade were equal only to a month's consumption, and the garrison seemed completely cut off from farther supply, unless by sea; so that, unless the place were relieved by a Burman army forcing the stockade at Panlang, it would be compelled to surrender.

The Wungyi Maong-kaing was reputed to be, for a Burman, a man of humanity; yet, notwithstanding, he had committed his full share of cruelty since the commencement of the insurrection. In the first action which was fought, three Talains were killed, and one prisoner made: the heads of the first were struck off, and, to make the number even, that of the prisoner also; these heads were carried in triumph through the town. The Burman warriors displayed their courage by running up to them and wounding them with their spears. This happened in the view of the English gentlemen residing in the place, from whom I had the account. Shortly after the commencement of the insurrection, some Talains were seized in the town, under suspicion of attempting to set fire to it. They and their families, including women and children, were buried alive, by being thrown into a well and covered over with earth. The person to whom the immediate execution of this atrocity was consigned, was the Sad'hauwun, or steward of the household.

In passing down the river we met a small vessel from Chittagong, with a crew of Aracanese and a cargo of areca-nut. She had a pass in the Persian language, from the English collector of customs, which, for all the Burmans or Talains could understand of its contents, might as well

have been in Hebrew. The Aracanese stated that they had been stopped by the Talains, who endeavoured to dissuade them from proceeding to Rangoon, telling them that the Burmans would cut their heads off, and recommended to them to go to the British settlements at Martaban. We furnished them at their request with a pass in the Burman language. It was for native vessels alone that such passes were required, for British vessels of every size were permitted to pass up and down the river without the least molestation.

When we came opposite to a large creek leading to Bassein, we found a fleet of Talain boats within it. Indeed, the insurgents were in complete possession of all the river below Rangoon, on both banks. Shortly after, we met a boat full of Chinese with their families in distress, endeavouring to escape from both the belligerent parties: they begged to be taken on board and conveyed to our settlements, and their request was complied with.

The following account of Rangoon was collected by me while I resided there in civil charge of Pegu, a period of more than six months. This place is situated about twenty-six miles from the sea, on the eastern branch of the Irawadi, five miles below the junction of the Lain and Panlang rivers, and about two miles above the Syrian river. It lies on the left bank, and on a reach which runs nearly due east and west. The town and suburbs extend about a mile along the bank of the river, and are in depth about three-quarters of a mile; but the houses are very unequally scattered over this area. The fort, or stockade, is an irregular square; the north and south faces of which were found to measure 1145 yards; the east, 598; and the west, 197. On the north face there are two gates and a sally-port; on the south, three gates and three sally-ports; on the east, two gates; and on the west, one gate and one sally-port. The stockade is fourteen feet high, and is composed of heavy beams of teak timber. It has in some places a stage to fire musquetry from, in the parapet over which are a kind of embrasures, or loop-holes. On the south side there is a miserable ditch, and in one situation a deep swamp, both overgrown with *Arums*, *Pontiderias*, the *Pitsia stratiota*, and other aquatic plants. Over the ditch there is a

causeway, and over the marsh a long wooden bridge, connecting one of the gates with a large temple and monastery.

Rangoon and its suburbs are divided into eight wards, called, in the Burman language, *Yat*, superintended by an officer called the Yat-gaong, whose business it is to maintain watch and ward within his division. The palisaded fort, or stockade, which is properly what the Burmans denominate a town or myo, is composed of three wide and clean streets running east and west, and three smaller ones crossing them and fronting the gates of the south face. The most populous part of the town is the suburb called Taklay (Tatklé), immediately on the west face of the stockade.

In August 1826, I directed a census of the houses and population to be made, and found the former to amount to 1570, and the latter to 8666, excluding all strangers. This gives between five and six inhabitants to each house. During the administration of the last Burman viceroy, in a census which was made, the houses amounted to 3250, which would give a population of near 18,000 inhabitants. On this occasion, however, I am told, that the number of houses was swelled by including in the list all the villages and hamlets of the neighbourhood.

Almost all the houses of Rangoon are composed of the cheapest and frailest materials, and are peculiarly liable to destruction by fire. In March 1826, I saw the whole suburb of Taklay burned to the ground in a few hours, from the accident of a pot of oil boiling over. In less than a month it was not only reconstructed, but, from the circumstance of many of the inhabitants having returned after the peace, the houses were far more numerous than before the accident.

Rangoon is written, in the Burman language, Rankong, and pronounced Yangong, which is a compound epithet meaning "peace effected." This name was given to it by Alompra, who made it the capital of Pegu and the principal sea-port of his dominions, after the destruction of Pegu and Syrian in 1755. Before that time, it was a petty village, and was called Dagong, after the

great Pagoda, or Shwe Dagong (Golden Dagong). Inconsiderable as its population is, it is at present the second city in the Burman dominions.

The environs of Rangoon are sterile, uncultivated, and not very interesting; although the situation, under institutions more favourable to industry, possesses capabilities of great improvement. The ground from the river face continues to rise gradually for two miles, until reaching the great Dagong Pagoda, where it appears to be seventy or eighty feet above the level of the Irawadi. In the vicinity of this temple, the ground is broken into ravines: amongst these are several marshes and a small lake, or rather extensive tank, formed by throwing a bank across the gorge of a wide ravine. The view from the temple is extensive and picturesque, comprehending many reaches of the river.

The elevation of site possessed by Rangoon secures itself and its environs from the inconvenience of being inundated by the periodical rains, as is the case with the low lands nearly throughout the whole Delta of the Irawadi. The climate, upon the whole, is temperate and agreeable for a tropical one, and it is certainly salubrious; for the mortality amongst our troops unquestionably arose not from climate, but want of shelter, of wholesome food, and of ordinary comforts.

In the vicinity of Rangoon there are scarcely any works of utility, and none of embellishment, save those dedicated to religion; viz. the Sidis, or monuments in honour of Buddha, and the Kyaongs, or monasteries. The only useful works are two narrow roads leading from the southern face of the stockade to the great temple: these, which are paved with brick, were constructed within the last twelve years chiefly by a Mohammedan merchant of Rangoon, who had embraced the religion of Gautama. From the town to the great Pagoda, the country is covered with innumerable monuments of various sizes,—some long in a state of dilapidation; and others entire,—before the British invasion. These are all of the same form, a form which has been aptly compared to a speaking trumpet standing on its base. The

lower part of a temple, or Sidi, is commonly a polygon; and the shaft, or upper portion, is round,—the apex being ornamented with an iron net, in form of an umbrella, called, as I have more than once stated before, a "Ti." The building is of solid brick and mortar, with the exception of the small chambers, in which are deposited the relics of Gautama, most commonly consisting of little images of this personage, of gold or silver, deposited by the founders.

The great temple, or Shwe Dagong, is of the same structure with the rest, but richly gilt all over. The height of this, which is really a noble object, is said to be one hundred and seventy-five cubits, or about two hundred and seventy-eight feet. In the enclosure which surrounds it is an immense bell of very rude fabric: the inscription upon it imports that it was cast by the late King forty-one years before our visit.

The Shwe Dagong Pagoda has long enjoyed a higher reputation than any other religious edifice in the Burman dominions: this it owes to the legend which supposes it to contain "eight true hairs of Gautama," brought as a trophy from Western India, many centuries ago, by two merchant brothers. The Pagoda is in fact, what is not common with religious edifices in Ava, a place of pilgrimage; and is frequented by many strangers, especially Shans, during the vernal festival in the month of March, when a great fair is held near it: it is also the only temple frequented as a common place of worship by the inhabitants of Rangoon and its vicinity; the others being resorted to only by their own founders, or their relatives and descendants.

During our occupation of Rangoon, there were two considerable markets in the place, which, after the restoration of peace, were abundantly supplied with fine fish, poultry, and very tolerable venison, besides an abundant supply of the necessaries of life, according to the Burman scale of estimating them.

Rangoon is the chief, and indeed almost the only port of foreign trade in the Burman dominions. Its situation is extremely convenient for this purpose: its distance from the sea, as already mentioned, is but twenty-six miles; and although the navigation be somewhat intricate, the difficulties

are not so great as not to be readily conquered with the assistance of tolerable pilots. Of the vast number of ships which frequented it during its occupation by the British, a period of more than two years and a half, one only, I believe, suffered shipwreck. These were of every size, up to twelve hundred tons burthen. With the exception of that of Bassein, it is the only navigable branch of the Irawadi. Over this last-mentioned place, which is in other respects a more accessible, safe, and convenient port, it has the advantage of an uninterrupted communication at all seasons with the upper provinces—a circumstance which has naturally diverted to it nearly the whole foreign trade of the kingdom.

The site of Rangoon has many advantages for ship-building. At neaps, there is a rise and fall of the tide of about eighteen feet; and at springs, of twenty-five to thirty. The distance of the principal teak forests is at the same time comparatively inconsiderable, and there is a water conveyance for the timber nearly the whole way. Ship-building has in fact been conducted at Rangoon ever since the year 1786, and in the thirty-eight years which preceded our capture of it, there had been built one hundred and eleven square-rigged vessels of European construction, the total burthens of which amounted to above 35,000 tons. Several of these were of from 800 to 1000 tons burthen. Under the direction of European masters, the Burmese were found to make dexterous and laborious artisans; in this respect, greatly surpassing the natives of our Indian provinces. Of the commerce conducted at Rangoon, I shall take occasion to render an account in another place.

A modern Burmese Temple at Sagaing.

CHAPTER XIII.

Departure from the mouth of the Rangoon river for Martaban.—New Settlement.—Military Cantonment.—Voyage up the Ataran river in the steam-vessel—and account of the country on its banks.—Island of Balú.—Account of a former journey up the Martaban river, and of the formation of the Settlement of Amherst.—Departure from Martaban, and arrival at Calcutta.—General Reflections respecting our Political Relations with the Burmese.

Jan. 24.—YESTERDAY evening we passed the mouth of the Rangoon river, and by sunset were clear of its sands and shoals. Through night, favoured by the smooth sea and calm weather which almost uniformly prevail upon this coast from November to April, we stood across for the mouth of the Martaban river. Going at a very moderate rate, we entered the new harbour of Amherst at half-past eleven o'clock this forenoon, or exactly in twenty-four hours from our quitting Rangoon: the distance is about one hundred miles. Here we found lying the Government Surveying-ship Investigator, with Captain Ross the Surveyor-general, and the cruizer Ternate. We

landed in the evening, and found the place greatly altered from what it had been when established as a British settlement in the beginning of the preceding April. There was then not a house or an inhabitant; and the houses, or rather huts, now amounted to two hundred and thirty, with a population of not less than twelve hundred inhabitants.

Jan. 25.—Immediately upon our reaching the place yesterday, I sent Lieutenant Montmorency up to Sir A. Campbell, to inform him of our arrival; giving him, in charge, for the General's perusal, a copy of my dispatch to Government and of my Journal. We ascended ourselves, this morning, in the steam-vessel to Maulamyaing, in order that I might have an opportunity of communicating personally with Sir A. Campbell on the subject of the Mission. With the advantage of the flood-tide we reached it in three hours and a half, although detained nearly half an hour by getting on a sand-bank. The distance from Amherst to Maulamyaing is twenty-seven miles. We found that the new cantonment had already made great progress, and that necessaries and even some comforts were already commanded.

Jan. 27.—We made a long excursion yesterday into the forests, near Maulamyaing, which was rewarded by a large collection of new and magnificent plants. A range of low hills, or rather of high land, skirts the left bank of the Saluen in this quarter, which is covered with a forest of moderate size, without much underwood. The soil is here thin and gravelly. The rock is quartz, and it is in this range that an ore of antimony is found in such vast abundance. Behind this again are extensive and fertile grassy plains, without wood, which in better times had been cultivated with rice.

We resolved to make the best use of the time which was likely to elapse before we should find an opportunity of proceeding to Bengal, in visiting and exploring as much as was accessible to us of our new acquisitions in this quarter. Accordingly, accompanied by Major Fenwick, Civil Superintendent of the district, and Lieutenant Scotland, who had just returned from a visit to the source of the Ataran, we commenced our expedition this morning by ascending that river, one of the four fine streams which water the province.

The Saluen, the Gain, and the Ataran, join at the town of Martaban, and then proceed by two branches to the sea, these being divided from each other by the large island of Balú. The confluence of the rivers before this bifurcation forms a sheet of water, interspersed with many green islets, five or six miles in breadth, and having all the appearance of a picturesque and beautiful lake. The view of this landscape, one of the finest pieces of scenery in India or in any other country, is seen to most advantage from the high hills immediately over the town of Martaban.

The Ataran is the smallest, but the deepest, of the three principal rivers; and instead of coming from the north, like the Saluen and Gain, its course is from south-east to north-west. We began to ascend it at half-past two o'clock; and after running, by estimate, about twenty-seven miles, stopped for the night at a range of hills called Ni-daong.

Jan. 28.—The river passes through the Ni-daong hills: the principal part of the range, which is small, being on the right bank of the river, which, in fact, washes its base. This is one of many ranges of blue mountain limestone, interspersed through the plains of Martaban. The range rises to the height of not less than three hundred feet abruptly from the plain; its sides being often quite perpendicular, and wooded wherever there is the least hold for the soil to settle. We landed last night, but too late for investigation. Our visit was renewed, however, this morning; and, in a botanical point of view, our excursion was most successful. At eight o'clock in the morning, on coming on board, we prosecuted our journey.

In the course of the forenoon we passed another of the limestone ranges, called Pa-baong, still more singular in appearance than the last; but we delayed our visit to it until our return. At two o'clock we arrived before the village of Ataran, or at least what had once been so. This is the place which gives name to the river. Near its site, and about a mile and a half from the right bank of the river, are some remarkable hot springs, which we visited by passing along a path through thick and tall grass. We examined two of the springs: the largest was a pool about twenty-five yards

in diameter, and covered over with a light calcareous incrustation tinged with iron: the water was perfectly limpid, and not very sensibly saline. The spring seemed to be in the middle of the pool, where the water was seen bubbling up: there was no reaching this, where no doubt the heat was greatest. A thermometer immersed at the edge of the pool stood at 133°; and in the brook which led from it, at the distance of fifteen or twenty yards, it was scarcely lower. The margin of the pool is formed of a hard calcareous incrustation,—the same substance, in an indurated state, which is seen floating on the water. One of the limestone ranges, which I have already described, is not above two miles distant from the hot springs. The neighbourhood of Ataran is praised by the Peguans for its fertility; and from appearance it may be judged that the land is well suited for the growth of rice. We observed no marks of former industry, with the exception of some groves of well-grown cocoa-nut trees, which were in fruit. In returning to the vessel, we crossed the brook which leads from the hot springs, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from them. The water was quite clear,—nearly of the temperature of the atmosphere, and full of small fish. We stopped for the night about eight miles above Ataran.

Jan. 29.—We ascended as far as it was safe to take the vessel, being in all a distance of about sixty miles from the mouth of the river. The stream, which below was from one hundred to one hundred and fifty yards broad, with low banks, contracted above Ataran to the breadth of fifty yards, with banks fifteen and twenty feet high. In the lower part of the river, no bottom was often to be found with a line of nine fathoms, and up to Ataran there was never less than three fathoms. After this the river shoals, and at high-water spring-tides we had in some places but a fathom, or barely more than the steam-vessel's draft. The spring-tides reach apparently about seventy miles from the mouth of the river, or nearly one hundred from the sea. For fifty miles up, the navigation of the Ataran, though the river be narrow, is remarkably safe and easy. The banks are so steep that a vessel may range from side to side, touching, as we did, the boughs of the trees

alternately on both sides. There is not a single rock or danger of any kind in all this distance.

In the forenoon we ascended five or six miles in our boats, but found the river very shallow. Our chief object was to reach the teak forests; but this we found impracticable, without a detention which our time would not afford. Mr. Scotland, who had proceeded as far as the Siamese frontier at the "Three Pagodas," described the nearest forest as being fifteen miles farther up the river than we went, and from two to three miles distant from the banks of the river. He had passed through two of these forests. The first, and smallest, was in breadth about three miles and a half, and about one-half the trees consisted of teak. The largest forest is about five miles in breadth, and almost entirely composed of teak: this also contained the largest trees. In both, the timber very generally ran up to the height of from forty to sixty feet; and the average circumference of the trees, at the base, was from ten to fourteen feet. Some were found measuring from nineteen to twenty-three feet. The forests were on each side of the river, and the timber could be transported to it, by means of buffaloes, with comparatively very little labour.

The banks of the Ataran abound with the elephant, the rhinoceros, wild hog, and deer, but the elephant especially. We landed nowhere without finding the fresh tracks of these last, which appeared to be in vast numbers. In Mr. Scotland's visit to the Three Pagodas, performed by land, he saw not less than a hundred. The Karians, who accompanied him, shot one elephant, a rhinoceros, and several hogs: the elephant, which was a large female, was killed with a single musket-ball, which hit her in the forehead, passing directly into the brain. The flesh of all these animals is eaten indiscriminately by all the races inhabiting this country. Two species of monkey were seen by ourselves in great numbers, especially on the limestone ranges, over the abrupt and frightful sides of which they were seen clambering with apparent ease and unconcern.

The birds which we saw were numerous pea-fowl; the common fowl in a wild state, and numerous flocks of a large green pigeon. Among the pro-

ductions of this country, honey and bees' wax are very considerable ones. By the report of the natives, there are five species of bee producing honey and wax, some of which are without stings. Our people brought on board several honey-combs; and on splitting up the trunk of a tree for fuel, we found a fissure in the middle of it, extending nearly throughout, and containing honey and wax. The bee, in this case, was without a sting, and not one-half the size of a common fly.

Jan. 30.—We dropped down a short way last night, on our return to Maulamyaing, and this morning prosecuted our journey. When opposite to a place called Samí, and a little below an island in the middle of the river, we observed a few teak trees, some of which were measured, and found to be from five to seven feet in circumference. These probably form the outskirts of forests of the same timber in the interior.

Jan. 31.—About four o'clock yesterday afternoon we reached the rocks of Pa-baong. These run parallel with the right bank of the river, and are washed by the tide. The range is a good deal higher than any of the others, and I should think in some places not less than four hundred feet high. One peak of about this elevation, separated from the general mass, rises from the ground in the form of a sharp pyramid; on the top of it is a little pagoda, the labour, difficulty, and danger of constructing which may be easily imagined. About the centre of the range is a vaulted cavern piercing through and through the rock, which gives passage to a small branch of the river, navigable for boats for a tide, or about fifteen miles up. We went through this passage in our boats, and were much struck with the grandeur and magnificence of the prospect. The roof of the cavern was covered with stupendous stalactites.

Between two and three o'clock to-day, we returned to the military station. The following general sketch may be offered of the Ataran:—Twenty miles above its *debouchement,* its banks are low, and covered with a narrow belt of *rhizophoras,* or mangroves. In the interior, on both sides, there are extensive grassy plains, without wood, apparently well fitted for the cul-

ture of rice. Farther up the river than the distance now mentioned, the banks rise considerably, the mangroves disappear, and the place is occupied by a narrow belt of arborescent willows: this is a new species of Salix. This tract is probably the most fertile: it abounds in plains, interrupted only here and there by the range of primitive limestone, which I have already mentioned. About fifty miles above the mouth of the river, the banks become very elevated. Another new species of willow now appears, and the teak begins to make its appearance. The soil here appeared to me to be a deep rich clay, and I should presume that it is well suited to the growth of the sugar-cane, cotton plant, indigo, and tobacco. Upon the whole, I am disposed to think that the country upon the banks of this river will be found fertile, and well suited to the growth of many articles of colonial produce. In the meanwhile, this tract, apparently so fine, is nearly destitute of inhabitants. We saw but four petty villages, all established within the last few months by emigrants from the Burmese territory. This place, in fact, was the chief seat of the great emigration of Talains, alleged to have amounted to forty thousand people, which took place into the Siamese territory about fourteen years ago. Since that time, until the cession of the country to us, it had been a complete desert. European and Chinese settlers receiving grants, or perpetual leases of these wastes, would, with the many advantages—of timber, of a convenient navigation, and of accessible markets, soon bring them into a state of fruitful culture.

February 2.—It was our intention to have gone at once up the Saluen and Gain rivers, but we found it necessary to revisit Amherst, for the purpose of making arrangements for our voyage to Bengal. We accordingly left Maulamyaing yesterday evening, anchored half-way down, close to the island of Balú, for the night, and this morning reached Amherst. While the vessel lay at anchor last evening, we visited the village of Karat-sit on Balú, proceeding, for this purpose, up a narrow creek to the distance of about three miles. The place contains about sixty houses, and had much appearance of native comfort. It is one of twelve large villages in the island, besides hamlets.

Balú, which lies in the mouth of the Saluen river, dividing its *embouchure* into two branches, is about twenty English miles in length, and about half that extent in average breadth. A chain of low hills runs through its length, not exceeding any where two hundred feet in height. I am told they are chiefly composed of clay-slate, but that limestone is also found. This island, among the Burmans, is celebrated for its fertility; and at present, small as its population is (about nine thousand inhabitants), it is the most populous part of Martaban. Its principal, and indeed almost only produce, is rice; which is so cheap, that it has been commonly sold at the rate of half a rupee for a basket of fifty-six pounds weight, which is about two shillings sterling. Small European vessels have taken in cargoes at this rate, and even lower. In sailing along the coast of the island, nothing is to be seen but a low mangrove jungle, and a stranger would suppose that the whole island was in fact covered with forest. This mangrove, however, is but a narrow belt; and shortly after we had entered the creek last night, extensive plains presented themselves, extending to the range of hills: these had recently been cultivated with rice. All the large villages on Balú are situated on creeks, penetrating several miles into the island. These afford a most convenient communication with the coast, and contribute materially to the cheapness with which its staple product is exported.

Our return to Bengal having hindered our excursion to the Saluen and Gain rivers, as well as prevented us from visiting other parts of the province, I shall endeavour in some measure to supply the deficiency, by the insertion of the journal of a voyage to Martaban, which I performed about ten months before the time of which I am now writing. It is as follows:—

"My party consisted of Captain Studdert, the senior officer of his Majesty's navy at Rangoon; Captain Hammond, of the Madras Quartermaster-general's department; the Rev. Mr. Judson, of the American Mission in Ava, and Mr. King, R. N. On the 31st of March, at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, we left Rangoon in the steam-vessel Diana, and at ten in the forenoon of the following day reached the mouth of the Martaban river, distant from

that of Rangoon about seventy miles. Its entrance is not less than seven miles broad. The mouth of this river, and indeed its whole course to the town of Martaban, is a somewhat difficult, and, in some seasons, a dangerous navigation: until our visit, the existence of a tolerable harbour had not been suspected. The position of the cape of Kyaikami, the first high bold land to the south, after quitting the Delta of the Irawadi, as laid down in the chart of Mr. Abbot, led us to imagine it possible that shelter might be found behind it in the south-west monsoon; but we had proceeded in our course a considerable way up the river, and had a good view of the land behind us, before appearances rendered it probable that a harbour actually existed. We fortunately determined to return, and, making for the land, anchored in quarterless three fathoms, within fifty yards of the shore, in a clayey bottom. It was low-water neap-tide, and the surrounding rocks and sand-banks were exposed to view: the first formed a reef of about two miles and a half in extent, running out in a north-westerly direction from the cape; and both, along with the cape itself, which sheltered us from the south-west wind, nearly land-locked us—forming, to all appearance, a good harbour. About a mile and a half to leeward of us, in reference to the south-west monsoon, was the wide mouth of a river hitherto unexplored.

"After dinner our party landed, and began, with avidity, to explore the little peninsula, of which Cape Kyaikami forms the extremity. For three-quarters of a mile from the cape inland, on the north-eastern side, the land was elevated from ten to twenty feet above high-water mark spring-tides; and on the south-western side, the whole country was of similar elevation to the distance of apparently three or four miles, when there commenced a range of hills, between three and four hundred feet in height. We found the country covered every where with a tall forest, intermixed with so little underwood, that we walked into it without difficulty for several hundred yards. Thus far the spot promised many advantages for the site of a commercial town and military cantonment.

"Early on the morning of the 2d, our party landed again, and ex-

plored the little tract of country before us more completely. It was uninhabited, but the traces of former occupation were discernible. The ruins of four small pagodas were found close to the beach: several wells were seen not far from them; and in the same situation were the remains of a miserable breastwork, recently thrown up by way of opposing the conquest of the province by Colonel Godwin's detachment in 1825.

"At ten o'clock we proceeded to explore the river already mentioned, and the mouth of which falls into the harbour. In proceeding towards it from the place where we lay, we had all along three and a half and four fathoms water; and over the bar, which was of soft ooze, quarter-less three. After entering, we carried five and a half and five fathoms for eight miles up, ranging the river from one side to another, until the steam-vessel sometimes touched the trees. For about a mile up, this stream is every where from four to five hundred yards wide; and being soon landlocked, it forms a spacious and beautiful harbour, into which at low-water neap-tides most merchant-ships can enter; and at high-water, ships of any burthen. The banks of this river would have formed by far the most convenient spot for a mercantile town; but unfortunately they were, within any convenient distance of its mouth, low, and subject to inundation. We ascended the stream as far as a large branch which leads to the village of Wagru, then distant two miles. This place, once the seat of government of a dynasty of Peguan kings in the thirteenth century, was now nearly without inhabitants, having been deserted in the great emigration of Talains into the Siamese territory. The river which we had now examined is called, in the Talain language, the Kalyen, and sometimes that of Wagru. Many small but navigable streams join the main branch. We ascended one of these, on the left bank of the river near its mouth, in our boats, as it appeared to lead to the neighbourhood of our proposed settlement. It brought us to a small village, the inhabitants of which were fishermen and salt manufacturers. These poor people expressed no apprehension at our appearance, but proceeded without disturbance in their usual occupations, obligingly answer-

ing all our questions. This feeling of confidence towards us is, I believe, at present general throughout the whole Talain population, and I trust our conduct may always be such as not to forfeit it.

"By dawn of day on the 3d, we landed again on the promontory, and repeated our examination. Passing to the south-west of the cape, we proceeded along a beautiful sandy beach, shaded from the morning sun by a high bank on our left, covered with overhanging trees, many of them in fruit and flower; our Indian servants feasting upon the *Jamun*, which was found in great abundance. After a distance of about a mile and a half, the strand now described was interrupted by a bold rocky promontory, but recommenced beyond it, and continued as far as the eye could reach. This promontory, as well as Cape Kyaikami itself, afforded us an opportunity of examining the rock formation, which is very various; consisting of granite, quartz-rock, clay-slate, mica slate, indurated clay, breccia, and clay-iron ore. The soil, apparently of good quality, and generally from two to three feet deep, as might be seen by the section of it in the wells, commonly rests on the clay-iron ore, which sometimes gives the water, in other respects pure and tasteless, a slight chalybeate flavour. The distance between the farthest rocky promontory and the river Kalyen we computed to be about two miles; the whole a table-land, nearly level, with the exception of a few hundred yards of mangrove on the immediate banks of the Kalyen. The peninsula thus formed contains about four square miles, an ample space of choice ground for a town, gardens, and military cantonments. The whole receives considerable protection from the south-west monsoon by the little woody island of Zebo, above one hundred feet high, and lying about three-quarters of a mile from the shore.

"At eleven o'clock in the forenoon we ascended the Saluen river, for Martaban. During nearly our whole course up, we had the large and fertile island of Balú on our left hand. This is the most productive place in rice within the whole province, and afforded a considerable revenue to the Bur-

mese Government. At sunset we reached Martaban, about twenty-seven miles from the mouth of the river. The prospect which opens itself upon the stranger here is probably one of the most beautiful and imposing which Oriential scenery can present. The waters of three large rivers, the Saluen, the Ataran, and the Gain, meet at this spot, and immediately proceed to the sea by two wide channels;-so that, in fact, the openings of five distinct rivers are, as it were, seen at one view, proceeding like *radii* from a centre. This centre itself is a wide expanse of waters interspersed with numerous wooded islands. The surrounding country consists generally of woody hills, frequently crowned with white temples. In the distance are to be seen the high mountains of Zingai, and in favourable weather the more distant and lofty ones which separate Martaban from the countries of Lao and Siam. Captain Fenwick, the Civil Superintendent of Martaban, came on board to compliment us upon our arrival. Shortly after we landed with this gentleman, and passed the evening with him at his house, where we arranged an excursion, for the following day, up the Saluen to the Caves of Kogún.

"Early on the morning of the 4th, a party visited the little picturesque island of Taongzé, opposite the town, and which is covered with white temples. From thence we passed over to Maulamyaing, on the left bank of the river; the place first contemplated for the site of a new town, and where part of the ground was already cleared of forest for this purpose. Situated twenty-five miles from the sea, by an intricate navigation, and accessible only to craft drawing ten feet water at the most, in point of convenience for a commercial establishment, it seemed to bear no comparison with the situation which we had already examined at the mouth of the river. Maulamyaing had once been the site of a town and capital under the Hindoo name of Ramapura, or the city of Rama; and the high earthen walls and ditch could still be easily traced. When the tide served at eleven o'clock, we ascended the Saluen in the steam-vessel, the first of her description that had ever entered its waters. When twelve miles above Martaban, the stream,

hitherto disturbed and muddy, became as clear as crystal, and we had still three fathoms depth. About this place we passed the Kadachaong creek, which leads to Rangoon through the Setaang and Pegu rivers, and thence again through several cross channels to Bassein, a direct distance of more than two hundred miles. The internal navigation of Pegu appears to me to possess natural facilities far beyond any other Asiatic country, of which this is a fair specimen. At half-past two o'clock, the tide aiding us all the while, we reached Kogún, distant by computation twenty-five miles from Martaban. The scenery in this neighbourhood was grand and beautiful, the banks of the river high, and the country to all appearance peculiarly fertile. Close to the left bank of the river was to be seen a range of mountains, steep, bare, and craggy, rising to the apparent height of fifteen hundred feet. Almost immediately on the right bank, and where the river makes an acute angle, a number of detached conical hills rose almost perpendicularly from the plain. All these last are of a grey compact limestone. We visited the largest, which contains a spacious cave, dedicated to the worship of Gautama, and which, besides having its roof rudely but curiously carved, contains several hundred images of that deity, a good number of them of pure white marble from the quarries of Ava. Around the hill is a garden belonging to a neighbouring monastery, in no very good order. The only plant in it which struck us as remarkable, was a tree about twenty feet high, abounding in long and pendulous pannicles of rich geranium-coloured blossoms, and long and elegant lance-shaped leaves: it is of the class and order *Diadelphia Decandria*, and too beautiful an object to be passed unobserved, even by the uninitiated in botany. Handfuls of the flowers were found as offerings in the cave before the images of Gautama.* At four o'clock, we began

* I showed the dry specimens of this plant to my friend Dr. Wallich, on his arrival at Rangoon, about four months afterwards, and he soon ascertained that it constituted a new genus. He afterwards examined it in person on the spot, transferred it to the Botanical Garden at Calcutta, and described it under the name of Amherstia *nobilis*, in compliment to the Countess of Amherst.

to descend the river, and at seven, with the assistance of the ebb-tide, the current of the river, and the full power of the steam, reached Martaban.

" The cultivation of the fertile tract of country which we had passed in the course of the day is meagre, and proportionate to the oppressed and scanty population of a country, which hardly contains three inhabitants to a square mile, and these, of course, neither industrious nor intelligent. The objects of culture which we observed,—all in small patches, but growing with much luxuriance, notwithstanding the too obvious unskilfulness of the husbandry by which they were reared,—were indigo, cotton, and tobacco. Besides these, the upper part of the country, which is not subject to inundation, appears to be peculiarly fitted for the growth of the sugar-cane and coffee plant. Martaban, indeed, is a province of very various useful produce; for, besides the articles already mentioned, it yields pepper, cardamums, areca-nut, and teak wood, not to mention rice, which seldom exceeds in price twenty annas the maund. This is a list of valuable indigenous productions which can scarcely be matched in any other part of India.

" On the morning of the 5th, we went through the town of Martaban, a long, straggling, and mean place, consisting of miserable huts, according to the custom of the country. It is situated at the foot of a conical hill, and is said to have contained a population of nine thousand souls, chiefly Talains. The Chinese are very few in number, a fact which, in a country understocked with inhabitants, calculated by nature for agricultural and commercial pursuits, and removed from their own at no very inconvenient distance, must be considered the certain sign of a bad government. We found the inhabitants preparing to move across to the British side of the Saluen. Such is the poverty, and such are the unsettled habits produced by oppression, that these emigrations are no very arduous undertaking to the Peguans. Yesterday we heard that one thousand two hundred families from the district of Zingai, with three thousand head of cattle, had arrived on the banks of the Saluen, with the intention of crossing over into the British territory, there to esta-

blish themselves. But these are trifling emigrations in comparison with the great one which took place from the same quarter, in 1816, into the Siamese territory, and which, at the lowest computation, is said to have amounted to forty thousand souls. The fugitives, on this occasion, conducted the plot with so much concert and secrecy, that, from one extremity of the province to another, they put themselves in motion towards the Siamese frontier on the same day; and took such advantage of a temporary quarrel between the officers of the Burman Government among themselves, that the latter were neither in a condition to oppose their flight, nor to pursue them. By direction of the leaders of the emigration, cannon and musketry were simultaneously fired throughout the country, the concerted signal for the march. The lower orders, in their ignorance, ascribed the distant sounds which they heard to their tutelary gods.

"At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, we left Martaban for Kyaikami, accompanied by Captain Fenwick. Close to Maulamyaing, on the left bank of the river, is the termination of a range of hills of no very great height, which extends all the way to Zea, a district which commences with the right bank of the Kalyen river. In various parts of this range is found a rich and abundant ore of antimony, of which specimens were shown to us. The great range dividing Martaban from Lao and Siam, is said to afford ores of lead and copper. At five o'clock in the evening, we reached the newly discovered harbour.

"Early on the morning of the 6th, we renewed our examination of the promontory. The day before, a party of natives had cut a path quite across the highest part of it—a labour of no great difficulty, for the ground was firm and level, and it was only necessary to clear away a little underwood. The distance measured by the perambulator was found to be only one thousand yards. After seeing and examining the banks of the Martaban river to the extent of fifty miles, we found no difficulty now in fixing upon this spot, as by far the most eligible for a commercial town. Accordingly, at twelve o'clock, the ceremony of hoisting the British flag, and fixing the

site of the town, in the name of his Majesty and the East India Company, took place. Major Macqueen, of the 36th Madras regiment, and his staff, with a detachment of Sepoys, who had arrived in the Lady Blackwood transport, joined our party. The Lady Blackwood fired a royal salute, and a party of Sepoys three volleys of musketry. The Rev. Mr. Judson pronounced his benediction in a feeling prayer.* The new town and harbour were called Amherst, in compliment to the Governor-General.

"*April* 7.—A party of workmen commenced yesterday to clear the ground for a small military cantonment, and a road having been opened all round the spot intended for it, we had an opportunity of deciding upon its eligibility. The whole country indeed up to the hills, and to within a few hundred yards of the Kalyen, was a dry, level, table-land, rising gently in the centre, than which nothing can be conceived more commodious or suitable to the purposes of an European settlement. I ought here to mention that the peninsula, from the south-west and north-east winds blowing without interruption over it, is well ventilated; that the climate, and we experienced it in one of the hottest months in the year, was consequently cool and agreeable; while the soil was so dry, that during our whole stay we did not see or feel a single musquito, or other troublesome insect. The testimony of the natives, let it farther be added, is decided in favour of the salubrity both of this spot and of the neighbouring country, including the town of Martaban itself. In passing along the sandy beach on the western shore yesterday and to-day, we saw the fresh tracks of three leopards, many fresh tracks of wild cats, large deer, and buffaloes. The latter, we were told, were the cattle left behind by the emigrated Talains already mentioned, which they had not time to take along with them, and which therefore had taken to the forests

* The following appropriate scriptural quotations introduced by Mr. Judson, may be considered as specimens of the good taste and judgment of my amiable friend:—"The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." "For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron; I will also make thy officers peace, and thy exactors righteousness." "Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders."

and become wild. In the mountains close at hand, however, there exist real wild buffaloes and many elephants. In the forest, when examining the ground for cantonments, we saw one large deer and several monkeys, and the woods abound with the common wild-fowl and peacock.

" In walking along the sandy beach this morning, we unexpectedly met two priests, who readily entered into conversation with us, and were very communicative. They had heard of our projected settlement, and took advantage of the circumstance to cheer us in our undertaking, by paying us a compliment, I fear, at the expense of their veracity. They said, that the place was fortunate; that the Temple of Kyaikami was dedicated to the God of Fortune, which the term imported in their language. They added, that they had that morning perused their sacred books, and in these found it written that a colony of white men would one day settle in the neighbouring country.

" Captain Hammond having measured the ground with the perambulator, a matter which was easily effected along the smooth sandy beach, drew out a plan of the whole ground, and in the course of the day we were busy in allotting the ground for the various wants and necessities of a new town. The north-western promontory was reserved for the Government, the high ground immediately fronting the harbour was set apart for the European and Chinese, or, in other words, the commercial establishment, and the lower grounds towards the Kalyen river, for the native town. A ground plan of the European town was sketched, composed of ten streets, with four hundred houses; the great front street, consisting of one row, and containing nineteen lots, each of sixty feet front, and one hundred feet deep, being especially appropriated for principal mercantile establishments. Immediately behind the town was ground for an esplanade, beyond which, and on the western shore, were the military cantonments, and to the south-west of the whole, towards the hills, ample room remained for gardens and garden-houses, ground for a church, a botanical garden, and an European and Chinese burying-ground Regulations for the construction of the town were adopted; and in appro-

priating and granting lands, the liberal and comprehensive rules laid down for the flourishing settlement of Singapore were assumed for this meditated new one.

"Shortly after determining on the site of the town, a proclamation in the Burmese language was addressed to the inhabitants, of which the following is a literal translation. The object of it was to encourage the resort to, and conciliate the prejudices of the people; but at the same time to hold out no assurances which might have the effect of embarrassing our future administration of the province, or our political relations with the Burman Government.

"'The Commissioner of the Governor-General of British India to the Talains, Burmans, and other tribes of people. In conformity with the treaty of peace, between the Governor-General and the King of Ava, the English Government takes possession of the places beyond the Saluen river, and at the entrance of the sea, in the district of Kyaikami, founds a new town.

"'The inhabitants of the towns and villages who wish to come to the new place, may come and settle; those who come shall be free from molestation, extortion, and oppression. They shall be free to worship as usual temples, monasteries, priests, and holy men. There shall be no interruption of free trade, but people shall go and come, buy and sell, do and live as they please, conforming to the laws. In regard to employing the labouring people, they shall be employed on the payment of customary wages, and whoever compels their labour without reward shall be punished. In regard to slavery, since all men, whether common people or chiefs, are by nature equal, there shall be under the English Government no slaves. Let all debts and engagements contracted under the Burmese Government previous to the war, be discharged and fulfilled according to the written documents. Touching the appointment of officers and chiefs, they are appointed to promote the prosperity of the towns and villages and the welfare of the inhabitants. If, therefore, they take property by violence, or govern unjustly, they shall be degraded and punished. In regard to government assessments, when the

country is settled and prosperous, consultation will be held with the leaders of the people, and what is suitable and moderate will be taken to defray the necessary expenses of government.

"'Whoever desires to come to the new town, or to the towns and villages beyond the Saluen river under the English Government, may come and live happily, and those who do not wish to remain may go where they please, without hinderance.

"'Given at Martaban, the 6th April, and the 14th of the wane of the moon Tagoo, 1187.'

"Anxious to make a farther examination of the Kalyen river, we ascended it again at eleven o'clock, and proceeded up to the distance of fourteen miles, having every where from four to five fathoms water. At the farthest point which we ascended, the river did not exceed seventy yards in breadth, and in one or two situations the hills were within a mile and a half of us. No elevated ground was, however, any where to be found on its banks. The highest spring-tides took place this morning, and this afforded us an opportunity of determining the greatest rise and fall of the tides, and other important points connected with the navigation of the harbour and the entrance into it. The greatest rise and fall in the springs appears to be between eighteen and nineteen feet; at neaps, it is five or six feet less. On the oozy bar of the Kalyen, there were this morning, at the lowest ebb, ten feet water, and at the highest flood, quarter-less five fathoms. Every morning since our arrival, Captain Studdert was employed from three to four hours in examining and sounding the harbour and its approaches. Between the reef of rocks already mentioned, and at no great distance from the cape, there is a channel which has been long used by Chinese junks and native vessels; but for European shipping, the proper entrance into the harbour is close round the extremity of the reef, and between it and a shoal lying north of it.

From the description now given of the harbour,—the entrance into it, and the neighbouring localities, it is obvious that the place is capable, at a very trifling expense, of being fortified in such a manner as to render it quite im-

pregnable. A battery on the promontory completely commands the town, and protects the shipping, which may lie in good anchorage within fifty yards of the shore. An enemy entering the harbour might be sunk from a martello tower on the high rock of Kyaikami, a few hundred yards from the promontory. A battery at either side of the entrance of the Kalyen would render the harbour formed by this river equally secure.

"Upon the commercial advantages of the place it is scarcely necessary to insist. Ships, as already said, may lie within fifty yards of the shore, and within seventy-five of the merchants' warehouses. Sheltered by the cape, by the long reef of rocks to the north-west of the harbour, and by the innumerable sand-banks to the north of it, dry at low water, as well as by the great island of Balú, and the continent on the east bank of the Martaban river, ships will lie in smooth water, except perhaps for a moment in the westerly monsoon during high flood, and when the wind, as is not often the case, shifts to the west or north-west. In such an event, vessels with indifferent tackle, or in a disabled state, may slip with perfect facility into the Kalyen river, a short mile to the lee of the harbour, then accessible to merchant-vessels of the largest burthen.

"At half-past two o'clock on the afternoon of the 8th, we quitted the new harbour on our return to Rangoon, taking, in going out, the channel commonly frequented by native vessels. It was not above fifty yards broad. We went through it with the commencement of the ebb-tide, and had a depth throughout of nothing less than five fathoms and a half. On the evening of the 9th, we made the entrance of the Rangoon river, and early on the morning of the 10th reached the town."

Feb. 9.—On the 3d, the ship Bombay Merchant, which had our baggage on board, arrived at Amherst; and on the 6th, I made an arrangement with the commander to take us to Bengal. The next morning, I proceeded up to Maulamyaing in the steam-vessel, to arrange some points of business with Sir A. Campbell, who returned with me on the 8th to Amherst. On the evening of that day, leaving my friend Dr. Wallich behind to prosecute

his botanical researches, we embarked in the Bombay Merchant, and at nine o'clock this morning, with a fair wind, sailed out of the harbour in prosecution of our voyage to Bengal. The weather in the Bay of Bengal, especially the upper part of it, although generally fine throughout the north-east monsoon, can at no time of the year be implicitly relied upon. February, however, is the most steady month, and there is hardly any example of a gale in it.

Feb. 23.—Our passage was remarkably favourable, and the weather exceedingly fine throughout. We took in a pilot at the sand-heads on the 21st, having thus, as the reckoning is usually made, effected our passage in twelve days. Here, as frequently happens in this season, we were becalmed, and it would probably have taken us eight days more to have reached Calcutta, had we proceeded all the way in the ship. On the evening of the 22d, however, the steam-vessel Emulous, the finest and most suitable vessel of this class which has ever been seen in India, fortunately hove in sight, towing down a ship of six hundred tons, bound for England. The Emulous took our whole party on board at sunset, while we were still one hundred and forty miles from Calcutta, and not in sight of the island of Saugor, and proceeding all night, for the most part against the tide, landed us safely, at an early hour next morning. My report and dispatches being all ready, I delivered them, as well as the most valuable part of the presents, within half an hour of my landing, to the Secretary of Government.

Before bringing this narrative to a close, I shall beg to refer the reader for an account of our political relations with the Burmese to my public dispatch, which will be found in the APPENDIX. I shall only observe in this place, that the Treaty of Commerce, not less than that of Peace, ought, had it been practicable, to have been dictated under the British cannon at Yandabo; instead of having been delayed to a future and distant period, when the Burmese, recovered in some measure from their fears by the military evacuation of their country, necessarily entertained towards us, after their losses and humiliation, no other sentiments than those of irritation and dissatisfaction. I am far from being of opinion, that in such a convention we ought under any

circumstances to have secured exclusive privileges to ourselves. The conditions should be strictly reciprocal, and the letter and spirit of the engagement such as would tend to develope the resource of both countries, especially by removing all that was oppressive, vexatious, and impolitic in the system long tenaciously persevered in by the Burmese, and which had proved still more injurious to themselves than to the foreign nations which had been in the habit of commercial intercourse with them. The draft of a treaty containing such stipulations, as in my judgment would have answered this end, was submitted to the Indian Government: but after the termination of the war, it was far too late to propose it to the Court of Ava. Before this could be done, it was reduced from twenty-two to seven articles: in the course of the negotiation, these last were again contracted to five; and finally, four only, and these, in a mutilated and imperfect form, were carried.

With respect to our political relations, I may add, that perhaps the best means of consolidating them would have been the retention of the port of Rangoon, and a trifling territory surrounding it, a position well secured by its military strength. I had the honour of suggesting this measure, and proposed to surrender in exchange for it our territorial acquisitions to the south, and the future pecuniary payments stipulated for in the Treaty of Peace; but it was found that such an arrangement, had it been sanctioned by higher authority, came much too late to be proposed to the Burmans, who were sensibly alive to the political, military, and commercial advantages of the port of Rangoon. The benefits which would have accrued from this measure would have been great. It would have exonerated us from our too extensive territorial acquisitions from the Burmese Government,—settled our pecuniary claims on the Court of Ava,—placed us in a commanding military attitude, which would have relieved us from all apprehension of annoyance from the power of the Burmese,—given us the command of the navigation of the Irawadi, and possession of a port, which, in a commercial and military view, is probably, under all circumstances, the most convenient and useful in the Indian seas.

CHAPTER XIV.

Different tribes inhabiting the Burman territory.—Burmese—their physical form—customs—dress—progress in the useful arts—in higher branches of knowledge—kalendar—epochs—weights and measures—navigation and geography—language and literature—religion.

THE extensive area of the Burman territory is inhabited by many distinct nations, or tribes, of whom I have heard not less than eighteen enumerated. The most considerable of these are the proper Burmans, the Peguans or Talains, the Shans or people of Lao, the Cassay, or more correctly Kathé, the Zabaing, the Karian, correctly called Karens, the Kyens, the Yo, and the Lawà. These are numerous and civilized, nearly in the order in which I have enumerated them. Differing as they do in language, and often in manners, customs, and religion, they have, with distinctions not always perceptible to a stranger, the same physical type. This is the common type of all the tribes which lie between Hindostan and China. In this respect they differ widely from the Chinese and Hindoos, and approach more nearly to the Malays, although from these also they differ so considerably, that even a stranger may distinguish them without difficulty. Taking the Burmans for this character, they may be described as of a short, stout, and active, but still well-proportioned form. Their complexion is never of an intense black, but commonly brown. The hair of the head, like that of other tropical nations, is black, coarse, lank, and abundant. There is a little more beard, and generally more hair on other parts of the bŏdy, than among the tribes of the same race lying to the south of them,—such as the Siamese and people of

Lao. The climate and physical aspect of the countries occupied by the different tribes constituting the subjects of the Burman empire, do not seem to produce any material difference in their physical form. One might expect to find the inhabitants of the dry and elevated country principally occupied by the true Burmans, larger and more athletic than those of the marshy champaign principally occupied by the Talains. This, however, is by no means the case; and if there be any difference, it is in favour of the latter, who are alleged to be a more robust and active race than the true Burmans.

The Burmans are greatly inferior to the Hindoos in civilization, and still more so to the Chinese. They are, as far as a stranger can judge, nearly upon an equality with the Siamese; and to compare them with a more distinct and distant people, they seem to me to approach more nearly to the condition of the inhabitants of the island of Java than to that of any other foreign people. They are, at the same time, more improved than the other civilized inhabitants of the eastern Archipelago. With respect to the whole of this last group, however, it must be remarked that the type of their civilization is of so different a kind from that of the Hindoo Chinese nations, that no fair comparison can well be instituted between them. For example, the country of the Burmans, from its fertility and continuity, is generally more favourable to social improvement than that of the Indian islanders. The laws and political institutions of the Burmans, bad as they are, are commonly better than those of the Indian islanders; yet the Burmans are greatly inferior to the latter in enterprise, courage, personal independence, and even morality. In one respect they agree; that is, in the comparative absence of religious or political bigotry and freedom from unsocial customs. The brief delineation of their customs, arts, and institutions, contained in the following chapters, will, however, convey a more accurate notion of the actual social condition of the Burmans than any general description.

The first point which I shall advert to is that of dress. One barbarous practice, that of tattooing or staining the skin of an indelible tint, obtains

amongst the Burmans and Talains: it is confined to the men. This operation commences as early as the age of seven, eight, and nine years, and is often continued to thirty-five and forty. The principal tattooing is confined to that portion of the body from the navel to below the knee. What is on this is of a black or blue colour. The tint is given by a mixture of lamp black, procured from the soot of sessamum oil, and the gall of a fish—the *mirga* of India. The figures imprinted consist of animals, such as lions, tigers, monkeys, and hogs, with crows, some fabulous birds, Nats, and Balús, or demons. Occasionally there are added cabalistic letters and figures intended as charms against wounds. The figure is first painted on the skin, which is afterwards punctured by needles dipped in the pigment. The arms and upper part of the body are more sparingly tattooed, and generally of a red colour, the tint being given by vermilion. The process is not only painful but expensive. The tattooing of as much surface as can be covered by "six fingers" costs a quarter of a tical, when the operation is performed by an ordinary artist; but when by one of superior qualifications, the charge is much higher. Not to be thus tattooed is considered by the Burmans as a mark of *effeminacy*, and there is no one who is not so more or less. Among the nations to the eastward of the Burrumpooter, the custom seems originally to have been confined to the Burmans and Talains. The nations whom they have subjugated have, more or less, followed their example,—such as the Kyens, the Aracanese, and the Shans. Neither the Siamese, the Kambojans, the people of Lao, generally, the Cassays, or the Aracanese, before their conquest, appear to have practised tattooing.

Another practice, which seems universal with both sexes, and with all the races inhabiting the Burman territories, is that of boring the lobe of the ear, so as to make a very large, and unseemly aperture, into which is stuffed a gold or silver ornament, or in lieu of them a bit of wood, or a roll of paper, gilt or otherwise. If the aperture in question happen not to be previously occupied, a man or woman, after smoking half a segar, is often seen thrusting the remainder into the ear for future use.

The custom of blackening the teeth indelibly, appears at one time to have been general among the Burmans, but is now grown out of use. Black teeth are not at present considered becoming, but the contrary. Young men and women, before the age of marriage, keep their teeth white and clean; but after that time, it would be considered an unbecoming affectation of youth in the one sex, and an indication of loose immodesty in the other, to be too nice upon this point. The constant use of the betel preparation, indeed, soon makes the teeth black and ugly enough, when its effects are not counteracted by care and cleanliness, and this is rarely the case.

The Burmans are great consumers of the betel mixture. The preparation, as used by them, consists of the following ingredients:—the leaf of the betel pepper, the areca nut, catechu, lime, and a little tobacco. The betel pepper is produced in great abundance throughout the Burman territory. The areca thrives well in the southern provinces, and yields a nut best suited to the Burman taste; but the produce is inadequate to the consumption, and large quantities are imported from Dacca, Chittagong, and the Straits of Malacca, the last being the lowest priced and least esteemed.

The practice of smoking tobacco obtains universally amongst the Burmans of all ranks—of both sexes—and of almost all ages; for I have seen children scarcely three years old, who seemed quite familiar with it. The mode of smoking is by segars, which are composed of shredded tobacco, rolled up in the leaf of another plant,—I believe, a species of ficus. Sometimes a little of the root of the tobacco is mixed up with the shredded leaf.

With respect to dress, the Burmese are, upon the whole, well, and not unbecomingly clad. In this last respect, however, their costume will bear no comparison with the flowing and graceful garments of the western nations of India; nor does it by any means convey the same notion of comfort and civility as the costume of the Chinese, or even of the Tonquinese and Cochin Chinese. Too much of the body is left naked, which gives an impression of barbarism; and the texture and pattern of the fabrics worn, although substantial and durable, are comparatively coarse and homely.

The principal part of the male dress is called a Pus'ho. This covers the loins reaching half-way down the leg. It consists of a double piece of cloth composed of silk, cotton, or a mixture of both, about ten cubits long. This is loosely wrapped about the body and secured only by having one portion of it tacked under another, one extremity being allowed to hang down loosely before.

The second part of a man's dress is called an Engi, and consists of a frock with sleeves. This comes down below the knees, and is tied with strings in front. It generally consists of white cotton cloth; but the great, on occasions of ceremony, have it made of velvet, and occasionally of broad-cloth. In the cold weather, these jackets, when of cotton, are quilted; and a considerable number of them, always dyed black, and highly glazed, are brought to Ava, ready made, from the country of the Shans.

The head-dress is a small square handkerchief, put on in the manner of a turban, but leaving the upper part of the head bare. This is now most commonly made of English book-muslin, or English or Madras printed handkerchiefs.

The principal portion of a woman's dress goes under the name of a Thabi, and is a petticoat, more or less open in front, according to the condition of the wearer. With the lower classes, both for economy and convenience, the breadth is so scanty, that in walking, the knee at least, and often half-way up the thigh, is exposed to view at every step. With the higher orders, this portion of the dress, because ampler, is consequently more decent, but it is also less convenient. Women use an Engi, or frock, somewhat different in form and shorter than that of the men. They generally wear no head-dress. Men and women wear the hair long; the first tying it in a knot on the crown of the head, and the last at the back. Some Burmese beaux tie the knot to a side. Sandals are frequently used by both sexes, but neither shoes, boots, or stockings, under any circumstances. Umbrellas also are in very general use among all classes. These are among the principal insignia

of rank or office; and the description of them, from those of plain brown varnished paper, to red, green, gilded, and plain white, the royal colour, distinguishes the quality of the wearer.

The habit of the priesthood differs entirely from that of the laity, but has been so often described, that I need not recur to it. The head has not only no covering, but is, or ought to be, closely shaved, and the only protection to it when abroad is a small fan of palmyra-leaf. The colour appropriated for the dress of the priesthood is yellow, and it would be deemed nothing less than sacrilege in any one else to use it: so peculiarly sacred is it held, that it is not uncommon to see one of the people pay his devotions in due form to the old garment of a priest on a bush, hung out to dry, or to one after being washed. At the conferences at Yandabo which led to peace, the Burmese negotiators made a formal complaint to the British Commissioners, that some of our camp-followers had been seen wearing yellow clothes! It may be considered as rather a curious coincidence, that yellow is a frequent if not favourite colour in the dress of the lowest outcasts among the Hindus.

The progress made by the Burmese in the useful arts is but very moderate. The whole process of cleaning cotton, of spinning, weaving, and generally of dying, are performed by women; the only men who are weavers being the captive Cassays. The loom is very rude, commonly resembling that used in India; but the artisans are much inferior in dexterity to those of that country, and such a thing as fine linen of native manufacture is never seen among the Burmese. Cotton cloths are manufactured for sale all the way along both sides of the Irawadi, from Ngamyagyi to Shwe-daong;—wherever, in short, the raw material is cheap and abundant. All the cotton fabrics manufactured by the Burmans are comparatively high-priced; and in general, British piece-goods can be sold cheaper, even in the interior of the country, than the domestic manufacture.

The best raw silk is brought from China, an inferior kind from Lao, and some is prepared in different parts of Pegu, especially at Lain and Shwe-gyen.

The principal places for manufacturing silk cloths are Ava, Monchabo, Pakok'ho, Pugan, and Shwe-daong. The finest fabrics of silk are made at Ava, or rather Amarapura, where Chinese raw silk is the material; and the coarsest at Shwe-daong, where it is the produce of Pegu. The women are the manufacturers of silk cloths as well as of those of cotton. In general, Burman silk manufactures are coarse, high-priced, but durable. A few silks are imported into the country by the Shans and Kyens; and satins and velvets, in small quantities, by the Chinese, chiefly for the use of the Court. I may notice it as rather a remarkable fact, that such of the silk fabrics of the Kyens as we saw, were of a much finer and better texture than those of their more civilized masters the Burmans: they consisted of rich and heavy crimson scarfs, or narrow shawls, occasionally embroidered with gold, and not destitute of beauty.

The prevailing colours in silks and cottons are blue, red, yellow, green, brown, and black. Blue is invariably given by indigo; red by sasflower, partly produced in the country, but mostly imported from Bengal; yellow by turmeric, and by the wood of the jack-tree, (*Artocarpus integrifolia.*) The common mordant is alum, which is imported from China. Burman colours are generally very fugitive, especially with cottons. The patterns are all stripes and checks, a decided mark of rudeness. Printing is unknown to them.

The common coarse unglazed earthenware of the Burmans is the best of the kind which I have seen in India, and is very cheap. It is used for cooking utensils, and for keeping grain, oil, salt, pickled-fish, and similar commodities. A better description of pottery, strong and glazed, has been manufactured at Martaban, Pugan, Sengko, Senkaing, Monchabo, and Tharet. Some articles of this description, which have been long well known in other parts of India under the name of "Pegue jars," are so large as to contain two hundred viss of oil, or about one hundred and eighty-two gallons. A few of them are even of such magnitude, that it has been alleged, that the children of Europeans, born in the country, have been smuggled away in them, in former times, to elude the Burman law. The Burmans are unacquainted with the art

of making any kind of porcelain, however coarse. What they use is Chinese, imported by junks into Rangoon from the European settlements in the Straits of Malacca, this being too bulky an article to be imported by land-carriage direct from China.

Iron-ore is obtained and smelted in the vicinity of the mountain Paopa and the district of Mreduh. It costs at Ava, according to quality, which is very various, from eight ticals to fifteen per hundred viss, or three hundred and sixty-five pounds. This loses, when forged, from thirty to fifty per cent. in weight. The Burmans cannot manufacture steel, which, as well as some iron, is imported from Bengal in considerable quantity. The principal places where cutlery, always coarse and rude, is manufactured, are Ava and Pugan: here swords, spears, knives, scissors, and carpenters' tools, are fabricated: muskets, or rather matchlocks, are also made at Ava. The best-tempered swords are imported from the country of the Shans. A Burman matchlock is generally sold for ten ticals of flowered silver, or about twenty-five shillings; and an old English musket at from fifteen to twenty ticals, or from thirty-seven shillings and sixpence to fifty shillings.

Brass-ware is not very extensively used by the Burmans in their domestic economy, earthen and lackered wares being, in a good measure, substituted for it. Still, however, there is a considerable consumption of it for such articles as candlesticks, spit-pots, vessels for carrying water to the pagodas, &c. We saw a considerable manufactory of such articles a few miles from Sagaing. The copper which is used for this purpose is brought from China, and the zinc from Lao. Bells are very frequent in the temples and monasteries. The tin made use of in the composition of these is brought from Tavoy and Lao. I may here notice, that we found in the market of Ava, without ascertaining to what purpose it was put, a considerable quantity of antimony, reduced to the metallic state, and said to be brought from Lao. As the process of preparing this article is one of considerable difficulty, the possession of it by the Shans would seem to imply a considerable share of skill in metallurgy. I remember, that when an ore of this metal was

brought to Singapore, the Chinese at that place seemed wholly unacquainted with the art of reducing it.

Gold and silver ornaments are manufactured in every considerable place in the country, but particularly at the capital. Some of the gold ornaments which we saw at the latter were massive and rather handsome, particularly the different vessels for holding the various materials of the betel preparation. In general, however, the jewellery of the Burmans is not only inferior in taste and workmanship to that of several other parts of India, but decidedly clumsy and rude.

Three descriptions of paper are used by the Burmans. The first is a domestic manufacture, made from the fibres of the young bamboo. This is a substance as thick as pasteboard, which is rubbed over with a mixture of charcoal and rice-water. Thus prepared, it is written upon with a pencil of steatite as we write on a slate. The impression may be blotted out with the moistened hand, and the paper is again fit to be written upon. This process, if the paper be good, may be often repeated. Another description of paper is imported from Mainkaing, one of the tributary states of Lao. This is a strong, white, blotting-paper, and is universally used for packages, for the decorations of coffins, and for making ornaments offered to the temples and exhibited at festivals. The Chinese import stained paper, also used for ornaments offered to the temples and for decorating coffins.

In the higher branches of knowledge, the attainments of the Burmese, as may well be expected, are extremely limited: their astronomy and astrology, such as they are, are, for the most part, borrowed from the Hindus. Indeed, from the earliest times, the court has always maintained a number of Bramins from Bengal, who have the exclusive direction of such matters. The Burmese kalendar is as follows:—A common year consists of twelve months, each month being alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days: the year, therefore, consists of three hundred and fifty-four days, or is a lunar one. In order to preserve the solar time, the fourth month of every third year is doubled, which brings the year to three hundred and sixty-four days: the additional

day and hours are supplied as occasion demands by a royal edict, under the advice of the Bramins. These, by custom, are added to the third month of the year. The names of the Burmese months are as follow; viz. Ta-gu, Ka-chon, Na-yon, Wa-cho, Wa-gaong, Tau-tha-leng, Tha-den-kywot, Ta-chaong-mon, Nat-dau, Pya-tho, Ta-bo-dwai, and Ta-baong. The Burmese do not, like us, and the western nations of Asia, enumerate the days of the entire month: they divide each month into two parts, an increasing and a waning moon; and it is of these subdivisions that the days are enumerated. The first day of a month, for example, will be the first of the increasing moon; and the sixteenth, the first of the waning moon. In each month there are four days of public worship, when the people repair to pay their devotions at the temples; namely, the new moon, the eighth of the increase, the full moon, and the eighth of the wane. By far the most important of these holidays are those of the new and full moon. The Burmese have a week of seven days; of which last, the names correspond in sense, although not in name, with those of our own and the Hindu week. The native terms are, Ta-nen-ga-nwa, Ta-neng-la, En-ga, Bud-da-hu, Kya-tha-ba-da, Thaok-kya, and Cha-na. These may be translated, the days of the Sun and Moon, and of the planets Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. The natural day is divided by the Burmese into sixty parts, called Narí. Thus subdivided, it commences with the dawn, and according to the season of the year, more or fewer of the divisions in question are allotted, respectively to the day or the night. The longest day or night consists of thirty-six Narís, and the shortest of twenty-four. A popular division of the day is into eight watches, of which four are allotted to the night, and as many to the day. Each watch consists of three hours; and the day, thus reckoned, commences with the dawn. The time-keeper employed by the Burmese is a copper cup, perforated at the bottom, and placed in a vase of water, which sinks to a particular mark at the close of each Narí, when a great bell, suspended from a tall belfry close to the palace, is struck. This mode of keeping time is evidently derived from the Hindus. There is a regular establishment at Ava for this particular service;

in reference to which there is a curious custom observed from time immemorial among the persons employed in this service. If the person in immediate charge of the time-keeper commit any error, his companions are at liberty to carry him off and sell him at once in the public market. The sale, however, is merely a mock one, the price being always fixed at a very trifling amount, so that the offender may easily ransom himself without much difficulty; and, in fact, he does so, by making his companions a present of some rice, fish, and other necessaries. The Burmese have, at present, no division of time into cycles, like their neighbours the Siamese, Kambojans, and others. Such however seems in remote times to have prevailed as appears by the evidence of some ancient inscriptions.

The Burmese have no less than four epochs: the first of these, called the grand epoch, corresponds with the year 691 before Christ. This is alleged to have been founded by King An-ja-na, the grandfather of Gautama. The second is the sacred epoch, which dates from the death of Gautama, and corresponds with the year before Christ 543. The alleged founder of this was a king named by the Burmese Ajatasat. The third epoch is called the era of Prome, and is said to have been established by a king named Sumundri, (of the sea). This corresponds with the year of Christ 79; and although supposed by the Burmese to be of native origin, there is no doubt but that it is the era of Salivana, or Saka, borrowed from the Hindus of the southern peninsula of India. The fourth and last epoch, is the vulgar and Burman one—that in most frequent use. It corresponds with the year of Christ 639, and is said to have been established by a king of Pugan, named Pup-pa-chaura-han. In a manuscript chronological table, of which a translation will be given in the APPENDIX, all these four epochs are included.

The following is a sketch of the measures and weights in use amongst the Burmans. The measures of distance are these; viz.

10 Cha-k'hyis, or hair-breadths = 1 N'hon (sesamum-seed.)
6 N'hons . . = 1 Mo-yau.

4 Mo-yaus	=	1	T'hit (finger-breadth.)
8 T'hits	=	1	Maik (hand-breadth.)
1½ Maiks	=	1	T'hwa (span).
2 T'hwas	=	1	Taong (cubit).
4 Taongs	=	1	Lan (fathom).
7 Taongs	=	1	Ta (bamboo).
20 Tas	=	1	Ok-tha-pa.
20 Ok-tha-pas	=	1	Kosa.
4 Kosas	=	1	Gawot.
40 Gawots	=	1	Ujana.
7000 Taongs, or cubits	=	1	Taing.

The finger-breadth, above alluded to, is that of the fore-finger taken at the middle point. The hand-breadth includes the extended thumb. These two, with the span, the cubit, the bamboo, and the taing, are the measures in most frequent use. The royal cubit, which is the standard, was exhibited to us at the conferences, and, upon being carefully compared, was found to measure exactly $19\frac{1}{10}$ English inches. According to this, the Burman finger-breadth is $\frac{80}{100}$ of an inch; the fathom $76\frac{4}{10}$ inches; the bamboo $133\frac{7}{10}$; and the taing, 2 miles, 193 yards, 2 feet, 8 inches. The Kosa and Ujana are, in all probability, from their names, borrowed from India: they are not in use.

Burmese weights are as follow:—

2 Small Rwés	=	1	Large Rwé
4 Large do.	=	1	Bai.
2 Bais	=	1	Mu.
2 Mus	=	1	Mat'h.
4 Mat'hs	=	1	Kyat.
100 Kyats	=	1	Paiktha.

The small rwé here named is the *Arbrus precatorius*, and the larger bean that of the *Adenanthera pavonina*. The kyat is the weight which we have called the tical, and the paiktha is our vis. I believe both words are corruptions borrowed from the Mohammedan merchants of India, sojourning in the

Burman country. The origin of the word tical I have not been able to ascertain. That of the other is sufficiently curious. The *p* and *v* are commutable consonants. The Mohammedan sojourners cannot pronounce the *th* of the Burmans, and always substitute an *s* for it. The *k* is mute even in the Burman pronunciation, and the final *a* is omitted by Europeans only. Thus, we have the word Paiktha commuted into Vis! This measure is equal to 3 lbs. $\frac{45}{100}$ Avoirdupois.

The representations of the different Burmese weights are uniform and well regulated. They consist of masses of brass, of which the handle, or apex, represents the fabulous bird which is the standard of the empire.

The measures of capacity are as follow:—

2 Lamyets	.	.	=	.	1 Lamé.
2 Lamés	.	.	=	.	1 Salé.
4 Salés	.	.	=	.	1 Pyi.
2 Pyis	.	.	=	.	1 Sarot.
2 Sarots	.	.	=	.	1 Sait.
4 Saits	.	.	=	.	1 Ten.

This last measure is what is usually called by us "a basket," and ought to weigh 16 viss of clean rice, or 58$\frac{2}{5}$lbs. Avoirdupois: it has commonly been reckoned at half-a-cwt. All grains, pulses, certain fruits, natron, salt, and lime, are bought and sold by measure—other commodities by weight.

Of navigation, or geography, the Burmese are, of course, supremely ignorant. Nearly the whole extent of their foreign adventures is bounded to the south by Prince of Wales's Island, and to the north by the Hoogley. To these places, but especially to the latter, they make annual voyages in the fine season, creeping all the while along the coast, and in sight of it; and in their adventures to Calcutta, commonly seeking protection from the open sea in the internal navigation of the Sunderbunds.

The possession of a sea-coast, comprehending at least one-third of the Bay of Bengal, with five good harbours and several navigable rivers, it might have been expected, would have been sufficient to have converted the Burmese into a maritime and commercial people; but the badness of their political in-

stitutions far more than outweigh all these natural advantages. Of their acquaintance with foreign countries, an anecdote related by the late Major Canning will shew the extent. This officer was deputed by the Government of Bengal, in 1812, to explain to the Court of Ava the nature of our system of blockade. In a conference which ensued, one of the Burman Ministers put the following question to the Envoy:—"Supposing a Burman ship, in her voyage to China, should happen to be dismasted off the island of Mauritius, would she be allowed by the British blocking squadron, to enter that port?" I have mentioned in my journal, that they possess rude maps of several portions of their own country, the only favourable deduction to be made from which fact is, that they are not insensible to the utility of such documents. Notwithstanding this, however, we found the persons who negotiated with us, and they were undoubtedly among the most intelligent of the Burman courtiers, extremely ignorant, even in regard to the topography of those portions of the country which became the immediate subjects of discussion, and concerning which it was their particular duty at the time to have informed themselves.

In reference to the state of Burman knowledge, I ought not to omit an intense passion for alchemy, of which the object is to transmute the baser into the precious metals.* From our earliest acquaintance with the Burmans, they seem to have been tainted with this folly: persons of all ranks, who can afford to waste their time and money, engage in it; and even his present Majesty and his predecessors have not disdained thus to occupy their leisure hours. A question frequently put to us was, whether we, the English, did not understand the art of converting iron into silver, and copper into gold. They observed our comparative wealth, and thought they could not so rationally account for it, as by imagining that we were adepts in the art of transmuting metals. A similar question, "Can the English convert iron

* The search for an elixir of immortality forms no part of Burman alchymy. This would be contrary to their religion; for, according to their system, immortality, or even longevity, would be a misfortune and not a blessing.

into silver?" was put by the Burmese courtiers to an intelligent Armenian merchant who had long resided among them, and who understood their language perfectly. His reply was, that the English understood the art perfectly, but not in the sense in which they meant it. He took an English penknife out of his pocket, and threw it down on the table before them, observing, that it was worth more than its weight in silver, and that this was an example of the skill of the English in converting the base into the precious metals.*

A smattering of education is very common amongst the Burmans; perhaps more so than among any people of the East. This is chiefly owing to the institution of monasteries, and it being considered a kind of religious duty in the priests to instruct youth. Boys begin to go to school from eight to ten years of age, but generally at the latter. The monasteries are the only schools, and the priests generally the only teachers. Education is entirely eleemosynary, and the children even live at the Kyaongs, the parents only making occasional presents to the priests. In return for education, the children serve their tutors in a menial capacity which, whatever their rank, is considered no discredit; but the contrary. They are instructed for about six hours in the day. Education consists in reading, writing, and a slight knowledge of the four common rules of arithmetic. A little reading is so frequent, that there is not one man in ten who is not possessed of it. Writing is less common, but this also is pretty general. The nuns, or female priestesses, instruct girls in reading; but few females are taught to write: even reading is not general among them. My friend Mr. Judson, after a long experience, gives the following account of the state of education amongst the Burmans. "Scholars are considered capable of reading and writing, when able to repeat and copy the Then-pong-kyi, or "spelling-book," and the Men-ga-la-thok, or "moral

* When the Burmese perceived us collecting minerals and fossils, they pronounced at once, both chiefs and people, that our certain object was to convert them into gold and silver. That our object was nothing more than the gratification of a rational curiosity, was a notion so strange and foreign to their own habits and ideas, that no reasoning could convince them of the sincerity of our assurances.

lessons." Their arithmetical knowledge is almost confined to the multiplication table. A few who aspire to the character of "learned," advance from the elements of knowledge to the study of *Baden* or astrology, and that of the Pali language. This last is studied in the Thaddu-kyau, or grammar in eight divisions, and in various parts of the Budd'hist scriptures. The *ne plus ultra* in Burman education is the study of the Then-gyo, or "book of metaphysics."

Of the Burman language and literature my time and opportunities were not such as to enable me to offer any competent account. Like the other Hindu-Chinese nations, the Burmans have two languages and two alphabets; the one vernacular, and the other foreign. The native Burman alphabet, which is the same, or nearly so, as that of Aracan and Pegu, follows the classification of the Hindu alphabets, and is arranged into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, labials, and liquids. The number of vowel characters is eleven, and of consonant thirty-three: several of both, however, differ essentially in pronunciation from the usual sounds of the Dewa-nagari, as will be seen by the explanation which accompanies the annexed plate. The Burman character, which consists, for the most part, of circles and segments of circles, has the advantage of simplicity, and of being readily acquired and written. In this respect it has, to a foreigner, an obvious advantage over most of the written characters of Western Asia. My friend, Mr. Judson, wrote it with more neatness and facility than almost any Burman, and several other European gentlemen also wrote it with fluency. The reverse of this is known to be the case with the written characters of Western Asia, especially with the Persian, which scarcely any European ever writes with elegance or propriety, or, indeed, attempts to write at all. So great is the difficulty with this last character, that the faculty of writing it with elegance is so overrated by the natives themselves, that they are too apt to confound good penmanship with fine writing. It must be observed, at the same time, with respect to the Burman alphabet, that it is less suited to its purpose than most others derived from the same source; for many of the characters, although written, are often mute, while combinations of others are arbitrary sounds not con-

tained in their elements. This occasions a difficulty in reading, or rather in learning to read, for it must at the same time be admitted that the arbitrary sounds in question are uniform and reduced to a system.

The structure of the Burmese language, like that of all others of the same class, is strikingly simple. All the words not derived from the Pali are monosyllables, and even the polysyllabic words derived from this last source are pronounced as if each syllable of them were a distinct word. This character of the language, with the frequency of guttural, sibilant and nasal sounds, makes it appear, to a stranger at least, monotonous and unmusical. There is no inflexion of any part of speech. Relation, number, mode, and time, are all formed by prefixing or affixing certain particles. There exist, in this language, roots which may be converted into nouns, into verbs, or into adjectives, by a similar simple contrivance. As to Burman syntax, the words follow each other in their natural order, an arrangement indispensably necessary to a dialect so inartificial. The oral language is of course still more simple than the written, the affixed particles being often omitted, so that the mere skeleton of a sentence only is presented to the hearer—the speaker, as it may be conjectured, rather hinting at his meaning, than expressing it fully and distinctly, as in more perfect languages.

The Pali alphabet, as it is written by the Burmans, is essentially the same as that of other Budd'hist nations; but in form differs considerably, being more square at least than that used by the Siamese and Kambojans. It is not often used by the Burmese, even in their religious writings, for which they have recourse to their vernacular alphabet. There is but one short work indeed, as I understand, in which it is used, and this is commonly written on thin plates of ivory, or varnished palm-leaves.

Of the character of Burman literature, I can only speak from report. The greater part of it is metrical, and consists of songs, religious romances, and chronological histories. Versions of some of the first of these were made for me; but the spirit, if there really was any, in the original, so completely evaporated in translation, as hardly to leave the germ of thought or sentiment

behind it. The *Wutus*, or religious romances, appear to be compositions of a more respectable order; and Mr. Judson, who had read many of them, assured me that a few were works of considerable interest and merit. A native of Mon-cha-bo, or Mok-so-bo, the birthplace of Alompra, he stated to me, if I remember well, to have been the author of the best of them. This Burmese writer had not been dead above forty years—a proof that Burmese literature is at least in no worse state than in former ages. Of the historical compositions of the Burmese I shall speak in another place. Before closing this brief notice of the language and literature of the Burmese, I should add that the language may now be easily acquired by Europeans, from our possession of a copious dictionary and valuable grammar of it, compiled by Mr. Judson, of which an edition has been printed with the native character annexed, at the missionary press at Serampore.

The Budd'hist religion, as it exists amongst the Burmans, does not appear, in any essential respect, to differ from the same worship as practised in Ceylon, Siam, and Kamboja. Its doctrines, the institution of the priesthood, and the external forms of devotion, appear to be the same. The following sketch of Burmese cosmography, drawn from the writings or conversations of the Burmese themselves, was furnished to me by Mr. Judson, and I may safely add that its accuracy may be depended on.

"A life period, called A-yen-kat, is a revolution of time, during which the life of man gradually advances from ten years to an A-then-kye, and returns to ten. Sixty-four life periods make one *intermediate period* (An-ta-ra-kat); sixty-four intermediate periods, make one *quarterly period*, which may be so termed, because four of such periods make one grand period (Ma-ha-kat), or complete revolution of nature. The revolutions of nature, as marked by the various periods, are eternal or infinite. Some grand periods are distinguished by the "developement" of an extraordinary being called "a Budd'ha," who, though born of earthly parents, attains the summit of "omniscience."* The present "grand period" has been favoured by four of

* "Omniscience" is, according to the Budd'hists, the principal attribute of Gautama.

these personages, whose names are Kan-kri-than, Gau-na-gong, Ka-tha-pa, and Gau-ta-ma. The fifth Budd'ha, or A-ri-mi-te-ya, is now reposing, according to the best authorities, in one of the lower celestial regions, and will develope himself in due time.

"The communications of all Budd'has previous to Gau-ta-ma are now lost. His communications, made at first to his immediate disciples, and by them retained in memory during five centuries more;—after his decease, agreed upon in several successive general councils, (Then-ga-ya-na) and, finally reduced to writing on palm-leaves, in the island of Ceylon, in the ninety-fourth year before Christ, and the four hundred and fiftieth after Gautama, form the present Budd'hist Scriptures, the only rule of faith and practice. They are comprised in three grand divisions (Pe-ta-kat), which are again subdivided into fifteen, and those into six hundred.

"According to the Budd'hist Scriptures, the universe is composed of an infinite number of worlds, or Sakya systems. A Sakya system consists of one central Myen-mo, or mount, the surrounding seas and islands, the celestial regions, including the revolving luminaries, and the infernal regions. The earth on which we live is the southernmost of the four grand islands which surround the mount, each of which is again surrounded by four hundred of smaller size.

"The celestial regions consist of six inferior and twenty superior heavens. Of the six inferior heavens, the first occupies the middle, and the second the summit of the Myen-mo mount. The remaining four rise above each other in regular gradation. The same remark applies to the superior heavens, which are again distinguished into the sixteen visible and the four invisible. The infernal regions consist of eight hills, one above another, each being surrounded by sixteen smaller hills.

"The universe is replete with an infinity of souls, which have been transmigrating in different bodies from all eternity; ascent or descent in the scale of existence, being at every change of state ascertained by the "immutably mysterious laws of fate," according to the merit or demerit of the individual.

No being is exempt from sickness, old age, and death. Instability, pain, and change, are the three grand characteristics of all existence.

"However highly exalted in the celestial regions, and whatever number of ages of happiness may roll on," say the Burmans, "the fatal symptom of a moisture under the arm-pits will at length display itself." The mortal being, when this presents itself, must be prepared to exchange the blandishments and dalliance of celestial beauties, for the gridirons, pitchforks, mallets, and other instruments of torture of the infernal regions. The chief end of man, according to the Burmese, is to terminate the fatiguing course of transmigratory existence. This attainment the Lord Gautama made in the eightieth year of his life, and all his immediate disciples have participated in the same happy fate. What remains to the present race of beings is to aim at passing their time in the regions of men and gods, until they shall come in contact with the next Budd'ha, the Lord Arimiteya, whom they may hope to accompany to the Golden World of Nib-ban, or annihilation. In order to this, it is necessary to keep the commands of the last Budd'ha, to worship the Budd'ha, his law, and his priests; to refrain from taking life, from stealing, from adultery, from falsehood, and from drinking intoxicating liquors; to regard the images and temples of the Budd'ha the same as himself; to perform acts of worship, and listen to the instructions of religion on the days of the new moon, the full moon, and the quarters; to make offerings for the support of the priests, to assist at funerals, and in general to perform all charitable and religious duties.

"In the year 930, after Gautama, A.D. 386, Bud-d'ha-gautha transcribed the Budd'hist Scriptures with an iron pen of celestial workmanship, and brought them by sea to Pugan, the seat of supreme Government. The time and manner in which the religion of Gautama was introduced into the country are not sufficiently ascertained. It subsequently underwent some modification, and was finally established in its present form by King Anan-ra-t'ha-men-sau, who began to reign in Pugan in the 1541st year after Gautama, the 359th of the present vulgar era, and A.D. 997."

In my account of Siam, I stated that I had not heard in that country of any heresy, or of the existence of any religious opinions above the level of the vulgar superstition. This is not the case in Ava. Of late years several individuals in this country have broached heretical doctrines,—attempted to reform the popular worship, and gained a considerable number of followers. The *absolutism* of the Government, however, has generally silenced these schismatics, or at least prevented any overt expression of their opinions. A few years ago, one of the leading reformers was sent for to Ava, and not being able to render a satisfactory account of his doctrines, suffered decapitation. I do not understand that the propagation of a new religion was the object of any of these parties, but simply a reform of the old one. The reformers were generally, or I believe always, laymen. They principally decried the luxury of the priesthood, and ridiculed the idea of attaching religious merit to the building of temples, or, as they described it with some justice, "heaping together unmeaning masses of brick and mortar." The most noted of the Burmese sectaries are known by the name of Kolans. I do not know what their particular tenets are, but their doctrines have been repeatedly proscribed, and some of themselves put to death. The spirit of persecution in Ava, however, is rather political than religious. Innovation of any kind is considered dangerous to the State; and the "Lord of life and property" cannot endure that any subject should have the presumption to differ with him in opinion.

Among the Burmese, neither the Christian nor Mohammedan religions have made any progress. These forms of worship have the amplest toleration as far as strangers are concerned; but any attempt to convert the natives soon creates insuperable difficulties, chiefly because it is viewed in the light of withdrawing them from their allegiance.* The American missionaries, of

* The following passage from the journal of Mr. Judson's mission in 1823 affords a striking illustration of the sentiments of the Burman Government and priesthood on the subject of religious conversion. It is to be observed, that the tolerant chief here alluded to had been long accustomed to an intercourse with Europeans. He was the same person who was Viceroy of Rangoon during the mission of Colonel Symes. "The most important event (and that relates, of course, to Moung Shway-gnong) remains to be mentioned. It will be remembered that he was accused before the

late years, attempted the propagation of Christianity amongst the Burmans; and although they brought to their task a share of zeal, information, and sound judgment, which has rarely been equalled in such undertakings, and from which better hopes might have been entertained, their project failed of success. The result of this experiment, however, would seem satisfactorily to show, that bigotry, on the part of the lower orders, seems to afford little obstacle to their adoption of a new religion. Mr. Judson and his companions have now established themselves within the British possessions at Martaban, where a fair field is open to them for bestowing moral and religious instruction upon a people who certainly stand much in need of both, and are not without capacity to receive them.

As connected with the subject of religion, and forming indeed a material part of it, I may refer for a moment to what is peculiar in the funerals of the Burmese, as far as they have not been described in the JOURNAL. In Siam, the practice of enbowelling the dead, and preserving the body embalmed, for an extravagantly long period before it is consumed on the funeral pile, is followed in regard to laymen of rank as well as to the priesthood. In Ava it is confined to the latter. The funeral pile in this case is a car on wheels; and the body is blown away, from a huge wooden cannon or mortar, with the purpose, I believe, of conveying the soul more rapidly to heaven! Immense crowds are collected on occasions of these funerals, which, far from being conducted

former Viceroy of being a heretic, and that the simple reply "inquire farther" spread dismay among us all, and was one occasion of our visit to Ava. Soon after Mya-day-men assumed the Government of this province, all the priests and officers of the village where Moung Shway-gnong lives, entered into a conspiracy to destroy him. They held daily consultations, and assumed a tone of triumph, while poor Moung Shway-gnong's courage began to flag; and though he does not like to own it, he thought he must fly for his life. At length, one of the conspiracy, a member of the Supreme Court, went into the presence of the Viceroy, and in order to sound his disposition, complained that the teacher Moung Shway-gnong was making every endeavour to turn the priests' rice-pot bottom upwards. "*What consequence?*" said the Viceroy; "*Let the priests turn it back again.*" This sentence was enough; the hopes of the conspiracy were blasted, and all the disciples felt that they were sure of toleration under Mya-day-men. But this administration will not continue probably many months."

with mourning or solemnity, are occasions of rude mirth and boisterous rejoicing. Ropes are attached to each extremity of the car, and pulled in opposite directions by adverse parties; one of these being for consuming the body, the other for opposing it. The latter are at length overcome, fire is set to the pile amidst loud acclamations, and the ceremony is consummated.

CHAPTER XV.

Orders of Society.—Nobility.—Priesthood.—Privileged Merchants.—Free Labourers.—Bond Creditors and Slaves.—Outcasts.—Form of Government.—Councils of State.—Municipal Administration.—Administration of Justice.—Character of.—Expenses attending.—Written Laws.—Military Forces.—System of Taxation.—Condition of Landed Tenures.—House Tax.—Family or Poll-tax on the Karyens and other wild races.—Tax on Fisheries.—Eggs of the Green Turtle and esculent Swallows' Nests.—Duty on Petroleum, or Earth-oil.—Gold, Silver, and Sapphire Mines.—Teak Forests.—Duties of Customs.—Tax on the Currency.—Tax on the Wages of Labour.—Tax on the Administration of Justice, Fines, and Forfeitures.—Offerings of Tributary Princes and Public Officers.—General Observations.—Estimate of the Amount of the Royal Revenue.

In this chapter I shall endeavour to give a sketch of the state of society amongst the Burmese, of their political institutions, of their laws, fiscal system, and revenue.

Among the Burmese, and the same observation nearly applies to the Talains, there may be described to exist seven classes of society, distinguished by their privileges or employments; namely, the royal family, the public officers, the priesthood, the merchants, or "rich men" as they are called, the cultivators and labourers, slaves, and outcasts. The only class of public officers which can be called hereditary under the Burmese Government, are the Thaubwas, or Saubwas,* the tributary princes of the subjugated countries. The rest, of the chief officers, at least, are appointed and dismissed at a nod, and neither their titles, rank, nor offices, and very often not even their property, can descend to their children. Any subject of the Burmese Govern-

* I have reason to believe that this word is a Burmese corruption of the Siamese, and, which is the same thing, of the Shan or Lao title "Chau-pya," which is the usual designation given by the Siamese to the princes tributary to them.

ment, short of a slave or outcast, may aspire to the first office in the state, and such offices, in reality, are often held by persons of very mean origin. With every new promotion in office, a new title is commonly conferred, and without office there is seldom any title.

The priests (P'hun-gyí or Ra-han) bound to a rigid celibacy, interdicted from all employment but their own especial calling, and particularly from intermeddling in politics; but secured from the necessity of labour by the voluntary contributions of the rest of the society; form an important and comparatively numerous class. In the districts comprehending the capital, I was told at Ava that there were twenty thousand priests, of whom six thousand resided in the town of Ava Proper,—a fact ascertained on the occasion of largesses being made to them, when an account must of necessity be taken of their numbers. Along with the priests may be classed the nuns, or priestesses, known in the Burman language by the name of Thi-la-shen. These, although far less numerous than the priests, appear to me to be a good deal more frequent than in Siam. The greater part of them are old women; but there are also some young ones, who, however, forsake the sisterhood as soon as they can procure husbands. The Burmese nuns shave the head, and wear a garment of a particular form, generally of a white colour, and never yellow, which they have no more right to than the laity. They live in humble dwellings close to the monasteries, and make a vow of chastity as long as they continue in the sisterhood; but they may quit it whenever they please. Any breach of this vow is punished by their secular chief. The profession of a nun is not much respected by the people, and in general may be looked upon as little better than a more reputable mode of begging. A P'hun-gyi, or priest, never begs; he only "expects charity." The nuns, on the contrary, go about begging from house to house, and are to be seen in the public markets openly asking for alms. There are, however, a few of a more respectable class, commonly, I was told, widows, who enter the sisterhood from sincere religious motives. These have commonly funds of their own, or are maintained at the expense of their relatives.

The priests, as well as the nuns, are under the government of a secular officer of some rank, called the Wut-myo-wun, who settles such disputes and quarrels as may arise between them, for quarrels do occur now and then among these pious persons, notwithstanding their seclusion and abstraction from the common business of the world.

When a merchant acquires considerable property, he is registered by a royal edict, under the name of a Thuthé or "rich man," which is a kind of title that places him under the protection of the Court, and subject only to regular and periodical extortion. This title is frequently, or generally hereditary; so that among those nominated Thuthe or "rich men," are often to be found some that are exceedingly poor. They are very convenient for the Court and public officers. They make presents to the King at public festivals, in the same manner that the officers of Government do, as will be seen in the account of our presentation at Court; and the princes and chief officers of state, on the plea of peculiar protection, borrow money from them, which they never repay. It would appear that the favours of the Court are not always considered such by this privileged order. Near our residence at Sagaing there resided an individual of this class, who frequently came to see us. Shortly before our visit, his daughter and only child had been invited into the palace to receive education and instruction: to escape the royal invitation, he had paid a fine of 1000 ticals!

The free labouring population, or great mass of the people, if they can be called free, consist, where the soil is worth appropriating, of proprietors and common labourers, the great majority being of the latter class. Every Burman is considered the King's slave and a species of property, and his services, in whatever manner they can be made available, are at all times at the disposal of the Government, whether as soldiers, artisans, or common labourers. No Burman can consequently quit the country without express permission, and that permission is never granted but for a limited time and purpose. Women are never allowed to quit it at all; and heretofore, the utmost difficulty, overcome only by heavy *douceurs*, existed even to the female

children of strangers being permitted to quit it. The scantiness of the population, and the consequent high price of labour, have no doubt conduced to this extraordinary rigour and rapacity on the part of the Government. Were it possible to suppose the existence under the Burmese Government of so dense a population, and so low a price of labour as in China, there would, at once, be an end to the greater number of these odious and impolitic restraints. Although the King of Ava claims a right in the services of all his subjects, no specific period, as in Siam, seems to be allotted for the performance of these services. When services or contributions are wanted, the Lut-d'hau issues a royal decree to the inferior officers in the provinces as occasion requires, and without any systematic or established arrangement.

Of slaves there are two classes, slave debtors and hereditary slaves; the first being, I believe, by far the most numerous: these consist of persons who mortgage their services for a debt, and who are considered a kind of slaves until the debt be liquidated. In this case, children are bound for the debts of their parents; and the master, if he think proper to insist upon it, has a right to value the rearing of every child of such bondsman at the rate of twenty-five ticals. It is not, however, I am told, the custom to exact this condition. It is an invidious right, which it would be unpopular to exercise; so that it would appear, that even in this state of society, public opinion exercises some little sway. The services of the party mortgaging them are considered to be an equivalent for the interests of the debt, and whatever their value or nature, never go towards the liquidation of the principal. Over a slave of this description, the master has the power of inflicting corporal punishment to enforce service or labour, provided that punishment be not carried the length of "drawing blood,"—a matter which the Burmans hold in great horror, without their having at the same time any particular aversion to cruelty. If blood be drawn in inflicting punishment, the master is liable to fine or other penalty according to circumstances; but the debt is not considered as cancelled. If the bond-debtor be a female, and the debt equal or exceed twenty-five ticals, the master is considered to have a right to

use her as a concubine. If it be under the amount now specified, and the master forcibly cohabit with her, the debt is considered as cancelled. If the female bonds-woman bear her master a male child, she is entitled to her freedom, or, what is the same thing, the debt is considered as cancelled. Slave debtors may be sold from one master to another, without their consent, or, in other words, the mortgage is transferable like any other property. The original debt once liquidated, the slave-debtor is considered a freeman, and the rights of the master cease.

The hereditary class of slaves consists generally of prisoners of war, either presented to the captors by royal authority, or purchased in the market when they are disposed of, commonly at very trifling prices, by public sale. From all I could understand, the number of these is very trifling, as it seems to be the practice to convert them into bond-debtors. Even when they ransom themselves, however, they are considered to be Burman subjects, and consequently prohibited from leaving the country. At present a large proportion of the population of Ava and Amarapura consists of captives from Cassay, Cachar, and Assam, or their descendants, and the greater number are either slave-debtors or as free as the rest of the inhabitants. Prisoners of war, upon the whole, seem to be much better treated by the Burmese than by the Siamese. In Ava we neither saw nor heard of any who were condemned to work in chains, as we did in Siam.

The law in respect to slaves is fully detailed in the Burmese code; and in the case of slave debtors, regularly written bonds are always drawn up, attested by and always made under the authority of some public officer. All this constitutes a slave code, which is not very harsh or rigorous. The common slavery and humble equality of the great mass of the people, contribute, no doubt, to its mildness.

The class of outcasts has been described in my Journal. It consists of the following descriptions of persons, whose condition, however, differs very considerably:—the slaves of the pagodas—the burners of the dead—the gaolers and executioners—lepers and other incurables—maimed and mutilated persons—

and prostitutes. These all labour, more or less, under civil disabilities, and, what is closely allied to it in this country, religious interdicts. The condition of the slaves of the pagodas has already been described; they are known to the Burmans under the name of Kywan-thi-d'hau or Athan-d'hau. Persons mutilated by the sentence of the law are condemned to the same condition as lepers. All the parties now alluded to, with the exception, I believe, of those accidentally maimed or mutilated, are forbidden to dwell in the towns and villages, and must reside apart in the suburbs or outskirts, nor must they even enter the house of those deemed "respectable and uncontaminated." Among them are included prostitutes, that is to say, persons who follow prostitution as a trade; but not women of loose character, for chastity is not a virtue in high repute amongst the Burmans. Prostitutes who relinquish their profession are considered "honest women," and are received at once into society upon renouncing their evil habits.

The Government of Ava is as complete a despotism as can well be conceived, and labours under all the disadvantages which can well be imagined of such a form of polity. The King, as he is called, in his customary titles, is lord of the life and property of all his subjects. The country and people are at his entire disposal, and the chief object of Government would seem to be his personal honour and aggrandisement. In fact, he pushes his prerogative in practice to the utmost length that is compatible with the personal safety of himself and his ministers.* The goodness or badness of the administration is influenced in a small degree by the personal character of the reigning prince, but the only effectual check on the excesses of maladministration is the apprehension of insurrection.

* The workman who built the present palace committed some professional mistake in the construction of the spire. The King remonstrated with him, saying that it would not stand. The architect pertinaciously insisted upon its stability and sufficiency, and was committed to prison for contumacy. Shortly afterwards the spire fell in a thunder-storm, and about the same time accounts were received at Court of the arrival of the British expedition; upon which the architect was sent for from prison, taken to the place of execution, and forthwith decapitated. This, although upon a small scale, is a fair example both of the despotism and superstition by which this people are borne down.

The form of the Burman administration may be shortly described. In this Government there is no Vizier or Prime Minister; but the King has two councils, a public and a privy one, through which the royal orders are issued. The first of these is the highest in rank, and is commonly called the Lut-d'hau, or, more correctly written, the Lwat-d'hau, from the name of the hall in which its business is transacted. The officers who compose it are commonly four in number; but occasionally one or two more of the same rank are added, when it is necessary to depute, for distant service, persons of this dignity, as was the case during our visit, when the Viceroy of Pegu had this rank. These officers are named Wun-gyi, more correctly written Wun-kri. The word Wun, as formerly explained, means a burthen; but in this vague and loosely constructed language it is also applied to the "bearer of a burthen." Figuratively, it means the bearer or holder of an office, and is a generic term, restricted to some officers of the highest rank, such as the governors of provinces, public ministers, &c. The word kri, pronounced gyi, is the adjective great; and hence Wun-gyi means "the bearer of the great burthen," or a first minister. All public matters are discussed by the Wun-gyis, and the decision is by a majority of voices. They exercise not only legislative and executive functions, but judicial ones. Each member also, at his own dwelling, decides upon private business. This is principally judicial, and he may exercise either primary or appellate jurisdiction; there being, however, an appeal from his decision to the council collectively. Every royal edict requires by law, or rather by usage, the sanction of this council: indeed the King's name never appears in any edict or proclamation, the acts of the Lut-d'hau being, in fact, considered his acts. This council has the further privilege of requesting the King's personal presence at their deliberations. For his Majesty's accommodation on such occasions, there is a throne in its hall, and a private door leading to the apartments of the palace for him to enter by.

Each of the four Wun-gyis has his deputy, and these are also officers of high rank. The title of their office is Wun-dauk, or more correctly,

Wun-tauk. The last syllable of this word means literally a "prop." The Wun-dauks, although they sit in council, do not deliberate or vote. Whatever business they transact is in the name of their superiors, but in this capacity they do a great deal. The Wun-dauks have their assistants, called Saré-d'hau-gyi, literally "great royal scribes." They are from eight to ten in number. These are, in fact, the secretaries of the Lut-d'hau, and their business is to record its proceedings.

The second council, like the first, consists generally of four officers. The title of these is Atwen-wun, or more correctly Atweng-wun. The last syllable of this word is already explained: the other means inside, or interior. These officers constitute the private advisers of the King. Whatever emanates directly from the King is first discussed in the privy council, and then transmitted to the Lut-d'hau. It deliberates and votes on the same principle as the superior council, and, like the latter, its members, both collectively and individually, exercise judicial functions. From the frequent access of the Atwen-wuns to the King's person, it often happens that they possess more real power than the Wun-gyis themselves. It is still a disputed point at the Court of Ava, whether the rank of Atwen-wun or Wun-dauk be the highest.

Attached to the privy council are secretaries, commonly thirty in number. These are named Than-d'hau-thans, commonly pronounced Than-d'hau-sens. They stand in the same relation to the Atwen-wuns that the Wun-dauks do to the Wun-gyis. Their business is to record the proceedings of the council, to take minutes of the King's verbal commands, and to read and report upon petitions. Attached to the two councils are four or five officers, called Na-kan-d'hau. The business of these is to convey messages between the two councils; and it is expected that one or more of them should always attend the Lut-d'hau, in order to report to the King, from time to time, what is going forward there. Upon that council, therefore, they are a kind of authorized spies; and their name, which may be translated "deputies of the Royal Sar," would seem to imply this.

The municipal or provincial administration may be described as follows: The country is divided into provinces of very unequal size—these into townships, the townships into districts, and the districts into villages or hamlets, of which the number in each is indefinite. In the Burmese institutions, it may be remarked that there is nothing bearing any semblance to an ecclesiastical subdivision. Such an arrangement, indeed, could not well exist where the priesthood are excluded from the exercise of all temporal authority, and where their duties are expressly of an abstract and spiritual nature. The word Myo, which literally means a fortified town, is that which is applied both to a province and a township; for there is no word to distinguish them. The province is, in fact, an aggregate of townships; and each particular one derives its name from the principal town within its boundary, being the residence of the Governor. The district or subdivision of the township, in like manner, takes its name from the principal village within it. This arrangement somewhat resembles that which prevails in China, although much ruder. The governor of a province is called Myo-wun, and is vested with the entire charge of the province, civil, judicial, military, and fiscal. The following is an example of the officers serving under the Myo-wun, taken for the large and maritime province of Han-tha-wati, or Pegu. The next officer in rank to the Myo-wun or his deputy, is called Re-wun, literally the "water chief," which some of our writers, with more complaisance than accuracy, have translated "admiral." The third provincial officer is the Ak'hwon-wun, or collector of taxes; and the fourth, the Akaok-wun, or collector of customs. The officers more especially engaged in the administration of justice, and the conservation of the peace, will be described in another place. The inferior officers now named, act as a council to the Myo-wun, without whose previous assent, however, no order of any consequence can be executed. The Myo-wun commonly exercises the power of life and death; but in civil cases, an appeal lies from his authority to the chief council at the capital. The number of the principal officers in Pegu, was as I have now described; but it often happened, that the Government, desirous of extending its patronage,

doubled, or even tripled, the number of officers under the Myo-wun. Shortly before its conquest by the British, there were, for example, two Re-wuns, and two Ak'hwon-wuns. The office of Re-wun, and generally that of collector of customs, existed only in the maritime provinces. All the public business of the province is transacted in an open hall called a Rung, with the epithet d'hau, or royal.

The government of the townships is entrusted to an officer named a Myo-thu-gyi. These words, commonly pronounced by us and by the Mohammedans Myo-su-gi, may be interpreted "chief of the township;" for the word "thu" means head, or head-man: the others have been already explained. The districts and villages were administered by their own chiefs, named Thu-gyis; in the latter instance, the word "rua," pronounced "yua," a village or hamlet, being prefixed. These were all respectively subordinate to each other.

No public officer under the Burmese Government ever receives any fixed money-salary. The principal officers are rewarded by assignments of land, or, more correctly, by an assignment of the labour and industry of a given portion of the inhabitants; and the inferior ones by fees, perquisites, and irregular emoluments, as will be afterwards explained. Extortion and bribery are common to the whole class.

The executive and judicial functions are so much blended in the Burmese form of administration, that the establishments peculiarly belonging to the latter are not very numerous. At the capital there is a judicial officer of high rank, called the Ta-ra-ma-thu-gyi:* the principal administration of justice, at the capital, at least, appears in former times to have been conducted by this officer, but he seems now to have been deprived of the greater part of it by the encroachments of the two executive councils. The inducements to this, of course, were the profits and influence which the members of these bodies derived from the administration of justice. The three towns, with their districts, composing the capital, have each their Myo-wun, or governor, and

* In the Siamese Government there is an officer of the same name, although pronounced somewhat differently.

these are assisted in the municipal administration of their respective jurisdictions by officers named Myo-charé, commonly pronounced Myo-sayé, meaning "town scribe." They are in reality, however, a sort of head constables, and well known as such to all strangers as the busy, corrupt, and mischievous agents of the local authorities. The palace, from its peculiar importance in Burman estimation, has its own distinct governors, no less than four in number, one to each gate; their name, or title, is Wen-m'hu; they have the reputation of having under their authority each a thousand men. In the municipal or provincial courts, there is an officer called the Chit-kai, or Sit-kai, who is a kind of sheriff, or principal conservator of the peace; and, in imitation of the councils at the capital, an officer named Na-kan-d'hau, who discharges the office of public informer. Most of the Burman officers in the provinces, down to the Rua-thu-gyi, or chief of a village, have assessors of their own nomination, called Kung, who take the drudgery off the hands of their chiefs, leaving the decision to the latter. A Myo, or town, it should be observed, is divided into wards, or Ayats, each of which is under the direction of an inferior police-officer, called the Ayat-gaong. The most intelligent and active officers connected with the administration of justice are the She-nés, or pleaders. These persons are described as being tolerably well acquainted with the law and its forms, and occasionally useful and industrious. To each court and public officer there are attached a competent number of Na-lains, or messengers; and annexed to the principal courts is always to be found the T'haong-m'hu, or executioner, with his band of branded ruffians.

The Myo-thu-gyis and Rua-thu-gyis, or chiefs of townships, districts, and villages, exercise a limited judicial authority within their respective jurisdictions, and are answerable for the conservation of the peace. Appeals, in most instances, lie from their authority to that of the provincial officers. In civil cases these inferior officers try all causes subject to appeal; but in criminal ones their authority is limited to inflicting a few strokes of a rattan, and they can neither imprison nor fetter. In all cases of any aggravation it was their duty to transmit the offender to the T'haong-m'hu, sheriff, or executioner of

the provincial town. The authority of the chief of the township was, of course, somewhat more extended than that of the district or village; and it rested with him to hear and decide upon causes, where the parties belonged to different districts or villages. When the chief of towns or villages failed to produce offenders under accusation, they were made to answer the accusation in their own persons at the provincial courts.

Burman prisons are miserable places in point of accommodation, and as insecure as they are inconvenient: their insecurity gives rise to the necessity of every prisoner being put into the stocks. Witnesses are examined on oath, in extraordinary cases only: a translation of its form will be found in the APPENDIX. In important cases, torture is applied both to principals and witnesses, and the gaolers have frequent recourse to a modification of it, for the purpose of extorting money from their prisoners. The English and American prisoners at Ava during the war saw repeated examples of this during their confinement, and even experienced it in their own persons. They had repeatedly paid fines to the principal gaoler in order to procure milder treatment; but as there seemed to be no end to his exactions, they determined, at length, to resist any further demands. They were all in the same stocks, a long wooden frame connected with the roof of the prison at each extremity by ropes. One day, shortly after their refusal to make further payment, they found the stocks, with their lower limbs in them, gradually rising, until at length it left them forming an angle of about forty-five degrees with the ground, on which their heads and shoulders alone rested. After being suspended for an hour or two in this disagreeable predicament, nothing remained for them but to pay the old extortioner an additional bribe, which was done through their friends or relatives. Like other semi-barbarous people, the Burmans have occasional recourse to the trial by ordeal. The accuser and accused are commonly required, in such a case, to dip the point of the forefinger of the right-hand into melted lead or tin. At the end of three days, the finger which had been thus immersed is punctured with a needle, when innocence is determined by blood flowing from the wound—guilt by the flow

of an ichor or watery fluid! A good deal will depend, no doubt, in such a case, upon the disposition of the operator; and this, again, will probably be guided by the passions and partialities of the judges.

The final termination of a suit is confirmed by the litigants being made to eat pickled tea, the usual solemnity observed in all contracts and engagements.

The Burman punishments are severe and cruel. The lowest in the scale is imprisonment and fetters; the number of the latter varying, according to circumstances, from one pair up to nine. Then follow mulcts, flogging, mutilation, condemnation to the perpetual slavery of the temples, and various forms of death, more or less cruel, according to circumstances. Decapitation is one of the most frequent of these; but embowelling is also not uncommon. Drowning, burying alive, and throwing to wild beasts, are occasionally had recourse to. I shall give one or two authentic examples of these punishments. On the 26th of January 1817, four persons were executed at Rangoon for robbing temples. Their abdomens were laid open; huge gashes were cut in their sides and limbs, laying bare the bones; and one individual, whose crime was deemed of a more aggravated nature than that of the rest, had a stake driven through his chest. The gentleman who related this to me was present at the execution. Another European gentleman, who had resided many years in Rangoon, informed me, that for the same offence of sacrilege, he saw seven persons put to death at once. They were tied to stakes on the banks of the Irawadi at low water, and left to be drowned by the returning tide, which did not do its work for four hours. The Burmans commonly suffer death with the intrepidity or indifference of other Asiatic people. One gentleman told me that he had seen a deserter eat a banana with his bowels out, after the executioner had performed more than half his task; and another, also an eye-witness, stated that a woman condemned for murder to be thrown to a tiger, deliberately crept into the cage, made the savage a shiko, or obeisance, was killed by a single blow of the animal's fore-foot, and immediately dragged by him into the recess of his den. It must however

be observed, that the Burmese seldom condemn women to death. "The sword," they say, "was not made for woman." Gang robbery, desertion from the King's service, sacrilege, that is to say, robbing temples, and sedition or treason, are considered the most heinous offences. The number of executions in the Myo-wunship of Rangoon, or Han-tha-wati, used to be from twenty-five to thirty a-year. From the extreme corruption of the Burmese officers, however, there was hardly an offence which might not be expiated by those who could afford to pay a pecuniary penalty, except perhaps treason, and now and then sacrilege. Even when the culprit could not purchase entire immunity, money would procure him a mitigation or commutation of punishment. In ordinary cases, such as whipping and fetters, the degree of punishment depended much more upon the amount paid to the executioner than upon the sentence of the court. Except in very extraordinary cases, therefore, the poor alone were sacrificed.

From the constitution of the Burmese courts, as I have described them, the administration of justice must necessarily be both corrupt and vexatious. The judges take bribes from both sides, and the decree, unless in very palpable cases indeed, will be in favour of him who pays the highest. Both the judges and ministerial officers either subsist altogether, or gain a principal part of their emolument, from litigation, and therefore do all in their power to promote it. No prudent person, therefore, enters into a lawsuit; and "putting a man into justice," as the phrase is, is considered to be equivalent to inflicting upon him the most serious calamity. I may mention one or two authentic cases in illustration. In 1817, an old Burmese woman, in the service of an European gentleman, was cited before the Rung-d'hau, or court of justice of Rangoon. Her master appeared on her behalf, and was informed that her offence consisted in having neglected to report a theft committed upon herself three years before, by which the government officers were defrauded of the fees and profits which ought to have accrued from the investigation or trial. On receiving this information, he was about to retire in order to make arrangements to exonerate her, when he was seized by two

messengers of the court, and informed, that by appearing in the business he had rendered himself responsible, and could not be released unless some other individual were left in pledge for him, until the old woman's person were produced. A Burman lad, his servant, who accompanied him, was accordingly left in his room. In an hour he returned with the accused, and found that in the interval the lad left in pledge had been put into the stocks, his ankles squeezed in them, and by this means a little money which he had about his person, and a new handkerchief, extorted from him. The old woman was now put into the stocks in her turn, and detained there until all the regular fees incident to such a transaction were paid, when she was discharged without any investigation whatever into the theft.

On the 7th of February 1817, seven persons, found guilty of sacrilege, were conveyed to the place of execution near Rangoon, and secured in the usual way to the stake. The first of these, whom it was intended to execute, was fired at, four successive times, by a marksman, without being hit. At every shot there was a loud peal of laughter from the spectators. The malefactor was taken down, declared to be invulnerable, pardoned, and moreover taken into a confidential employment by the governor. It was afterwards ascertained that he had paid a large bribe. The second culprit was shot, and at the same moment the remaining five decapitated.

Of the regular expenses of justice, independent of bribes to judges, and fees to the pleaders, I give the following specimen, taken from a very able report on the province of Bassein, by Captain Alves, its civil superintendent, and made to myself when Commissioner in Pegu.

A Thu-gyi, or chief of a township or village, is held responsible for any robbery committed within his jurisdiction, if he cannot secure the robbers, or trace them to some other jurisdiction. In this case, he must not only make good the property taken, but pay the following charges on the amount: A charge of fifty in one hundred, called Kombo, one-half of which goes to the Myo-wun and members of the provincial court, and one-half to the King; a charge of ten in one hundred, called Ti-wun, one-half of which

goes to the Myo-wun, and the other to the Queen's Minister; a charge of twenty-five in one hundred, which goes to the writers of the provincial court; and one of twelve and a half in one hundred, for the messengers of the court. Besides these, a sum of two ticals* is paid to a person called the Aong-deng, and another of half a tical to a person called the Athao-bo; officers whose duty it is to purchase and administer the "pickled tea" necessary to the ceremony of closing the transaction.†

In the case of abusive and provoking language, the following are the charges: fifteen ticals, as a mulct, to the person aggrieved; seven and a half as Kombo; one and a half as Ti-wun; two ticals each for the scribes and messengers, and two and a half for pickled tea.‡

In the case of assault where no blood is shed, the offender pays to the aggrieved party thirty ticals as damages; he pays fifteen ticals in the name of Kombo, three in the name of Ti-wun, two ticals each to the writers and messengers of the court, and two and a half ticals for pickled tea, and its administrators.§

In cases of adultery, the offender pays to the husband and public officers, exactly the same fine and fees as in a case of common assault where no blood is shed. If a party sue for a divorce, and is unable to substantiate the suite, he or she will pay the following charges:—ten ticals as Kombo; two as Ti-wun; and for writers, messengers, and pickled tea, as in other cases.‖

If a person sue for a debt, and the justice of his claim be denied, he will pay, under the name of Kombo, twenty in one hundred on the amount of his claim; four ticals as Ti-wun; and for writers, messengers, and pickled tea, as in the other instances. This will be the case, whether the claim be ultimately substantiated or not.¶

In some parts of the country it happened occasionally, that when no evidence of a debt existed, the parties agreed to have recourse to the watery ordeal. The litigants were in this case immersed, and the person who con-

* The tical, alluded to in the following statement, contains ten in one hundred of alloy.

† Captain Alves' Report. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

tinued longest under water gained his cause. The loser here paid the regular judicial charges; but previous to immersion, each party had to pay the following bill:—thirty ticals in one hundred on the amount in dispute, in this case called Ati; three in one hundred for a charm, consisting of a few cabalistic words, written on a palm-leaf, and suspended about the neck of the litigants; one and a half in one hundred to the officers holding the ropes attached to the waists of the parties; one and a half in one hundred to the persons who fasten the poles which the parties lay hold of in diving; one and a half in one hundred to the persons who press the bamboo poles on the backs of the parties, to ensure their due immersion; one and a half in one hundred to the person in charge of the timekeeper; two and a half in one hundred to the chief under whose direction the ceremony is performed, and one in one hundred for messengers and tea.*

On the institution of any civil suit, the party began by paying one tical to the writers, and half a tical to the messengers. When an appeal was made from any inferior court or judge to the Myo-wun, the following were the customary charges: five ticals for the court, from both plaintiff and defendant; two ticals from each of the writers; two ticals for the messengers; half a tical from each, for pickled tea; ten ticals from each party, as a personal present to the Myo-wun; seven ticals for this personage's chief scribe; and two to the particular scribe who wrote out his Excellency's decree.†

The presentation of a petition to the Myo-wun, with the decision upon it, were commonly accompanied by the following charges:—a present of one vis of silver, or one hundred ticals; two ticals for his Excellency's head-writer, two for his messengers, one for the particular messenger that delivered the petition and procured a reply to it, and half a tical to the particular writer who copied that reply.‡

There were separate and distinct charges on oaths. The following is a sample:—Administration of an oath with a sacred volume on the head, ten

* Captain Alves' Report. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

ticals; messenger who holds the book over the head, one tical; rest of the messengers, two ticals; writers, two ticals; and pickled tea employed in the ceremony, half a tical.

Messengers have particular fees for delivering summonses, measured by the distance: one tical was the fixed charge, if the person summoned was within the Myo, or town: if beyond it, the charge was one additional tical, for every taing, or two miles, of land travelling; and at the rate of ten ticals for "every tide," when the journey was by water.*

Every thing connected with the administration of justice seems to be made a subject of extortion. The gaolers had their established fees and profits,—not only from robbers and murderers, but from persons imprisoned for debt, or for political offences, or on suspicion. From gang-robbers or murderers, for example, there was extorted, according to their supposed means, from one to five hundred ticals, with a fee of seven and a half ticals to the writer who took down their examination. This was for the officers of government; but the Taong-m'hu, or chief gaoler and executioner, also received a fee of five ticals; and the keeper of the stocks, two. If the prisoner was put in fetters, there was an additional charge of five ticals for the use of these.†

A debtor, committed to prison, had to pay to the gaoler ten ticals in one hundred upon the amount of his debt; and to the messengers, two in one hundred. If a suitor recovered a debt from a party imprisoned, he had to pay ten in one hundred on its amount to the gaoler. All these fees and emoluments were extorted from prisoners under penalty of starvation and bad usage.‡

The ordinary retaining fee of a Shené, or pleader, is five ticals; but he receives also special fees at each stage of a legal process.§

The Burmans have written laws, and from the few specimens I have seen of them, they appear in some respects not to be without merit. Their authority, however, is not appealed to in the courts; and if they are read, it is

* Captain Alves' Report. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid § Ibid.

only through curiosity. The following names of law-books were mentioned to me by Burmese of reputed learning:—the Shwe-men, or golden prince; the Menu, the Wandana, and the Damawilatha. From the name of Menu, here mentioned, it might be supposed that these codes were Hindu; but judging from the specimens which I perused, I do not believe this is the case. If they were originally so, they have at all events been altered to such a degree, as to bear little resemblance to their alleged prototype. They are therefore either indigenous—borrowed from some country differently circumstanced from Hindostan; or if borrowed from the latter, so altered, to suit a very different state of society from that of the Hindus, that there is at present very little resemblance. One of the best of the works now mentioned was under translation when I quitted India; and might have been printed and published, did the Government promote the undertaking. Although a rude code of laws of this description be wholly inapplicable to the practical administration of justice among any people living under a civilized government; yet it must be useful in conveying such a knowledge of native institutions and manners, as cannot but prove extremely useful in the process of legislation.

Before concluding this account of the Burmese laws, I may once for all observe, that although the Burman Government be arbitrary, and the administration of justice expensive and vexatious, it is far from being efficient. The police is as bad as possible; and it is notorious that, in all times of which we can speak with certainty, the country has been overrun with pirates and robbers. Responsibility is shifted from one person to another, and a general ignorance and want of intelligence pervades every department. It is a matter well known, however contrary to theory, that in consequence of this state of things, even a royal order will often fail of commanding respect or attention at the distance of five short miles from the seat of government.

Of the military force of the Burmese I have little to add to what has already been stated in my Journal. There cannot be said to exist any distinction into civil and military classes; nor is there even any distinction between civil and military employments. A treasurer and a judge are expected

to perform military as well as civil functions; and the Burmese army, in fact, consists of the whole male adult population of the country, or as much of it as can be brought together by a forced conscription: it is a rabble, without any discipline or any military virtues; formidable only to the petty tribes and nations of the neighbourhood, still less civilized than the Burmans themselves. There appears to be no systematic organized plan, as in Siam, for calling forth this conscription, and no fixed period for the services of the conscripts. These are brought together either for civil or military employments, through the agency of the officers already enumerated, by an order directed to them from the ministers of the Lut-d'hau, and as occasion may require. It either embraces the whole kingdom, or particular provinces, townships, and districts according to circumstances. When assembled for warlike purposes, the peasantry are generally under the same leaders as when dwelling in their own townships or districts. The troops have no regular pay, but are fed and armed at the public expense. The manners of the Burman peasantry are far from being warlike, as I have often repeated. Their habits on the contrary, are agricultural; they live in comparative ease at home, and never make incursions into foreign countries, without exchanging a better state for a worse one, and subjecting themselves to dangers and privations, which are utterly uncongenial to their characters. Europeans of respectability, who were present at Rangoon when expeditions were sent against the island of Junk Ceylon, and other portions of the Siamese coast, informed me that they had repeatedly seen the unwilling conscripts embarked in hundreds for that service, tied hands and legs, with as little ceremony as if they had been so many cattle. An army thus composed cannot long be kept together, and a defeat or difficulty is almost sure to disperse them. This accounts for the sudden disappearance of the numerous force which the Burmans brought against the British army in the earlier parts of the contest, and the scanty numbers afterwards opposed to us, although then, for the first time perhaps in Burman history, large bounties were given to the recruits. When the British army was, at length, within forty or forty-five miles of Ava, the Burmese force, which was to have

contested its advance and protected the capital, does not appear to have exceeded one thousand men! The Burman peasantry, notwithstanding, are robust, active, hardy, docile, and capable of sustaining great privations; and with skilful and intrepid leaders, which their countrymen are not likely soon to furnish, would no doubt make very good soldiers. The common arms made use of by the Burmese are clumsy two-handed swords, named Dás, spears, match-locks, as many old European muskets as they can afford, rude pattereros of native manufacture, and a few old iron and brass cannon purchased from strangers, and consequently in no very good condition. Their gunpowder is of their own manufacture, and, like all that is prepared by the nations of the East, without European direction, a very wretched compound. The only thing like military activity and skill displayed by the Burmese in their contest with us was in the construction of field-works. For these they generally made the best selection of ground, and they raised them with surprising celerity; but, after all, when finished, they were contemptible in execution; and never being defended with the resolution which other barbarous nations have displayed under the same circumstances, they opposed no serious obstacle to our troops. The Burmese, as far as I can understand, never have recourse to armour; on the contrary, they fight with their bodies nearly naked, and with dishevelled hair.

Cavalry does not appear, in former times, to have composed any portion of a genuine Burmese army. Since the conquest of Cassay, or Munnipore, however, the Burmese appear to have employed in their military expeditions a body of horse, composed of the inhabitants of that country. The horses employed in this service are small spirited ponies, wholly unfit, however, for the purposes of an useful cavalry, even of the lowest description, if compared with that of any other country. A troop or two of the Governor-General's native body guard, the only description of horse with the British army, was always more than sufficient to drive the largest body of them from the field. And indeed, after one or two attempts, they never ventured to show themselves in the presence of that small but gallant and well-disciplined corps.

The fiscal system of the Burmese is characterised by the same rudeness and disorder as the rest of their institutions: indeed, I have little hesitation in saying that it is the most faulty and mischievous part of the whole administration, being replete throughout with uncertainty, rapacity, and violence.

Reclaimed land, according to the custom, for it cannot very correctly be called law, of the Burmese, is considered private property whenever it is worth appropriation, which is not very often the case. This embraces common arable land, gardens, orchards, the sites of houses, and sometimes of tanks and fish-ponds. In the vicinity of the capital, and that of large towns where population is concentrated and rent has commenced, lands are bought, sold, and pledged in the same way as immovable property; but the great majority of the lands of the country are unappropriated, and, in the present state of society, of no more exchangeable value than air or water. The property of the land generally belongs to the immediate cultivators, and each estate therefore consists only of a few acres. There are no large accumulations of land in the hands of individual proprietors. Such a state of things could not exist under the highly arbitrary political institutions of the Burmese. The petty proprietors owe their existence to their political insignificance, and utility in paying contributions. The Government, claiming a right of property in the labour of the cultivators, overlooks the lands which they occupy, as the mere tool or instrument of that labour.

A direct tax on the land, according either to its extent or fertility, is not known to the Burmese. The impost is levied upon the proprietors or cultivators by families, and according to a rough estimate of their supposed means. An organized land-tax, as a branch of public revenue, even in the modified sense now described, does not exist. Nearly all the lands of the kingdom, or, more correctly, the cultivators or peasants, are assigned to favourites and public officers, in lieu of stipends and salaries, or appropriated to the expenses of public establishments,—such as the war-boats, the elephants, &c. Very few of the lands, according to the best information which I could procure, are reserved as a royal domain. The sovereign of Ava therefore,

although possessed of unbounded influence and patronage, is destitute of the great resource of other Asiatic governments—a land revenue.

The individual who receives the land from his sovereign, as a temporary assignment for his subsistence, or salary, is denominated in the Burman language, as the case may be, "the eater," or consumer, of the province, of the township, of the district, or of the village. The greater number of these persons reside at the Court, and never visit their estates. These are administered, both judicially and fiscally, by agents, often appointed by themselves. The temporary lord and his agent assess the cultivators at their discretion, usually as already mentioned, by levying a kind of capitation tax, which, according to circumstances, is taken either in money, in kind, or in services,—a great deal of it in the latter form. The public officers who hold such temporary grants of land, having commonly paid large bribes for them to the Court, exact, in their turn, large sums from their agents, and the cultivators have to pay for all.

Grants of land, or rather assignments, conveying the right of taxing the inhabitants, are commonly during the pleasure of the sovereign. When an individual falls under the displeasure of Government, and loses favour or place, he is invariably stript of his estate. Such removals are constantly taking place, and consequently these holders of land have no permanent interest in the improvement of the country: on the contrary, every individual endeavours to make the most of his authority while it lasts. Small grants of single villages, or occasionally of districts, are made by the King for particular services, and these purport to be in perpetuity, but are, in fact, revocable, like any other, although, from their insignificance possessing, virtually, more permanence and stability than larger grants or assignments. The holder of these becomes the Myo-thu-gyi, or Thu-gyi; and on this account, as well as perhaps from convenience and usage, these offices are often hereditary. The grantees, in such cases, may even alienate their rights by gift or sale; and a translation of the registry of such a transaction will be found in the APPENDIX. The grants now alluded to are often given on very capricious grounds, and for very

unworthy purposes. I have mentioned in the JOURNAL, one case, in which a buffoon was the person rewarded; and Captain Alves, in his inquiries in the province of Bassein, found a village which had been granted in perpetuity to a Karyen peasant, educated by a Burmese robber, on account of the peculiar skill he displayed as a boxer before the King. The condition of the grant in this last case was, that the grantee should instruct the village youth in the noble science of pugilism.

There are no descriptions of charity land except a few attached to some temples of celebrity. The grants for these are in perpetuity, and the sacredness of the object for which they are given generally secures them. The cultivators attached to such lands are declared to be perpetual slaves of the temples, as already described. Except in this respect, these grants do not materially differ from others. The right of taxing the cultivators on them is granted to a public officer or favourite, who takes upon himself the custody and repair of the temple to which they belong.

The Burman priesthood receive no portion of the produce of the land; they are entirely supported, as is well known, by the voluntary contributions of the people, or by gifts and largesses bestowed by the King and chiefs.

The Burman cultivators are commonly oppressed and ill-governed, in proportion to the rank and influence of the lord or assignee at Court, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining redress by an appeal against him. The worst-managed estates are usually those belonging to individuals of the royal family, whose agents may commit great oppressions, with little risk of being called to account. The only resource which a cultivator generally has against oppression, is to abandon his lands, and seek shelter in towns or villages, where it is less severe; and it is one frequently had recourse to. Hence the decay of established towns and villages, and the rise of new ones, is a thing of yearly occurrence.

The lords, or "eaters," of the land, make yearly offerings to the King, in token of servitude or submission. This offering ought, by the custom

of the country, to be a tenth or tithe of the income derived from the grant. The absence of records, and the want of any settled financial organization, leave, however, the amount of tribute paid, in a good measure, voluntary. A tithe, it ought indeed to be observed, is, by the usage of the Burman Government, the immemorial right, in all cases, of the King. Such is the theory, but in practice the exceptions are of more frequent application than the rule.

Besides the contributions paid to the lord of the land, the cultivators are from time to time, and according to public exigency, supposed or real, called upon for extraordinary contributions to the Crown. The amount of these is fixed, for each particular occasion, by an order of the Lut-d'hau, or principal council of state. Such contributions, some of which are local and some general, are levied through the lords and local officers, who never fail to make them a pretext for levying additional exactions on their own account often greater than those taken for the Government.

The Burmese cultivators, as in other Asiatic countries, are associated in villages—an arrangement, however, dictated only by the necessity of congregating for convenience and security, for there is no community of property among them, each individual being the exclusive proprietor of his own fields, and tilling them at his own risk and cost. The inhabitants of towns, or such part of them as are engaged in trade or manufactures, are taxed by families, in the exact same manner as the cultivators of the land,—a fact which shows plainly enough that no real land-tax exists amongst the Burmans.

The arbitrary and fluctuating assessment now mentioned is more correctly a property-tax than a land-tax. It was confined to the Burmese, Talains, and a few naturalized foreigners. The reader may judge of its operation from the following extract from Captain Alves' judicious Report on Bassein already quoted. "The arbitrary assessments for various purposes, which were levied upon the Burmese and Talains, amounted annually, I am informed, to about 50,000 ticals, on ordinary occasions, for the two townships of Bassein and Pantano. Bassein, the chief town of the province, was exempt from regular

assessment, being subject to calls for the support of messengers or other public authorities from the capital, and for their travelling expenses. Pantano and another district of the province were exempt, as being assignments for the maintenance of their respective Myo-thu-gyis. I might probably have obtained information regarding the amount of these arbitrary cesses in the other townships; but the subject of inquiry was rather a delicate one, and might have led to the belief that its continuance was contemplated under British sway. Besides, the tax was an ever-fluctuating one; information regarding it not very readily given; and the purpose for which the money was often required, I was told, was too ludicrous to bear repetition to an Englishman. The amount for the other townships may be inferred from the above, and was probably about 127,000 ticals. On extraordinary occasions there was no limit to exactions of both men and money. It does not appear that assessments could have been properly ordered for other than public purposes, or under instructions from Court; and although the amount might not always find its way into the treasury of the state, it ought to have been expended in the service of the state. The principle of this tax appears to be that of a property-tax. A town or village having to pay a certain sum, the heads of wards, or principal people of the village, were called together by the Myo-thu-gyi or Thu-gyi, and informed of their quota, in men or money, to be furnished; and they assessed the householders agreeably to their means or supposed means,—some having to pay, say fifty ticals, others one, or even less. I have been informed that there are tolerably correct accounts of the means of each householder; but on such occasions poverty is often pleaded, and it too frequently happens that confinement and torture are resorted to before the collection is completed. The system is obviously open to the greatest abuses, and although it is not against these abuses that the people generally exclaim, it is evident this is the most vexatious of all parts of Burmese administration; and its abolition or modification would have been most desirable, had the country been retained. All persons in public employ were exempt from this tax—also artificers, as they had to work without pay, when required for public

purposes, or for the business of the local officers. Also the Mussulman and Chinese inhabitants at Bassein: the former, when required, being made to work as tailors; the latter, to manufacture gunpowder and fireworks. Both these classes, however, were compelled to make gunpowder, from the breaking out of the war until the arrival of the British armament at Bassein. There ought to have been no expense of collection, although it appears to have been perfectly understood, that the overplus exacted by the Thu-gyis on such occasions was their chief source of emolument."

The number of families in the two townships, mentioned in Captain Alves' Report, of which the amount of the tax is best ascertained, namely, Bassein and Pantano, is six thousand; the annual amount of the tax for these being fifty thousand ticals, and each tical being estimated at two shillings and sixpence, every family is assessed at the rate of twenty shillings and tenpence. A family is here reckoned at six individuals,—so that the taxation per head is about three shillings and fivepence, exclusive of *corvées*, extraordinary contributions, and particular assignments for the maintenance of public officers.

The tax now alluded to applies only to the Burmans and Talains; that is, to the fixed and most improved portion of the population. In the lower provinces especially, a great, indeed a principal, part of the agriculture of the country is carried on by the Karyens. These live in the midst of woods,—are governed by their own chiefs and their own laws, and inhabiting a country where there is abundance of good land, and a scanty population, they generally roam about, snatching a crop from the virgin soil, where choice or caprice directs them. They perform no public services, and in such a state of society could not be subjected to the house-tax imposed on the Burmese and Talains. With an exemption from all contributions and *corvées*, each family paid a certain tax, collected by its own chief, and by him accounted for to the Myowun, or governor of the province, through the collector. The amount of this assessment was not the same in all the provinces, and indeed varied from time to time in the

same province. The following is an example taken from the province of Bassein,—Ten ticals being the public tax; one tical for the King's broker, or assayer; half a tical for the King's cook; half a tical for a mat for his Majesty; one tical for the governor of the province; half a tical for the governor's writer; half a tical for the messenger, or runner, who collects the tax; half a tical for the agent of the Thu-gyi of the nearest village, who assists; half a tical for an oar for the boat that conveys the contribution to the capital; half a tical for the house of the provincial collector; half a tical for his personal expenses; one tical for the Myo-thu-gyi of the township; and half a tical for his writer. This makes a total contribution of eighteen ticals; but there was contributed in kind, for the use of the King, a vis of wax, and ten baskets of rice in the husk, which might be worth, together, about six ticals; making the whole contribution twenty-four. In the two districts of Bassein and Pantano already named, the number of Karyen families was estimated at two thousand, but the number assessed to the tax was only one thousand five hundred. The real amount of tax, therefore, paid by the Karyens, would be thirty-six thousand ticals per annum, or at the rate of eighteen ticals or forty-five shillings per family; and six persons being supposed to each family, at the rate of seven shillings and sixpence per head; which is fifty per cent. higher than the average rate of taxation in the British provinces in Hindostan, and not much short of double the amount contributed directly by the more civilized and industrious Burmans and Talains. It is obvious, from this fact, that under a system of taxation, in any respect moderate or judicious, the amount of the Burman revenue might be rendered very considerable. It would appear, that from the two above-mentioned provinces, of which the money-tax of the Karyens would be twenty-seven thousand ticals, no more than fifteen thousand were paid into the treasury; twelve thousand, or eighty per cent., therefore, went to the public officers, or was the direct charge for collection, without making any allowance for the public establishments, being already paid from other resources. This is a fair sample of the character of the Burmese adminis-

tration. In respect to this tax, it is to be observed that it was in some places paid by the races called the Zabaing and Kyen,* as well as by the Karyens. It is alleged of it, too, that it is not assessed by families, but by the number of pairs or yokes of buffaloes employed in labour; and this is also the case in regard to the contribution of the Burmese and Talains especially employed in husbandry. This measure, however, after all, was little better than nominal, although probably an estimate of the number of working cattle may have been occasionally referred to, as a kind of gage for ascertaining the taxable means of the inhabitants. The fact may be quoted as another example of that loose and indefinite character which pervades all Burman institutions.

The house-tax paid by the Burmans and Talains is here stated as an annual contribution, but, as already mentioned, it is not so. It is true that perhaps no year passes without the levying either of general contributions by the authority of the Lut-d'hau, or of unauthorized ones by the local officers, the latter by far the most frequent; but there exists nothing, as far as the Burmese and Talains are concerned, like a permanent and periodical public tax of this nature. The theory of the Government, in fact, although not its practice, would seem to exonerate this portion of the population from the payment of direct periodical money-taxes, in consideration of the *corveés* and military services it is especially called upon to perform, and from which many of the rest of the inhabitants are exempted. The large amount of the assessment, on particular occasions, alone renders it improbable that the tax should be an annual one. In the Burman year 1160, corresponding with 1798, the late King of Ava, for example, imposed a general contribution upon every house or family. This, I presume, would include Aracan, which was then amalgamated with the empire; but it would exclude, no doubt, the wild races and tributary states. The amount in this case was thirty-three one-

* In some of the public accounts of the Burmese government found in the Rung-d'hau, or public hall, at Rangoon, I found the tax on the Karyens accounted for at the rate of ten ticals on each family, and on the Zabaings at nine. This, of course, did not include the charges of collection.

third ticals, indiscriminately for every house, large and small. It took two years to collect the whole contribution, and the amount realized was 48,000,000 ticals, or 600,000*l.* sterling. I have never heard of any similar measure before or since, nor of any contribution comparable to this in amount. In reference to this tax, there is one important fact, which deserves mention. The capital and districts attached to it are almost always exempted from its imposition by the Government itself, and always so from the irregular exactions in its name by the local officers. In fact, the seat of government, and its neighbourhood, are in all respects, owing to a more regular administration of law, and greater facility of appeal, by far the best-governed portion of the kingdom. While other parts of the country, therefore, are often little better than a wilderness, with a few villages thinly interspersed, the vicinity of the capital is comparatively well cultivated and thickly inhabited. From the accounts which I heard at Ava, and judging, indeed, by the various products of industry which they export, I am led to believe that several of the tributary Shan or Lao states, which have the advantage of being governed by their hereditary rulers, and are free from the oppression and extortion of the temporary functionaries of the Burmese Government, are also more flourishing and prosperous than the greater number of the Burmese provinces.

The capitation or family tax of the Karyens, differing in this respect from the occasional tax levied on the Burmans and Talains, is a fixed, invariable, and annual impost; and hence, notwithstanding their rudeness, the comparative industry and freedom of this race.

In some districts, a tax was levied on fruit-trees, confined to those in actual bearing. The following is a specimen of the rate of assessment taken for Lower Pegu:—A mangoe, a jack, a cocoa-nut, and a Mariam tree (a very small species of mango, peculiar to this country), paid each one-eighth of a tical per annum. An Areca and Palmyra palm paid each one-quarter of a tical, and a betel vine one-sixteenth of a tical. At the capital, and upper provinces,

generally, a tithe of the produce of fruit-trees is said to be the rate of taxation; but, I believe, like many other imposts, it is not rigidly exacted. Indeed, it may be stated generally, that the unsettled habits of the people, and the ignorance and unskilfulness of the tax-gatherer, contribute in practice to counterbalance, in some degree, the arbitrary and oppressive character of the government in theory. The produce of this tax, or the amount which reached the public treasury, I have not been able to ascertain.

The fishery of ponds, lakes, rivers, and salt-water creeks, is an object of revenue, under the Burmese Government. Like the land, however, the greater number of the fisheries appear to have been assigned to public officers, favourites, and courtiers. The following is a specimen of the imposts levied on a single fish-pond not assigned: five ticals of silver for the royal revenue, half a tical for a mat for the King, one tical to supply bees' wax for his Majesty, one tical for the Myowun, one for his scribes, one for his messengers, two and a half for his personal expenses, half a tical for the messenger who collected the tax, three and a half for the chief of the township in which the pond is situated, and one and a half for his scribe: this makes a total of seventeen and a half ticals. His Majesty's share of this, it will appear, is six ticals and a half. The expenses of collection, in this case, are therefore nearly one hundred and seventy per cent.

Sea-fish was commonly cured in the form of Ngapi, or "bruised fish," the offensive condiment which I have already mentioned, and which is an article of universal use throughout the kingdom. The impost upon this commodity was levied upon a principle the rudest of all, but perhaps not the most oppressive. It was charged on each boat-load when she took her departure for a market from the place of manufactory, and this without any reference to the size of the boat, or the quality and amount of the cargo. Its rate was as follows:—Ten ticals of silver for the revenue, two ticals for the Myowun, two for his scribes, two for his messengers, two for his personal expenses, three for the chief of the township, and one and a half for his scribe;

making a total of twenty-two ticals for each boat-load. In this instance, the charges of collection were one hundred and twenty-five per cent.

The greater quantity of the salt consumed by the Burmese is manufactured on the sea-coast, by the hasty process of boiling in small earthen vessels; and from the nature of the climate, there are scarcely more than two months, namely, February and March, in which the manufacture can be conducted on such a plan. The duties are levied upon each separate manufactory, consisting of any number of earthen pans which the manufacturer may think proper to employ. The tax has neither reference to the amount of these, nor to the quantity of salt manufactured. The following is a specimen of this tax as it is imposed in the district of Bassein:—The royal revenue, fifteen ticals; broker, or assayer, two ticals; governor of the province, two and a half ticals; his scribes, two and a half ticals; his messengers two and a half ticals; his personal expenses, two and a half ticals; agent to the collector, two and a half ticals; the collector, two and a half ticals; the chief of the township, five ticals; and the village Thu-gyi, for leave to cut firewood, one tical: this makes a total on each manufactory of thirty-eight ticals, and a charge of collection upon the net revenue of above one hundred and fifty-three per cent.

Notwithstanding the impost upon salt now mentioned, and the heavy expense of the process by which it is manufactured, aggravated by the unsuitableness of the climate, the current price to the consumer is scarcely one-half of that paid in those parts of the British possessions in Bengal, where it is the cheapest.

The eggs of the green turtle, and the well-known esculent swallows' nests, were objects of revenue under the Burmese Government. The first were collected on Diamond and Negrais Islands, and the last in the islands fronting the coasts of the provinces of Mergui and Tavoy. The practice was to rent both, from year to year, to a farmer. The produce to the treasury was comparatively very trifling, owing to unskilfulness, want of capital, and malversation.

The celebrated Petroleum wells afford, as I ascertained at Ava, a revenue to the King or his officers. The wells are private property, and belong hereditarily to about thirty-two individuals. A duty of five parts in one hundred is levied upon the petroleum as it comes from the wells, and the amount realized upon it is said to be twenty-five thousand ticals per annum. No less than twenty thousand of this goes to contractors, collectors, or public officers; and the share of the state, or five thousand, was assigned during our visit as a pension of one of the Queens.

The Burmese have mines of gold, silver, sapphire, and amber, considered to be royal property. Of the produce of the gold mines I know nothing; but some Chinese at Ava, who had visited the silver mines, informed me, that these were rented to Chinese contractors, who employed about one thousand of their own countrymen as miners; paying a fixed duty or rent to the King of Ava by two half-yearly instalments of forty-eight viss, or four thousand eight hundred ticals, about six hundred pounds sterling. The King lays claim to every ruby or sapphire which exceeds the value of one hundred ticals; and there is, from all accounts, a large collection of both in the royal treasury; but as they are never sold, and not often disposed of in any way, they can hardly be said to form an effectual portion of the revenue.

The teak forests may be enumerated among the sources of Burman revenue. The greater number of these being distant from a market, their produce is of no exchangeable value; and the peasantry of the neighbourhood are usually allowed to fell timber in them, to any extent, upon payment of a trifling *douceur* to the chief of the township or village to which they are attached. This was not the case with the timber of the forests of Sarawadi, which chiefly furnished the exports from Rangoon for foreign countries. This district has been commonly the assignment of a member of the royal family. The woodcutters paid to the lord, whoever he might be, twenty in one hundred, in kind, on all the wood felled; and this tax they had farther to transport from the forest to the Irawadi, and from thence to the market in

Rangoon, at their own cost. The royal duty upon such timber was five in one hundred, also levied in kind.

With the few exceptions which I have already mentioned, there exist no transit duties, and there are no dues levied either in fairs or in markets. This may be considered rather a singular circumstance in a country where industry is in other respects so overloaded and oppressed.

As to custom-house duties, those on foreign imports are ten in one hundred; and upon exports, five, paid to the King; with two in one hundred upon the former, and one in one hundred on the latter, for the local officers. Native and foreign vessels of every description, carrying on the external trade, paid these duties; but European and other square-rigged vessels were liable to a long list of charges besides. Until within a very few years previous to the war, this class of vessels were made to unship their rudders and land their guns. After a long struggle, they were exonerated from unshipping their rudders upon paying a *douceur* of thirty-two ticals to the local authorities. The other charges and exactions were numerous. The following is a specimen taken from those actually levied on a vessel of 450 tons burthen; viz. permission to land the cargo, four and a half ticals; one piece of Indian cloth of a particular description, worth forty ticals; another ditto, worth eight ticals; another, worth four ticals; two handkerchiefs, worth two ticals; cash, four ticals; a present of sugar and *China plates* to certain officers, who must be invited to a feast on board the ship, value sixty-two ticals; permission to ship cargo, four and a half ticals; anchorage dues and pilotage inwards, three hundred and ninety-four ticals; measurement dues, seven hundred ticals; offering to the King's warehouse, fifty ticals; three pieces of Indian cloth, twenty-four ticals; two handkerchiefs for an order to the ship to depart, value two ticals; cash for the same purpose, nine ticals; for rendering an account of the ship's export and import charges, five ticals; three handkerchiefs given for an order to reship guns and gunpowder, value three ticals; present to the King's linguist, fifty ticals; eight handkerchiefs presented to certain watchmen, value eight ticals; ditto presented to the watchhouse, value eight ticals;

pilotage outwards, one hundred and fifty ticals. The whole charges here enumerated amount to about fifteen hundred ticals.

The items now stated, with the exception of the anchorage and measurement dues, were the perquisites of the local officers. During our visit to Ava, the Queen had an assignment upon the measurement dues; so that the anchorage dues, with the regular tax of five in one hundred upon exports, and ten upon imports, alone went into the public treasury. The duties, at the option of the custom-house officers, are levied in money or kind; the latter a very inconvenient, and often a vexatious arrangement for the foreign merchant, who sees his packages deranged, his sets broken, and his goods damaged, without having any remedy. A whimsical but well-authenticated example of the vexation attending this practice, was stated to me by an eye-witness. The commander of an European vessel imported a hawser, or small cable. The Burman officers were puzzled, not knowing whether to charge the duties in kind or on a valuation, but resolved at length to cut off a tithe of the cable,—the collector facetiously observing, that the produce, if fit for nothing else, might answer for lighting the King's segar!

Under the Burmese Government there existed no duties in the way of excise. The consumption of wines, spirits, opium, and other intoxicating drugs, is contrary to the religion of the Burmese, and strictly prohibited by their laws. Gaming is considered equally illegal. Foreigners, however, were indulged in these practices, and they were even connived at, occasionally, by some of the provincial governors, who consented to wink both at gaming and drinking, on receiving a tithe of the profits accruing from licensing these indulgences. No portion of these gains, however, found their way into the public treasury.

The imports upon goods brought from China by land are, like the general imports seawards, charged with a duty of ten in one hundred. The exports are, I believe, duty free, but of this I am not certain. The annual produce of this tax was stated to me at 40,000 ticals. The Queen and her brother had

an assignment upon this branch of revenue, from which they derived an income of 25,000 ticals; the remainder going to collectors and other officers. It should be noticed, that the trade of Lao and of other tributary States is equally free from all custom-house and transit duties, as that of the rest of the kingdom.

A tax on a singular principle is levied on the currency, through means of the Poe-zas, who are joint brokers and assayers. These persons pay to the Government a tax of one tical of pure silver per month, for every pair of bellows employed by them in their calling. In the town of Sagaing, I found there were no less than thirty of these persons, and at Rangoon about one hundred and twenty. The number at Amarapura and Ava is very great, but I did not ascertain its amount.

At Rangoon, but I believe nowhere else, a tax is levied of ten in one hundred on the wages of labour, confined, however, to artisans, porters, and others connected with the commercial transactions of the port. A tax on the administration of justice, with fees, forfeitures, and fines, form a fixed and not inconsiderable branch of the revenue of the State, or the reward of its officers. The offerings made by public officers and tributary princes to the King, twice in each year, are direct contributions to the public treasury. They usually consist of some fine cloths, horses, and a quantity of gold, corresponding to the rank of the party. The largest contributions are made by the Thaub-was, or tributary princes. These may be taken as an example of the rate. The tributaries are said to be one hundred in number, of whom twenty make an offering of forty ticals of gold each; forty, of half that amount; and forty more, of six ticals only. Each of the two first classes present also a horse valued at one hundred and fifty ticals of silver. The whole of this contribution, exclusive of fine cloths, which they furnish like others, and the value of which I have no means of ascertaining, amounts to 70,480 ticals. It is not improbable that the whole contributions of this nature made to the King of Ava may amount to 100,000 ticals, or 12,500*l.* sterling, per annum; and trifling as this sum

may appear, I have no doubt it is one of the most considerable of his Majesty's direct sources of revenue.

From the statement now given of the Burman system of revenue, its rudeness, vices, and imperfections, are put beyond all question. The Burman officers are, as it were, turned loose upon the country to prey upon it, like a flight of locusts. A fixed money-salary for its functionaries is a thing unknown to the Burmese Government; and, unless to contribute to the personal gratification of the sovereign, it is seldom that money is disbursed from the public treasury. If a foreign expedition be undertaken; if a palace or a temple be to be built; if an embassy is to be sent to a foreign state, or a mission from a foreign state is to be entertained, an extraordinary contribution is levied on the people, general or local, as the exigency of the case may seem to require. In fact, the contributions paid directly into the treasury become little better than a hoard to gratify the vanity or avarice of the reigning prince; and the amount exacted from the people, for this purpose, depends entirely upon his personal character, whether liberal or avaricious.

Under the circumstances which I have stated, any thing like a detailed account of the resources of the country cannot well exist; by far the largest share of what is exacted from the people being intercepted, and never reaching the treasury. While at Ava, I received various statements of the amount of treasure left by the late King at his demise. One of these made this to amount to no more than 3,600,000 ticals; but here the treasure in silver only was included; that in gold, said, however, to be inconsiderable, not being accounted for. The highest estimate made it amount to 10,000,000 ticals, or 1,250,000*l.* sterling. The statement, however, upon which I place most reliance, made the gold and silver treasure together to amount to no more than 4,600,000 ticals, or 575,000*l.* sterling. This was the whole accumulation of a parsimonious prince, during a peaceful reign of thirty-eight years. From this hoard, little, as I have already said, was disbursed. Dividing, therefore, the amount by the duration of the reign, or thirty-eight years, we shall have an estimate of the actual annual money-revenue of

a Burman king under favourable circumstances, and this is no more than 15,131*l.* sterling. The largest expenditure from the royal hoard was in the gilding of temples and palaces; and, perhaps the next to it, in purchases of foreign jewellery; and in furnishing gold vessels and trinkets to the public officers and their wives, on their promotion to new grades of nobility. If for all these sources of expenditure we allow an additional sum of 10,000*l.* sterling, still the royal revenue will not exceed 25,000*l.* per annum,—an income far exceeded by that of many native subjects of the British possessions in India.

CHAPTER XVI.

Commerce.—Money.—Rate of interest.—Internal trade.—Chinese trade.—Trade sea-ward.—Natural products.—Minerals.—Forests.—Agricultural productions.—Animals.

To understand the Burmese trade, a short account of the circulating medium will be necessary. This consists, for small payments, of lead; and for larger ones, of gold and silver, but chiefly of the latter. The Burmese have no coin of any one of these metals. At every payment, the money must be weighed, and very generally assayed,—a rude state of things, of the utmost inconvenience to trade. The denominations of weights used in the weighing of money of all descriptions, are the same as on ordinary occasions: the Kyat or Tical, and the Paiktha or Viss, being by far the most frequent. Silver may be considered as the standard; gold is generally held to be about seventeen times more valuable than silver. Lead, used as coin, fluctuates according to its market value, and in reference to silver may be commonly estimated in the proportion of five hundred to one. The weighing and assaying of the metals used as currency, necessarily gives rise to the employment of a class of persons as brokers, money-changers, and assayers. These, as already mentioned, are known in the Burmese language by the name of Pöe-za. Every new assay costs the owner, if the metal be silver, two and a half parts in one hundred; one and a half of which is the established commission of the assayers, while one per cent. is lost, or supposed to be lost, in the operation. If that operation be repeated forty times, it follows that the original amount is wholly absorbed,—a fact which shows the enormous waste of the precious metals, which attends this rude substitute for a currency.

The silver in common circulation is of various degrees of fineness, each being known by a specific name. The best description is very nearly pure, or at most does not contain above from two to five parts in one hundred, of alloy: it is in this that payments are always made to the King. Another description, frequent in commercial transactions, contains ten in one hundred, of alloy. That in most common use in the ordinary transactions of the lower orders, contains no less than twenty-five parts in one hundred, of alloy.

The fineness of gold, besides being occasionally determined by assay like that of silver, is often ascertained by the touch. The scale employed consists of ten parts, called M'hûs, and has probably been borrowed from the Hindoos. The finest gold in circulation is, according to this scale, of nine and three-quarters touch, or twenty-three and a quarter carats fine. Between this and that which is only twelve carats, or contains one half alloy, is to be found in use, almost every intermediate degree of fineness.

The state of trade and commerce may be judged of by the rates of interest and profit. When a pledge is given, the common interest at Ava is two in one hundred per mensem. When there is no pledge, it rises to five in one hundred. In the courts of justice, however, no interest can be recovered on a loan for any period exceeding ten months. At Ava, twenty-five in one hundred is considered the average rate of profit on each operation; and fifty in one hundred, a good one. It should be recollected that the commercial transactions of the Burmese are almost all of the nature of retail.

In the lower provinces of the Burmese empire, that is, in the proper country of the Peguans, the internal traffic is almost wholly conducted by water communication: there are hardly any roads, but the natural facilities of communication by the former channel are such as in a great measure to compensate for their absence. Indeed, the area of about twenty-seven thousand three hundred square miles, which extends in one direction from the sea to the promontory of Kyaok-taran on the Irawadi, and in another from the river of Bassein to that of Martaban, constituting the natural country

of the Peguan race, possesses facilities of internal navigation which are equalled in few countries. In the hilly region, constituting the country of the Burmese, the facility of water communication is of course far less remarkable; for it possesses no rivers of much utility to commerce, except the Irawadi, the Kyen-dwen, and Saluen. Commercial intercourse here, therefore, is carried on chiefly by land conveyance; the carriage, for the most part, consisting of oxen, of carts drawn by oxen, and occasionally of small horses. The merchants carrying on traffic in this manner, travel for security in caravans, as in other parts of the East. The trading vessels which we observed on the Irawadi, were generally small, and not exceeding ten or fifteen tons burthen. We saw, however, at Ava, Pakok'ho, and other trading places, a good number of a larger description, some of which could not have been of less burthen than one hundred tons. All Burman trading vessels seem to be constructed on the same plan. They are long, flat, and so very narrow, that wings or out-riggers are necessary to prevent them from upsetting. A sail made of matting, and of a square form, is used with a fair wind, which is pretty frequent and steady in the south-west monsoon. When this fails, the boats are propelled in the lower provinces with the assistance of long poles; and in the upper, where walking along the bank is practicable, they are dragged by the crew, numerous of course on this account.

The principal points where the internal trade of the kingdom concentrates itself, may be stated to be, the capital, Rangoon, Tongo, and Bassein. The inhabitants of the sea-ports, and of the lower parts of Pegu, generally take to the capital and upper provinces, as articles of trade, rice, salt, pickled and dried fish, and foreign commodities. The Shans, or people of Lao, import into Ava cotton and silk stuffs; some raw silk, varnish, stick lac, ivory, bees-wax, lacquer ware, swords, gold, lead, and tin; and they take back to their own country similar articles with those imported into Ava from the lower country; by far the most considerable of these being salt, with pickled and dried fish. The articles exported from Ava for the consumption of the

lower provinces, consist of petroleum, salt-petre, lime, paper, lacquer ware, cotton and silk fabrics, iron, cutlery, some brass-ware, terra japonica, palm sugar, onions, tamarinds, &c. &c.

The Chinese of Yunan conduct a considerable traffic with the Burman empire, the principal marts of it being the capital, or rather a place six miles to the north-east of it, called Midé, and B'hamó, the chief place of a province of the same name bordering upon China. This branch of trade is chiefly in the hands of the Chinese, being divided between those residing in the Burman dominions, and their correspondents in China. This traffic, although probably subjected to less restraint, resembles, in a great measure, the commerce which is carried on, on their mutual frontier, between the Russians and Chinese. It is not a continued trade, conducted throughout the year, as between two friendly and confiding nations, but one carried on at annual fares. The caravan from China, composed entirely of Chinese, commonly arrives at Ava in the beginning of December, and is said to take about six weeks in travelling from Yunan. It is probable, indeed, that it cannot quit China until the cessation of the periodical rains in the middle of October, which would limit the journey to the period mentioned. No part of the journey is by water, nor are the goods conveyed by wheel carriage, but by small horses, mules, and asses. These facts seem to prove, that the Irawadi is not navigable as far as the Chinese frontier, and that the roads, generally, are bad and difficult, which, indeed, the traders themselves expressly assert to be the case. The principal fair appears to be held at B'hamó, and a few of the traders only find their way to Ava. The articles imported from China may be enumerated as follow: copper, orpiment, quicksilver, vermilion, iron pans, brass-wire, tin, lead, alum, silver, gold and gold-leaf, earthen-ware, paints, carpets, rhubarb, tea, honey, raw silk, velvets and other wrought silks, spirits, musk, verdigris, dry fruits, paper, fans, umbrellas, shoes, wearing apparel, and a few live animals. The copper is chiefly imported wrought, even when intended to be smelted down again, because the exportation of the unwrought metals

is by the Chinese laws contraband. The orpiment, or yellow arsenic, is said to be the produce of mines in Yunan, and is of very fine quality. A portion of it, exported from Rangoon, finds its way to the markets of western Asia and Europe through Calcutta. The metals were stated to me to be in like manner the produce of Yunan, which, although a poor province, otherwise is rich in minerals. The tea, I presume also, to be the produce of this or some neighbouring province in China. It is generally a coarse black tea, not inferior in quality to what is called Bohea in this country, made up into the form of thick cakes. It is used by all the Chinese settlers, and by such of the Burmese as can afford it. The price by retail, as I was informed by some English merchants who resided in Ava, seldom exceeds a tical per viss, or sixpence halfpenny per pound; and it is probable that its wholesale price in the fair of Midé, on the arrival of the caravan, does not exceed half this amount. The largest article of import is raw silk. From this, principally, is manufactured the cloth which is in such general use with all classes of the Burmese. The quality of the article is coarse, and it suffers some injury from a long land-carriage. The annual importation was stated to me at twenty-seven thousand bundles, each worth about thirty ticals. This would make the value of the whole, in British money, about eighty-one thousand pounds sterling. The live animals imported are rather objects of curiosity than of trade; they consist of dogs, pheasants, and ducks.

The articles imported to China consist of raw cotton, ornamented feathers, esculent swallows' nests, ivory, rhinoceros and deer's horns, sapphires and noble serpentine, with a small quantity of British woollens. Raw cotton is by far the most considerable article. The amount was stated to me as low as twenty thousand bales of one hundred viss, or three hundred and sixty-five pounds each, or 7,300,000 lbs., and as high as fifty-seven thousand bales, or 20,805,000 lbs.; the average is in round numbers 14,000,000 lbs. This is of three or four different qualities, and all freed from the seed. At the medium price of four hundred ticals per thousand viss, given to me by some Chinese merchants engaged in the trade, the value of this

property would be 228,000*l.* sterling. The feathers, chiefly those of a blue jay, are intended to ornament the dresses of ceremony of the Chinese Mandarines. The birds are hunted for the purpose of this traffic throughout the Burmese dominions; and I am told that the Burmese hunters go all the way to India, as far as the province of Cuttack, in search of them. The sapphires are in request as buttons to the caps of the Chinese officers of rank. The amount of the export and import trade with China has been variously stated at from four to seven millions of ticals, or from 400,000*l.* to 700,000*l.* sterling. According to the estimates already given, the two principal articles of the trade, silk and cotton, would constitute 309,000*l.* of this value.

The foreign trade of the Burmese, seaward, is for the most part conducted from the port of Rangoon, the situation of which is both centrical and convenient, whether in reference to the interior of the Burmese dominions, or to those foreign ports with which the Burmese hold a commercial intercourse. These last are Chittagong, Dacca and Calcutta in Bengal, Madras and Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, the Nicobar islands, and Penang. There is also an occasional intercourse with Bombay and with the Persian and Arabian Gulf. The articles exported are teak wood, terra japonica or catechu, stick lac, bees-wax, elephants' teeth, raw cotton, orpiment, gold, silver, rubies and sapphires, with horses. By far the most important of these commodities is teak timber. The quantity annually exported is said to be equal to 7500 full sized trees. Calcutta is the principal mart, and the quantity imported there in 1823-4 was valued in the Custom-house books at 264,176 rupees. Raw cotton is exported from Ava to Dacca, and is said, from its superior quality, to be used in the fabrication of the fine muslins of that place. The quantity annually sent was stated to me at 15,000 maunds, or 1,200,000 lbs., all in the seed. Gold and silver, although contraband, are exported in considerable quantity from the Burman dominions, and, as I understand, more especially from Bassein, and overland by the route of Arracan. I have heard the value,

exported in this manner, estimated at six and a half lacs of rupees, or about sixty-five thousand pounds sterling.

The principal imports are as follow: cotton piece goods, British, Bengal, and Madras; British woollens, iron, steel, quicksilver, copper, cordage, borax, sulphur, gunpowder, saltpetre, fire-arms, coarse porcelain, English glass ware, opium, tobacco, cocoa and areca nuts, sugar and spirits. The Burmese have but few cotton manufactures of their own, and appear from very early times to have been furnished with the principal part of their consumption from the Coromandel coast. To these were afterwards added the cheaper fabricks of Bengal, and both are now in a great measure superseded by British manufactures. After cotton piece goods, the most important articles of importation into the Burman empire are areca and cocoa nuts. No part of the Burmese territory appears well suited to the growth of the areca and cocoa palms; and the consumption being general, the importation of their produce is consequently very large. Areca nut prepared is brought from the eastern parts of Bengal; and it is brought in the crude state from Penang and the east coast of the island of Sumatra. A considerable quantity of tobacco is imported from Masulipatam and its neighbourhood: this, in the estimation of the Burmese at least, is very inferior in quality to what is raised in the upper provinces of their own country, and, generally, does not fetch above one-third of the price of the best description of the latter. The following sketch of the trade of the port of Rangoon, which was furnished to me by an intelligent person long engaged in it, will show that it has partaken of the augmentation and prosperity which have, of late years, characterized other branches of the Indian trade. For some years previous to 1811, the number of square-rigged vessels which cleared-out of Rangoon was from eighteen to twenty-five annually. A striking increase took place in 1811, consequent probably on the capture of the French and Dutch possessions, and the suppression of privateering. From that year to 1817, the annual number was from thirty-five to thirty-six ships. From 1817 to 1822, the average was forty ships; and in this last

year itself they amounted to fifty-six. Previous to 1811, the quantity of cotton goods paid as duty to the King was from four to six thousand pieces yearly, for the most part coarse, and not worth above five ticals each. The average, or five thousand pieces, would make the whole imports at this time 50,000, and their value would be 250,000 ticals. The duty received in specie, at this time, was from 6000 to 12,000 ticals yearly; or, on an average, 9000: so that the whole imports, thus far, would amount only to 340,000 ticals, or reckoning each tical at two shillings and sixpence, to 42,000*l.* From the year 1811 to 1816 inclusive, the cotton goods paid as duties yearly, amounted to from six to nine thousand pieces, and their quality was so improved that they were now reckoned worth eight ticals each. This would make the value of the duties, on an average of the quantity, 60,000, and the imports 600,000 ticals. The duties paid in specie now ranged from 14,000 to 22,000 ticals, or on an average 16,500. The whole imports would consequently be 76,500 ticals, or 93,625*l.* From the year 1817 to 1822, the cotton goods paid in as duties ranged yearly from 9000 to 14,000 pieces, or were on an average 11,500. The greater portion was now of British manufacture, and each piece was reckoned at the average value of ten ticals. The duties paid in specie ranged from 32,000 to 44,000 ticals. The value of the whole imports, according to this statement, and omitting, as in the last cases, other articles paid in kind, was 1,530,000 ticals, or 191,250*l.* In the last year of this period, or 1822, the duty paid on cotton goods amounted to 14,600 pieces; and in broad cloth, of which very little was previously imported, to 280 pieces, the first valued at ten ticals each, and the last at one hundred and twenty. The duty paid in specie was 46,000 ticals, and consequently the whole import trade would amount to 2,256,000 ticals, or 282,000*l.* which shows, in the short period of twelve years, an extension of between five and six hundred per cent.; a remarkable increase under a rude government, by which commerce is not protected but oppressed, and which may, for the most part, be traced to the influence of the freedom introduced

into the intercourse between Great Britain and India; in a word, to the beneficial influence of British enterprise and capital. If to the statement now given be added the other articles paying duty in kind, the imports of Rangoon will certainly not be over-rated at 300,000*l.* a-year, and the exports, whether in produce or specie, being taken at the same amount, the whole trade will be 600,000*l.* a-year.

My opportunities and information will not allow me to give any thing beyond a very brief sketch of the useful natural products of the Burmese dominions. In the Mineral kingdom there exist, limestone and marble, gems, noble serpentine, iron, gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, antimony, amber, coal, petroleum, nitre, natron, and salt. In a mineralogical view, the Burmese territory may be described as consisting of four divisions:—the great alluvial plain, formed by the *débouchemens* of the Irawadi, the Setang, and the Saluen rivers; the country of secondary, or tertiary formation, extending from between the 18th and 19th degrees of north latitude to near the 22nd; the extensive mountainous tract of primary formation lying to the north, the north-east, and east of Ava, consisting for the most part of Lao, or the country of the Shans; and the hilly regions which form the western boundary of the valleys of the Irawadi and Kyen-dwen. The first, as might be expected, is remarkably destitute of mineral products, and it is the third which, from all accounts, is most distinguished for its mineral wealth. Limestone exists in great abundance in the province of Martaban, and in the mountains about the capital; and the lime afforded by both is remarkable for its whiteness and purity. Statuary marble, as I have already described in the Journal, exists about forty miles above Ava, at a place called Sakyin, on the eastern bank of the Irawadi. It is, from all I could learn, abundant and accessible; and as to its quality, I have the high authority of Mr. Chantrey for saying, that he considers it, judging from the specimens he has seen in England, as equal to that of Carrara. The Burmese have some scruples against allowing strangers to carry off marble images, but would have none against permitting the exportation of the rough material, when

they found themselves deriving a profit from it. It might, therefore, I conceive, be advantageously sent to England for statuary. With the exception of a few miles of land carriage, the Irawadi would convey it all the way to the sea, and the freight of dead weight to Europe is known to be very moderate, from the want of heavy goods in remitting from India. The Chinese, who are well acquainted with such operations, might be advantageously engaged in quarrying it, and conveying it to the place of embarkation.

The precious stones ascertained to exist in the Burmese territory, are chiefly those of the sapphire family and the spinelle ruby. They are found at two places, not very distant from each other, called Mogaut and Kyat-pëan, about five days' journey from the capital, in an east-south-east direction. From what I could learn, the gems are not obtained by any regular mining operations, but by digging and washing the gravel in the beds of rivulets or small brooks. All the varieties of the sapphire, as well as the spinelle, are found together, and along with them large quantities of corundum. The varieties ascertained to exist, are the oriental sapphire (Nila); the oriental ruby, called Pata-mra, and Kyaok-ni, or red stone; the opalescent ruby, called Pata-mra kaong-wen, or the cat's eye ruby; the star ruby; the green, the yellow and the white sapphires; and the oriental amethyst. The common sapphire is by far the most frequent, but in comparison with the ruby is very little prized by the Burmese, in which they agree with other nations. I brought home with me several of great size, the largest weighing no less than 3630 grains, or above nine hundred and seven carats.

While I was at Ava, two stones, partaking equally of the sapphire and ruby, were brought to me for sale. One of these, the property of the queen's brother, was a very fine gem, without a flaw, the red and blue colour nearly dividing it into two equal and distinct parts: five hundred ticals, or about sixty pounds, were asked for it. I did not purchase it at once; and when I inquired for it a few days afterwards, I found that it had been stolen from the owner. Another stone, a very large one, a portion of which was white and the remainder sapphire-coloured, was also brought to me for sale: it was,

however, very imperfect, and of little value. Among some rubies which I brought home, one of considerable size was a fine and perfect Asteria, or star-stone. The spinelle ruby, Zebu-gaong, is not unfrequent in Ava, but is not much valued by the natives. I brought with me to England a perfect specimen, both as to colour and freedom from flaws, weighing twenty-two carats. The sapphire and ruby mines are considered the property of the King, or at least he lays claim to all that exceed in value a viss of silver, or one hundred ticals. The miners often, it appears, evade this law, by breaking the large stones into fragments. In the royal treasury, there are, notwithstanding, many fine stones of both descriptions. The year before our visit, the King received from the mines one ruby weighing 124 grains; and the year preceding that, eight good ones, but of smaller size. No stranger is permitted to visit the mines; even the Chinese and Mohammedans residing at Ava are carefully excluded. Noble serpentine, called by the Burmese Kyaok-sin, or green stone, is exported in considerable quantities by the Chinese to their own country, being there used, as I understand, for rings and amulets. From what I could learn, it is obtained in certain mountains in the country of the Kyen.

There appears to be no deficiency of iron ore in the Burmese dominions. Mines of it are wrought in the vicinity of the mountain Paopa, in the country of Lao, and other places. From the ignorance of the natives, and the want of machinery, and not from any defect in the ores, the metal obtained is so imperfect as to lose from thirty to fifty per cent. in the process of forging it; and I do not understand that the Burmese are at all acquainted with the art of preparing steel, or of fabricating utensils of cast iron.

Gold is found in small quantities by washing the sand of brooks, in a few situations, such as Shwe-gyen, which lies at no great distance from the town of Pegu; and I was informed that it existed more abundantly in Lao. It does not appear, however, that it is plentiful in any part of the Burmese dominions; and the greater quantity of what is used in gilding, in trinkets, and as currency, seems to be imported from China. This was estimated to

me at six hundred viss a year, which is equal to 60,000 ticals in weight. According to Burman estimate, gold is seventeen times the value of silver, which makes the amount 1,020,000 ticals, or, at 2*s.* to the tical, 102,000*l.*

Silver mines are wrought only in one place in the Burmese dominions, called Bor-twang. This seems to be in the territory of Lao, towards the Chinese frontier, and distant twelve days' journey from B'hamó. The undertakers and labourers are both Chinese,—a circumstance which obtains in respect to all effectual mining undertakings conducted among the semi-barbarous neighbours of China, Tonquinese, Siamese, and Malays, as well as the Burmans. The tax paid by the Chinese undertakers to the King of Ava, is forty-eight viss, or 48,000 ticals. I think it probable that these thrifty and prudent people would not pay more than a twentieth part of the gross produce as tax, considering the expensive and laborious nature of the employment, and the barbarous nature of the country in which it is conducted. If this be the case, the produce may be estimated at 960,000 ticals, or £120,000. My information respecting these mines was supplied at Ava by two Chinese merchants, who had visited them.—Copper, tin, lead, and antimony, are said to exist abundantly in the mountainous country of Lao. In the market of Ava, we found a good many specimens of copper ore, which had been brought there for alchemical purposes, and which, we were assured, came from the last-named country. They seemed to me to be a massive carbonate of a stalactitic form. I could not find, however, that any copper mines are worked by the Burmese; and they are indebted for their supply of this metal to the Chinese. Tin ore is asserted by the Burmese to be found in Lao, and I believe that some mines or washings are worked. The Chinese, however, import some; but whether the produce of their own country, or of some neighbouring one, I could not learn. In Lao, also, there is found lead and antimony, and both are wrought and smelted. We found ores of each in the market of Ava, brought there for the same purpose as the ores of copper. Lead, however, I find to be among the Chinese imports. Indeed, such is the rude state of Burmese industry, that the metallic wealth

of the country generally, may be described as lying in a great measure useless and neglected, and it seems generally to be cheaper to import from foreign countries than to produce on the spot.

Mines of amber, called Ambong by the Burmese, are worked at Parentwang, a place near B'hamó. In what geognostic situation it is found I could not learn. It seems to be abundant, for the cost of the unwrought material at Ava does not exceed seven ticals per viss, or is under four shillings per pound.—Traces of coal, as mentioned in the Journal, have been found in the Burmese territory; and it is indeed highly probable, from the geological formation of a great portion of it, that this mineral is very extensively diffused. During our visit, the King had expressed much desire to be possessed of a steam-vessel, and it was suggested to him that, coal being the most convenient fuel, some inconvenience might arise from the want of it, especially as wood was comparatively scarce and high-priced in the neighbourhood of the capital. Specimens of Bengal coal were shown to him; and he and his courtiers immediately observed, that there was abundance of the mineral in the country.

The Petroleum wells of Re-nan-gyaong have been already described in the Journal. From the more accurate information which I obtained at Ava, it appears that the produce of these may be estimated at the highest, in round numbers, at about twenty-two millions of viss, each of $3\frac{65}{100}$ pounds, avoirdupois. This estimate is formed from the report of the Myo-Thugyi, who rents the tax on the wells, which is five in a hundred. His annual collection is 25,000 ticals; and he estimated, or conjectured, that he lost by smuggling about 8,000, making the total 33,000. The value of the whole produce, therefore, is 660,000 ticals. The value of the oil on the spot is reckoned at three ticals per hundred viss, and consequently its amount will be as above stated.

Nitre, natron, and culinary salt are found in many of the arid and calcareous tracts in the upper provinces of the Burmese empire, and chiefly in the neighbourhood of the capital. The first of these is found in the state of an

efflorescence or incrustation on the surface of the earth, as in Bengal. What we obtained from the market of Ava, was fine and in large crystals, appearing to have been well prepared. It was, however, a great deal dearer than saltpetre of the same quality in the market of Calcutta; indeed much is imported from the latter place into Pegu. Natron is also found in the state of an incrustation on the ground: what we saw had undergone no purification, but was full of earthy impurities. In this state it is used by the Burmese instead of soap, a preparation with which they seem to be unacquainted. The price by retail does not exceed forty shillings per ton, and no doubt, in the large way, it might be obtained much cheaper, so that it may be concluded, that it would afford to pay freight as an article of exportation to Europe. Salt, or muriate of soda, is found in many of the lakes of the upper provinces, under circumstances which I have alluded to in the Journal. From this there can be little doubt of the existence of salt in beds, although I could not find that its presence in this form has been actually determined.

Among the useful Vegetable productions of Ava, the teak tree holds a distinguished place. The forests of this invaluable timber are unquestionably the most extensive in India. The teak is, I believe, no where to be found in the low alluvial lands to which the tides reach; but in the high lands beyond their influence, it seems to be very generally disseminated throughout the kingdom. In our own progress to Ava, we noticed it all the way from Shwe-daong to Melun, a distance of at least one hundred and fifty miles. Dr. Wallich found it, again, growing side by side with oaks in the range of mountains north-east of Ava; and in our new acquisitions to the south of the Saluen, we found that on the three rivers which water the province of Martaban, the teak tree began to make its appearance as soon as the influence of the tides had ceased. The most convenient and accessible, if not the finest forest in the country, is that of Sarawadi, which furnishes nearly the whole of what is exported to foreign countries. Other considerable forests of teak exist in the provinces of Lain, Tongo, Bassein, and Shwe-gyen; and the capital

is supplied from a place called Mom-mai, fifteen days' journey on the Irawadi, above the capital. This last timber is smaller generally than that of Sarawadi, but equal to it in quality, and equally cheap; for I found on inquiry that timber of the same scantling cost at Ava only twenty-five per cent. more than in Sarawadi. The teak of Ava is considered less durable when employed in naval architecture than that of Malabar; but it has been determined by experiments carefully made in the arsenal of Fort William, to be stronger than the last, and therefore fitter for gun-carriages and machinery. Among the Burmese the wood most prized for its strength and durability, after the teak, is one called in their language Thingan; this is the *Hopæa odorata* of botanists, a large forest tree, very abundant in the lower provinces. It is used in boat-building, and the common canoes are often made of an entire tree of it, hollowed out. Another tree, highly esteemed in our Indian arsenals for the toughness and hardness of its wood, exists in great quantities and of large size on the sea-coast, and every where within the influence of the tides, its natural locality. This is the Soondry of India, and the *Heretiera robusta* of botanists. My friend Dr. Wallich, when I left him, had already discovered seven new species of oak, many of them fine forest trees, of which the timber promises to be useful. Ava is not the natural country of firs, nor do I believe any tree of the pine family has been discovered to exist in any part of the country. Among the most useful products of the Burman forests may be named the bamboo, which, in the lower parts of the country, grows to an extraordinary size; occasionally, indeed, to the girth of twenty-three or twenty-four inches, so that joints of it make convenient vessels for drawing water from wells, and similar domestic uses. The *Mimosa catechu*, a tree rising to the height of thirty and forty feet, is very generally disseminated both in the forests of the upper and lower provinces. This affords the catechu or terra japonica, which in the Malay countries is yielded by a very different plant, the *Uncaria gambir*. From the mimosa the drug is obtained by boiling the wood cut down into chips and inspissating the produce. This rude manufacture is carried on throughout the country; but the produce of the

upper provinces is clearer in colour, and finer, than that of the lower. The article is much used in the country, and largely exported, particularly to Bengal. The timber of the *Mimosa catechu*, which is often of large scantling, and that of other species of the same genus, all of which are strong, tough, and durable, are much employed for economical purposes, such as in the fabrication of ploughs, harrows, &c. Another useful produce of the Burman forests, is the varnish from which the Shans and Burmese fabricate the lacquer ware already described. The finest kind is the produce of the country of the Shans. From the forests of the same country is obtained a large quantity of stick lac of excellent quality.

Burman Agriculture embraces the following productions: rice, maize, millet, wheat, various pulses, palms, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, and indigo. Rice (in Burmese, S'han,) is the great object of husbandry throughout the kingdom. The mode of cultivation in the upper provinces has been already noticed. Here the plough is used in turning up the soil, which is afterwards pulverized by means of a wooden cylinder between eight and nine cubits long, dragged and not rolled along the ground, and by a rude harrow. The rice is sown first in beds, and afterwards transplanted. Two crops a year are generally obtained, and occasionally three; the best during the periodical rains, and the others through means of artificial irrigation; a process conducted very rudely and expensively, being chiefly effected through manual labour. The best crops in the upper provinces seldom afford a return of above fifteen or twenty fold for the seed. In the alluvial lands of the southern provinces, the plough is rarely used. A rude harrow and the treading of cattle, when the earth is softened and reduced nearly to a puddle in the season of the monsoon, prepare the ground sufficiently for the grain, which is sown broad-cast, and there is generally no subsequent transplanting. One crop only is taken from the land; but instead of a return of fifteen or twenty fold, fifty and sixty are not an unfrequent one; so that with less than one third the labour, the whole annual produce is at least equal to that of the upper provinces. The consequence of this is, that rice

in the upper provinces is commonly at least fifty per cent. higher than in the lower, while the crops are much more precarious. It is, therefore, an article of export from the latter to the former.

Maize, in Burman Praong-bu, and Indian millet, or *Holcus sorghum*, are cultivated to a considerable extent in the upper provinces as winter or cold weather crops. Either from unsuitableness of soil, or unskilful culture, and perhaps indeed from both, the produce is small in comparison to that of other countries. For the first, the highest return given to me was one hundred fold for the seed; whereas, in other parts of the world, four hundred, and five hundred, are not unfrequent.—Wheat, which would probably not grow in the lower provinces, is grown, as before mentioned, in small quantities in the neighbourhood of the capital. The grain is of a good quality, and the returns ample; but as bread, this grain is no favourite with the Burmese. Shortly after the war, the British authorities at Rangoon directed a quantity of wheat to be sold, with the view of relieving the poor from a temporary scarcity. Although a much more valuable grain in India generally than rice, the Burmese would not give nearly the same price for it; and when compelled from necessity to use it, they boiled it whole as they would have done rice, being ignorant of any other mode of preparing it for food. Had the upper country been colonized by any of the western races of men, wheat, and not rice, would in all probability have constituted the chief object of husbandry. —The pulses most commonly cultivated are the *Phaseolus-max*, the *Dolichos Bengalensis*, the *Cicer arietinum*, and the *Arachis hypogæa* or ground nut. All of these are used for human food, and not given to cattle. The first two are the least productive, but the most esteemed. The third, commonly known to Europeans in the Bengal provinces by the name of gram, is doubly more productive then these, but it is a coarse pulse. It is known in the Burmese language by the name of Kula-pia, or "the western foreigners' bean." It is no doubt, therefore, an exotic, and in all likelihood was, like wheat, introduced from Bengal, in times too not very remote. The Arachis is cultivated, but in small quantities, and never on account of its oil,

as in some other countries of the East. Pulses are chiefly cultivated in the upper provinces, and the *Cicer arietinum*, or gram, is exclusively confined to these. The only oil-giving plant in the husbandry of the Burmese is the *Sesamum Indicum*, (N'han); but this is an object of very general culture throughout all the upper provinces. The oil is used by them in cookery, being their only substitute for butter; and where petroleum is high priced, it is burned. The oil-cake makes an useful provender for the working cattle in the dry season, when the arid lands of the upper provinces are parched, and the pasture scanty or destroyed.—Tea is cultivated on the hills by some of the mountain races, but it does not exist nearer Ava than five days' journey, and we consequently saw none of it growing. The best is grown by the race called D'hanu, whose country lies to the north-east of Ava, distant about ten days' journey. The leaves are elliptic, oblong, and serrated like the Chinese plant; and the Burmese, not following the practice of other nations, designate the latter by the native name of their own plant, Lap'het. There is little doubt, therefore, but that it is a genuine *Thea*, and most probably a native of the country. The Burmese eat the leaf prepared with oil and garlic, and never use the infusion as they do that of Chinese tea, which they call Lap'het-re, or tea-water.

The cocoa and areca palms are not very frequent in the southern provinces, even in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they might naturally be looked for; and as we proceed northward, they become more and more scarce, until at the capital they are only to be seen as rarities. The upper provinces, however, abound in the palmyra, or *Borassus flabelliformis*, especially the arid country, extending for two hundred miles below the capital, where immense groves of it are cultivated. A cheap but impure sugar is obtained from the wine of this palm, which is a substitute for that of the cane, and universally consumed throughout the country, forming an article of considerable export from the upper to the lower provinces.

The sugar-cane, called Kran in the native language, seems to have been long known to the Burmese, but it is cultivated only in trifling quantities, to

be eaten in its crude state; and the art of manufacturing sugar from it, is either not known, or not practised by them. Many parts of the country seem well suited to the growth of this plant, for the purpose of sugar; and if the Government were to give the same encouragement to the Chinese, as that of Siam does, sugar would, no doubt, soon become a valuable article of export; but in its present disposition, so wise and liberal a measure is hardly to be looked for.—Tobacco is chiefly cultivated in the upper provinces, of which the climate appears most suitable to it, and it is an article of import from thence to the lower. It requires, as usual, the best soils, and its growth is consequently confined to a few particular districts. The name by which it is known to the Burmans, S'ha, implies, as in the Siamese language, "medicine." From this it may be inferred, that on its first introduction it was used medicinally, and held up, probably, as an infallible remedy.—Cotton, called Gwon in Burmese, is grown in every part of the kingdom, and in all its dependencies, but in greatest quantities in the dry lands and climate of the upper provinces. The texture is fine and silky, but the staple short. At the market of Dacca, it brings a higher price than the ordinary varieties of Indian cotton. The species universally cultivated, is the *Gossypium herbaceum*, or annual herbaceous kind, with a seed from which the wool is separated with difficulty.—Indigo, called, in the Burman language, Mai, is grown in every part of the kingdom, and is said to be an indigenous product. The culture is rude, and the manufacture still more so; rendering the produce wholly unfit for exportation. The rich alluvial lands of the lower provinces are eminently well suited to the growth of this valuable plant, and, with a moderate share of protection, the manufacture might, no doubt, be carried on to a great extent. An intelligent Armenian merchant had commenced it in the district of Sarwa, when his enterprise was interrupted by the war. I am not aware of any other plant exclusively cultivated as a dyeing drug. The sapan-wood is the produce of the forests; safflower is imported from Bengal; and turmeric and the jack-tree are as much cultivated for culinary purposes, as for the dyes which they yield. In the upper provinces, a

species of Crotalaria is cultivated for cordage, and in the southern provinces the rattan is the principal substitute.

The rudeness and barbarism of the Burmese appear no where more striking than in their gardening and horticulture. Green vegetables and fruits form a considerable portion of their diet, but a great part of them are culled from the forests and marshes, and are not the result of cultivation. The young shoots of the bamboo, wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a variety of aquatic plants and uncultivated arums, which, in other Asiatic countries, would hardly be deemed esculent at all, are among the most frequent vegetables to be met with in a Burman market. The flowers, which are so much used by the Burmese in their offerings at the temples, are very frequently the produce of the forest; and when exotics, of a culture as rude and negligent as possible. A similar observation applies to fruits, although, perhaps, not to the same extent. In the upper provinces, the yam, or *Dioscorea*, and the sweet potatoe, or *Batata*, are cultivated, but not extensively or generally. When the British army occupied the lower part of the country, I recollect, that the first of these roots was imported into Rangoon all the way from Malacca. The common potatoe is wholly unknown to the Burmese. In the same manner, they are strangers to all our ordinary garden vegetables, such as peas, carrots, cabbages, turnips, mustard, cresses, radishes, &c. Even melons, cucumbers, and the egg-plant, so generally cultivated in other parts of India, are rare or little attended to in Ava. Onions are produced in some of the mountainous parts of the upper provinces, and imported from Lao. They are an article of trade to the lower provinces, where they are unknown as objects of culture. The capsicum is, after salt, the most general condiment used by the Burmese; and this hardy, productive, and cheap article, is universally cultivated in every part of the country. The most skilfully, and one of the most universally cultivated objects of Javanese gardening, is the betel pepper. In the damp climate of Pegu, it is grown with comparatively little care; but in the upper provinces it requires shade, irrigation, and attention.

In the cultivation of fruits, the Burmese are, I think, unquestionably below all their neighbours, and especially the Siamese. The varieties known to them are small, and no skill or pains are bestowed on their culture. The most common fruits are the mango, the orange, the pine, the custard apple, the jack, the papaya-fig, and the plaintain. The mango, (in Burman, Tharet,) is a fruit of which the quality depends greatly on the variety which is cultivated. The Burmese seem to practise little selection, and, of course, it is with them a very poor and indifferent fruit. There is one species of this genus, peculiar to Pegu, known to the Mohammedans of the country under the name of the Mariam. It is a small fruit, about the size and shape of a green-gage, and is much cultivated and prized by the natives, although little palatable to an European. The pine-apple is a very indifferent fruit in the upper provinces, but in Pegu it grows in great perfection, although receiving as little attention as if it were a denizen of the forest. In size and flavour it is equal to the best raised in this country, but inferior, in the first respect, to those produced nearer the equator, such as at Malacca and similar places. The name given to it by the Burmese, An-nat, is the nearest approximation which their pronunciation will admit to the original one, and points at its foreign origin. The plaintain, the papaya-fig, (*Carica papaja,*) and the custard-apple, (*Psidium pomiferum,*) being all hardy fruits, which require little care, and, indeed, grow almost spontaneously, are favourites with the Burmese; but of their kinds they are very indifferent. The durian and mangostin, *Durio* and *Garcinia mangostana,* are found no farther north than Tavoy, in latitude fourteen degrees. Their names are a corruption of the Malay ones, from which there can be little doubt that they have been borrowed from the Indian islands.

The useful Quadrupeds domesticated by the Burmese are, the ox, the buffalo, the horse, and the elephant. Both oxen (Nwa) and buffaloes (Kuwe) are used throughout the country; but the latter greatly prevail in the low-lands, and the former in the upper. Both are of a very good description, and commonly in high order; indeed, the rural economy of the Burmans

appears nowhere to so much advantage as in their care of these animals. With respect to oxen, the males are commonly emasculated, and these, for the most part, only are used in labour, the females being neither fed nor worked. The cost of rearing them is comparatively high; a circumstance to be accounted for, from the religious prejudice, which interdicts their use as food, and which, therefore, leaves no profitable means of disposing of the old or imperfect cattle. The buffalo, a more docile animal than the ox, except to strangers, is not emasculated, and both males and females are used in labour. In places congenial to it, it is also more easily reared than the ox, being satisfied with coarser pasture; and it is consequently much cheaper. Notwithstanding superior strength, however, the buffalo is slow, impatient of heat and drought, and therefore incapable of long-continued exertion. Its use is therefore confined to agricultural labour; and the ox, whether for burthen or draught, is alone used in conveying goods and merchandize on long journeys.

The full-sized horse is unknown in Ava, as in every country of tropical Asia, east of Bengal. The Burman horses rarely exceed thirteen hands high. They are somewhat larger and stronger than the races of the Indian islands, but inferior to these in symmetry, spirit, and action. They are also much more costly. It is the general practice to castrate the males, which is contrary to the usage of the Indian islanders. Horses are rarely used by the Burmese as beasts of burthen, and never for draught; and their chief use is for the saddle. In the alluvial districts, where, indeed, there is seldom any footing for them, horses are rarely to be seen; but they prevail in every other part of the country, and appear to be most numerous in the hilly country of Lao, from whence they are brought for sale to the capital. The true Burman horse, however, is preferred to that of Lao.

Respecting the elephant, I have communicated in the Journal whatever came under my observation. In Ava, this animal is at present a mere object of royal luxury and ostentation; for, unless probably in Lao, I do not find that it is any where used as a beast of burthen; although,

as such, it might, no doubt, be very advantageously employed in many parts of the country. The hog is domesticated among the Burmese, but being used only as a scavenger, and taken no care of, its habits are offensive and disgusting to the last degree. The dog is seen, unknown and uncared for, as in other parts of the East. These animals prowl about the villages unmolested, their numbers being kept down only by disease and famine. At the capital, they are the most miserable and half-starved creatures that can be imagined. Cats are numerous, and generally of a similar breed with the Malay cat; that is, having half a tail only; they are excellent mousers. The ass (Mré), the sheep (Tho), and the goat (S'hait), although apparently bearing native names, are little known in the domestic economy of the Burmese. About the capital there are a few goats and sheep, of a puny race, kept more for curiosity than use. I saw there also a few asses, which were ascertained to have been brought from China. The camel, although a beast of burthen sufficiently well suited to the upper portion of the country, is not known to the Burmese.

Of poultry, a few common fowls and ducks alone are reared, chiefly, I believe, for the purpose of being clandestinely sold to the Chinese, Christian, and Mohammedan residents.

In a country so abounding in deserts and forests, and so little under the dominion of man, wild animals and game are numerous. The most remarkable quadrupeds are the elephant, rhinoceros, hog, deer, oxen and buffaloes, bears, otters, the tiger, leopard, with wild and civet cats.* The elephant is found in all the deep forests of the country, from one extremity to the other, and is peculiarly abundant in those of Pegu. The varieties do not differ specifically from the common Asiatic elephant of naturalists, as was proved by the comparison of some teeth, which I brought home, with those of the Bengal elephant. The rhinoceros is the common Indian one, with a single horn. This animal is sufficiently abundant in the forests of Pegu, but probably less so than the elephant. Both are hunted by the Karyens, and their flesh held not only to be esculent, but delicate. The hog, as in other parts of the East,

is spread all over the wild parts of the country. Several species of deer exist, such as the Indian roe and stag. The latter is more frequent in the forests of Pegu, than I have ever heard of its being in any other part of India. Notwithstanding their religion, these are hunted by the natives for their flesh. The common mode of doing so is as follows:—the hunters assemble in a large party in the grassy plains, which are the favourite haunt of the deer, and forming a circle, gradually contract it, until the terrified animals are reduced within a very small compass. A fence of very frail materials, but quite sufficient to confine them in their terror, is then constructed; and into these the hunters enter, and cut down the game with their swords. A party of English gentlemen that had just returned from a hunting-party of this description, when I last visited Martaban, informed me that a surprisingly small number escaped over the fence, and that about thirty were killed. Another mode of hunting them was described to me by the natives. The hunter, in this case, goes into the forest, in a dark night, with a torch in one hand, and his sword in the other. The deer, attracted by the light, are said to come up to it fearlessly, and are cut down without difficulty. No species of the antelope is found in the Burman territory, not even in the dry plains of the upper country, where their appearance might have been looked for. Oxen and buffaloes are both of them natives of the Burman forests. The first are known by a distinct name (Saing) from the domesticated breed, but there is no good reason to believe that they differ specifically. Of the feline tribe, the royal tiger, the spotted leopard, and several species of cats, are numerous in the forests of Ava, especially in those of the southern provinces. It is remarkable, that none of the canine family, so frequent in the neighbouring country of Hindostan, are, so far as is known, to be found within the Burman dominions. There are neither wolves, jackals, foxes, nor hyenas; and this zoological feature is said to extend to all the countries of tropical Asia lying east of Bengal.

Game is probably less abundant in the Burmese dominions than in Hindostan. The variety, however, is considerable. The hare is not known in

Pegu, but makes its appearance in the high-lands before the disembogue-ment of the Irawadi. It is a small animal, similar, in all respects, to the Indian hare. The flesh of both, in comparison with that of the European hare, is insipid. Of gallinaceous birds, the wild cock is very generally spread over the country. It is of the same species as the wild fowl of Hindustan, and is invariably an inhabitant of the forests, where it is to be found in coveys, like our partridge and moor game. Two species of pheasants, I imagine un-described, are sufficiently numerous in the forests of Pegu. They are both small birds, and much inferior in size and beauty of plumage to the phea-sants of China and Nepal. The other birds of this family ascertained to exist are the peacock, and some partridges and quails. The snipe, a bird which seems to abound in every part of the world where there are marshes, from the arctic to the antarctic circle, is sufficiently abundant in Ava. Geese and ducks, many of them birds of passage, are numerous in the upper provinces. In the lower the goose does not appear, and ducks are not numerous.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Geographical Description—Limits, and Extent.—General aspect.—Rivers—Lakes—Sea-coast and Harbours.—Civil Divisions.—Towns.—Population.—British Conquests.—Arracan, Martaban, Yé, Tavoy, and Mergui.

THE correct limits and real extent of the Burmese dominions are, as may well be supposed, unknown to Europeans; and, in general, I have nothing better than probable conjecture to offer on this important subject. The extreme Western limits may be described as extending as far as the 93° of east longitude, and the extreme Eastern as far as about 98° 40′. The utmost Southern limits are in latitude 15° 45′ north, and the extreme Northern, probably between 26° and 27°. The extreme breadth of the country, therefore, comprises better than 5½° of longitude, and the extreme length, about 11° of latitude. We may conjecture that the area is, in round numbers, about 184,000 square miles, English. The present Burmese dominions are bounded to the South by the sea; to the West by Arracan, and by the petty states of Cassay, or Kathé, and Assam, or Athan; to the North and North-east by the Chinese province of Yunan; and to the East by the independent and the Siamese portion of Lao.

The aspect of the country from the sea, up to the latitude of 17½°, is low and champaign. From thence, to near the 22°, it is entitled to the denomination of hilly and elevated; and beyond this it is, from all accounts, decidedly mountainous. To the West and North-west, chains of mountains divide it from Arracan, Cassay, and Assam, often of great elevation. The Bur-

man territory is watered by four considerable rivers; viz. the Saluen, the Setang, the Irawadi, and the Kyen-dwen, all of which have a southerly course, marking the character of the country as a plain, inclined from north to south. The first of these will afterwards be referred to. The Setang, where it is of great breadth, is rather a considerable arm of the sea than a river. Beyond the reach of the tides, it is, from all accounts, an inconsiderable stream; and even as low down as the town of Tongo, it is only navigable for boats. Its mouth is not only choked up with sand-banks, but is liable to a dangerous bore, so as to make its navigation impracticable for large, and difficult and precarious for any description of vessels.

The Irawadi, the largest river of Ava, is said to be navigable only for canoes at the town of B'hamó; which, according to the Burmese, is the same travelling distance from the city of Ava that Prome is, or about three hundred miles. Its source, if I am rightly informed, cannot be traced to any one principal fountain, but to numerous petty streams coming from the mountains of Lao, and of the Chinese province of Yunan. I have described it in the Journal as being swollen by a few days' heavy rain; a proof, that above Ava it is a stream of no great magnitude, and that its source cannot be very remote. It may farther be added, that had it been navigable from China, the Chinese trade to Ava would naturally have been conveyed by it; whereas it is altogether conveyed by land, even from B'hamó to the Burman capital.* From the town of Ava to its *debouchement*, the Irawadi receives no tributary stream of the least importance, except the Kyen-dwen, and does not throw off a single branch. Its debouchement commences shortly after it quits the hilly land of Ava and enters Pegu. It then throws off a great many branches of various

* In May and June 1827, Lieutenants Wilcox and Burlton crossed the Langtan mountains from Seddiya, and visited the Irawadi, in latitude about 27° 30′: this spot was represented to them by the natives as being about fifty miles to the south of its source, which consisted of numerous small streams, issuing out of lofty mountains covered with perpetual snow. At the spot they visited it, the river was but eighty yards broad. The conjectures thrown out in the text, respecting the origin of the Irawadi, were written before I became possessed of the information in this note.

magnitude, watering an immense extent of country, and affording a convenience of internal navigation, to which there are few parallels in any country. It falls into the sea by not less than fourteen different channels.

The Kyen-dwen river, much inferior in size to the Irawadi, appears to have its origin in the mountains of Assam. It falls into the Irawadi in the latitude of 20° 35′, after running over five degrees of latitude in a course nearly south.

The Burman territory contains a great many lakes. Those in the lower provinces are numerous, but small. According to the native statements rendered to Captain Alves, there appear to be in the province of Bassein alone about one hundred and twenty-seven. The lakes of the upper country are much larger, and we had an opportunity of seeing several ourselves of considerable extent. There appears to be one, about twenty-five miles in a north-west direction from the capital, which is above thirty miles in length; but this is the largest in the country.

The Burman territory has about two hundred and forty miles of sea-coast, extending from the Cape of Negrais to that of Kyai-kami, or the new settlement of Amherst. The whole of this is low, marshy, and broken by at least twenty channels of rivers or arms of the sea. The greater number of these, exposed without protection to the open sea, and choked by sand-banks, are unfit for navigation. There are but three harbours; that of Martaban, of Rangoon, and Bassein. Of these, the most convenient, in reference to a commercial intercourse with the interior of Ava, is Rangoon. This is situated on the most eastern branch of the Irawadi, or rather upon an arm of the sea, into which a branch of that river falls. It has at all seasons an uninterrupted intercourse with the main river; a circumstance which constitutes its principal advantage, and has naturally rendered it the emporium of the foreign trade. The river of Bassein is the most westerly branch of the Irawadi. This quits the main trunk of the river, a little way below the town of Henzada, and pursuing a south-south-westerly course, disembogues itself at Cape Negrais. The navigable portion of this river, however, like that of Ran-

goon, is more correctly an arm of the sea. It is practicable for vessels of burthen up to the town of Bassein, and for native trading-vessels to Lamena. Beyond this, however, it is a trifling stream, dry and impassable from November to May; during which period there is, of course, no communication with the main body of the Irawadi. This is the only inconvenience of the Bassein river, which is a more accessible, safer, and centrical port for foreign trade, than that of Rangoon. The harbour of Negrais, towards its entrance, at which the English once had a factory, is particularly convenient; and there is a safe channel for ships both to the east and west of the island which forms it.

The portions of the Burmese territory most distant from the capital are divided into provinces, or vice-royalties; but the number of these seems to be variable and uncertain, and the civil power vested in their governors different. The most frequent civil division appears to be that into Myos, or townships. Of these, an old chief informed me, there were reckoned to be, in the whole empire, according to ancient usage, 4,600; which, I have no doubt, is a great exaggeration. In the Peguan portion of the empire, the number thirty-two seems a favourite; and each of the provinces of Henzawati, Martaban, and Bassein, were said to contain this number of townships. On inquiry, however, neither Henzawati nor Martaban were found to contain half this number, and the actual number in Bassein was ascertained to be eight. Three of the townships of the last-named province were found, by actual enumeration, to contain two hundred and forty villages; and if the remaining five contained a similar proportion, the whole villages of the province would amount to six hundred and forty. The whole province is computed to contain an area of 9,000 miles; and as the empire contains 184,000, the total townships of the kingdom, supposing the proportions to be the same, would be, in round numbers, a hundred and sixty-three, and the villages about 1300. This is, indeed, a very rough estimate; but in the imperfect and crude state of our information, I know no better means of attaining an approximation to the truth.

The towns of the Burman empire, but many of which, however, are little better than large villages, amount, from the best information which I could obtain, to about thirty-two. Of the population of the seven following, a conjectural estimate has been formed as follows:—

Ava, Amarapura, and Sagaing, with their suburbs and districts,	354,200
Rangoon, probably increased since its re-occupation to	12,000
Prome	8,000
Bassein	3,000
Martaban	1,500

Of the remainder, the following are the names; viz. Moksobo, B'hamó, Nya-ong-ran, Moné, Thing-nyi, Kyaong-taong, Debarain, Badong, Salen, or Thalen, Pugan, Badüain, Tongo, Kyaok-mo, Ramathain, Mait'hila, Sagú, Légaing, Maindaong, Shwe-gyen, Patanago, Melun, Myadé, Kyaong-myo, and Si-taong. The following slender notices have been collected respecting a few of these:—Moksobo, commonly called by Europeans, Monchabo, is distant from Ava twenty-six taings, or about fifty-two miles, in a north-west direction, and by a very tolerable carriage-road. It is a walled town, and still a place of considerable population and traffic. In the year of the Burman vulgar era, 1115, corresponding with the year of Christ 1756, Alompra, who was a native of the place, made it his capital, giving it the Pali name of Ratna-thingha, or "the gem lion." B'hamó is said to be a hundred and twenty-five taings distant from Ava, in a direction east of north. This is the principal mart of the Chinese trade, and contains, among its resident inhabitants, a good many Chinese of Yunan. It is surrounded by a wooden stockade, and its governor, one of the most considerable of the kingdom, exercises the powers of a viceroy. Debarain lies west-north-west of Ava, at the distance of thirty-six taings, or seventy-two miles. This place is surrounded by a brick-wall, and is the principal town of a populous province, which, I was told, contained 900,000 Pés of cultivated land. The inland town of Badong, the chief place of a district of the same name, as, indeed, is the case with all other Burmese towns, lies west of Ava, on the right bank of the Irawadi, and distant thirty taings, or

three days' journey.* It is surrounded by a wall of brick. A village of the same district, called Naparen, is celebrated as the birth-place of the Burmese general Bandula. The town of Tongo, fortified by a brick-wall, is said to be a place considerable for its traffic and population. It lies south of Ava; is distant from it a hundred taings, and fifty from the old town of Pegu; or, as it is more correctly written, Bagó. Tongo is situated on the Setang river. In the dry season, boats of four cubits beam, and carrying two hundred baskets of rice—that is, boats of five tons burthen—can go up as far as the town. In the wet season, the largest trading Burman vessels can ascend it. This place is said to have under its jurisdiction fifty-five townships. Ramathain is a large town, half-way between Ava and Tongo, or fifty taings distant from each. Mait'hila, another considerable place on the same road, is distant from Ava forty taings. The town of Kyaong-myo, fortified by a brick-wall, lies thirty taings above Ava, on the right bank of the Irawadi.

All the towns now enumerated lie within the proper country of the Burmese. In that portion of Lao, or the country of the Shans, which is tributary to the Burmans, the most considerable towns are Moné and Thing-nyi. Moné is said to be one of the largest towns of the kingdom, and a place of trade. This is the residence of a Burmese chief, who superintends the affairs of the tributary Shans. Thing-nyi is also a considerable place, lying on the immediate borders of the Siamese portion of Lao.

The population of the Burman empire, before the loss of Arracan, of its conquests to the North-west, and of the provinces South of the Saluen river, was estimated, by former European inquirers, as high as seventeen millions, as nineteen millions, and even as thirty-three millions. The area of the country would then have been about 268,000 square miles; so that the lowest of these estimates would have given above sixty-three inhabitants to the square mile, the second of above seventy, and the third of a hundred and twenty-three.

* The Burmese reckon a day's journey to be ten taings, or about twenty miles.

When it is considered that the greater part of the country is still in a state of nature; that the inhabitants are in a semi-barbarous state, possessing neither agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing industry; that they have lived for ages in a state of war or anarchy; that they are egregiously misgoverned; and, finally, that in a fertile territory and favourable climate, where there is room for a dense population, the effectual wages of labour are not low, as in fully-peopled countries, but high, as in thinly-inhabited ones, it is impossible to believe but that such estimates are greatly over-rated.

We are at present in possession of a few facts, which may lead us to more reasonable conjectures. The provinces South of the Saluen river, depopulated by oppression and consequent emigration, cannot fairly be taken as a standard for the whole empire. Arracan, computed to contain about seven inhabitants to the square mile, will probably make a nearer approach to it. Were the whole Burman territory, then, peopled only in the ratio of this province, it would contain, in round numbers, only 1,380,000 inhabitants. Arracan, however, was a conquered and an ill-governed province, and considerable emigrations from it had taken place into the British territory, so that I have no doubt this estimate is much under the truth. The only portion of the restored provinces, of which an estimate of the area and population was made during our occupation, was Bassein.* The area of this district was reckoned at 9,000 square miles, and the population, according to the Burmese records, at 214,500, which would give near twenty-four inhabitants to the square mile. This rate, applied to the whole kingdom, would give a population of 4,416,000. About thirty years ago, a house-tax was levied on the dwellings of the two great classes of the population, the Burmese and Talains. The amount was thirty-three ticals and a half on each house, and the produce 4,000,000 of ticals. This would make the number of houses 120,000. The houses of all persons in public employment, and the monasteries, however, are not taxed, and through the

* Made by Captain Alves, the able and intelligent officer whom I have before quoted.

malversation of the chiefs, it is reckoned that about a tenth of the produce is withheld. This last circumstance would raise the gross amount of the tax to 4,400,000, and, consequently, the number of houses to 132,000. There is another element, however, to be taken into the calculation. The Burmese, for the express purpose of evading such a tax as this, often run two or even three houses into one. According to the Burmans, each house is reckoned at seven inhabitants; but if we add to these, priests and public functionaries, making, at the same time, some allowance for houses omitted, for the reason just mentioned, the number will probably not be over-rated at twelve, which will give a population of 1,584,000. To complete the population of the kingdom, it would be necessary to add the inhabitants of the tributary States—the Karyens, the Kyens, and other wild or unsettled races. We have, however, in this statement, the effectual strength of the population; the most civilized, and also the most numerous class of the inhabitants. The number of Karyens and Kyens in the province of Bassein, has been estimated, from the Burmese records, at 40,600. Were there, therefore, a similar proportion of the wild races throughout the rest of the empire, their total number would amount, in round numbers, to 830,000. This, added to the last result, would give a total population, exclusive of tributaries, of little short of 2,414,000.

In the Journal, I have attempted to estimate the population from the quantity of petroleum which is consumed; this article, wherever procurable, being universally used by all classes for burning, to the exclusion of oil, wax, or tallow. Petroleum is obtained only at one spot, and here pays a money duty to the Government of five in one hundred. The yearly tax collected, according to the statement of the farmer, amounts to 25,000 ticals; but he reckoned himself to lose by smuggling 8,000 ticals, making the amount of the duty which should be paid, 33,000 ticals. The value of the whole petroleum, according to this statement, would be 660,000 ticals. The price of the oil on the spot is estimated at three ticals per hundred viss, so that the annual produce will be about 22,000,000 of viss. A considerable

quantity of this is used in house and boat-building, which we shall estimate at a fourth part, which reduces the quantity used for burning to 16,500,000. At the capital, the average consumption of a family is estimated, according to the circumstances of the parties, to be from twenty to forty viss per annum. This is at the distance of about two hundred miles from the wells, and against the stream of the river. The average would give an annual consumption of thirty viss, but it will be safer to assume it at the lower estimate of twenty-five. This will make the whole number of families using it 660,000, and reckoning each family (not house) at five persons, we shall have a population of 3,300,000.

I should observe, that petroleum is universally used, wherever the navigation of the Irawadi and Kyen-dwen, with their tributary streams, will allow of its being conveyed; and that it is also carried, to a considerable extent, by land-carriage. It is universally consumed in Pegu, from Bassein to Martaban, and throughout the whole of Upper Ava, embracing the greatest portion of the area of the kingdom, and unquestionably all the best inhabited part of it.

Upon a consideration of the imperfect statements now offered, I am disposed not to rate the population of the Burman empire higher than four millions, or about twenty-two inhabitants to the square mile; an estimate which best accords with the rude and imperfect state of government and society, which so strikingly characterizes the country.

This is, indeed, a miserable population for a great country, possessing a good climate, a fertile soil, navigable rivers, and convenient harbours. The great check to population is bad government, in the form of wars, insurrections, anarchy, ill-administered laws, and oppressive taxation. Famines do not appear to have been frequent, and such as have occurred are rather to be ascribed to civil and political causes than to the soil or climate. Epidemic disorders are neither very frequent nor fatal. The small-pox, and of late years cholera, are probably the only maladies which materially check the increase of population. The plague, the scourge of Eastern

Europe, and Western Asia, is unknown; and malignant and fatal fevers were predominant only in Arracan, now no longer a part of the empire.

Prudential motives have little influence among the Burmans in repressing the increase of population. Marriages are contracted nearly as early as in other Eastern countries; and, with the exception of the priesthood, few persons of either sex are to be found living in a state of celibacy after the age of seventeen or eighteen. Prostitution is not common; and infanticide, and other unnatural practices for repressing population, are not, that I am aware of, known. As to the continuance of child-bearing, it is just the same as in other parts of the world, beginning with the age of puberty, and ending between forty and fifty. The Burmans, in their public records, reckon a family as high as seven individuals, which would seem to imply that numerous families are reared by them. The effectual price of labour varies considerably in different parts of the country, but is everywhere high. It is lowest at the capital and its neighbourhood, where the land is of inferior fertility: the country comparatively well inhabited, and much good land yielding rent under cultivation. There the wages of common field-labour are about fourteen shillings a-month, or eight pounds eight shillings a-year; and the ordinary price of rice, the chief bread-corn throughout the kingdom, about six shillings per cwt. Twelve baskets of rice, or about six cwts., are allowed by the Burmese for the yearly food of a labouring man; but a year's labour will purchase twenty-eight cwts., leaving the value of twenty-two cwts. for the other necessary articles of food, for clothing and house-rent, and leaving a considerable balance for rearing and maintaining a family. The wages of labour at Rangoon are higher, and the price of corn and other articles of food smaller. A day-labourer here receives at the rate of twelve pounds a-year, and the price of rice does not usually exceed three shillings per cwt. At Martaban, the wages of labour are as high as at Rangoon; and the price of rice is generally not higher than twelve shillings per cwt. At Bassein, a day-labourer receives, as at Ava, about fourteen shillings a-month, but the price of rice is only one-half. Artisans, such as carpenters and blacksmiths, receive about one-third more wages than boatmen, or other common

labourers. Flesh, although by no means rejected, is seldom used by the Burmese of any rank; but fish, in various forms, is universally consumed; and the ordinary condiments throughout the country are capsicum and salt. The retail price of salt, in the lower provinces, may be quoted at about four shillings and three pence per cwt.; of pickled fish the same, and of dry fish, about eighteen shillings. In the upper provinces, all these articles, as well as fuel, and the materials of house-building, are much more costly. These rates of the price of labour may be compared to those of our old and densely peopled provinces in Hindustan. A day-labourer in Bengal will hardly earn three pounds a-year; and the cost of rice is nearly the same as in the lower provinces of the Burman empire; salt, fish, and house-rent, being much higher. An instructive example of the beneficial effect of high wages is afforded by comparing wages at Calcutta and Rangoon. A carpenter, of the best description, at Calcutta, earns only twenty shillings a-month, while one at Rangoon will earn thirty. The wages of the native of Bengal will purchase about eight hundred pounds of rice; that of the Burman, about eleven hundred and twenty. Beggary, as may be readily inferred from these statements, is very unfrequent among the Burmese; and, with the exception of the voluntary mendicity of the priesthood, is confined to a few unfortunate persons, driven to it more by superstition than necessity.

Under the very favourable circumstances now described, nothing seems wanting to insure a great increase of population in the Burmese dominions, but a moderate share of peace, tranquillity, and security. In the cessions made to ourselves, those benefits may be safely calculated upon; and in such of them as enjoy the advantage of a good climate and fertile soil, we may, with some abatement for the stubborn habits of a semi-barbarous people, expect to see here a rapidity of increase in population, more resembling that of an American colony, than what we have been accustomed to in our old Indian possessions. The capital and example of strangers will not only accelerate this increase, but insure its being accompanied by improvement.

In the mean while, it is some satisfaction to find that the high rate of

wages among the Burmese tends greatly to mitigate the despotism, which, by repressing population, gives rise to it. Owing to high wages, and probably to this alone, the labouring classes are, upon the whole, well-fed, clad, and housed; a fact which is soon observed by a stranger, and, taking place under such apparently inauspicious circumstances, appears at first view so unaccountable. In fact, the Burmese peasantry are in more comfortable and easy circumstances than the mass of the labouring poor in any of our Indian provinces; and, making allowance for climate, manners, and habits, might bear a comparison with the peasantry of most European countries. As long as land capable of yielding corn with little labour continues to bear the same large proportion to the population as at present, the government cannot rob the peasantry of the mere wages of personal labour; nay, its interference tends only to enhance or insure them. The scantiness of the population is in this manner an advantage to the people. Were the country, for example, inhabited in the same ratio as the neighbouring one of Hindustan generally, it would contain about one hundred inhabitants to the square mile; or its population would be 20,000,000, or five times more than its present amount. Were it peopled in the same proportion as Bengal, that part of India to which in soil and climate it bears the closest analogy, it would contain double this number, or ten times the number of its present inhabitants. The consequence of this would be, supposing no corresponding improvement in the government, that wages falling, and the price of corn rising, the people would be reduced to a state of poverty and misery, of the most abject and degrading description. That such is not now the case, but, on the contrary, that labour is well rewarded, affords of itself a sufficient presumption, that former estimates of the populousness of the country were prodigiously exaggerated.

The great diversity of tribes or nations occupying the territory of Ava, differing in language—often in religion, manners, and institutions, affords a proof at once of the scantiness of population, and of the uncivilized condition of the inhabitants. The Burmans themselves are said to be divided into seven tribes, but these are in reality nearly distinct nations. Their names are as

follow:—Mranma, or the proper Burmese; Talain, or the Peguans; Rakaing, or the Arracanese; the Yau, a people residing to the westward of the Kyendwen river, in about the parallel of Ava; the Taong-su, a migratory people, whose haunts are between the Setang and Saluen rivers; the people of Tavoy, and the Karyens. Next to these come the Shans, or people of Lao, who speak nearly the same language as the Siamese, and are spread over the whole of the eastern and north-eastern frontier.

The wilder races, claiming no affinity with the Burmese, or Siamese, are the Zabaing, the Kyen, the Palaon, the Pyu, the Lenzen, the Lawá, the D'hanu, the D'hanao, and the Zalaung. To these, before the cessions to the British, might be added the Chalom and the Pasá: of most of these races little is known beyond their names, or occasional place of residence. Some of them live in a savage state in the mountains, while others, as the Karyen, the Zabaing, and even the Kyen, are little less civilized than their conquerors. The Karyen and Kyen appear to be the most numerous and the most improved, and are chiefly occupied in agriculture. The former, especially, raise in the Peguan provinces, the greater quantity of the rice which is consumed. Notwithstanding this disposition to agricultural employment, so great is the quantity of good unoccupied land, and so simple are their own habits, that they have no local attachments, and are easily induced to move their habitation from one part of the country to another in search of better lands, of healthier situations, or from mere caprice. None of the tribes now described have adopted the Budd'hist religion, and they all speak dialects, if not languages, distinct from the Burman. But, perhaps, the most remarkable circumstance connected with the existence of these tribes, especially of the most considerable of them, is, that they do not occupy particular districts or provinces exclusively, but are scattered all over the kingdom, living in the midst of, but not intermixing or associating with the more civilized inhabitants. Thus situated, they live under the government of their own chiefs, preserving their peculiar customs, manners, and language, and rather paying tribute to, than being under the direct dominion of the Burmans. Under these they accept of no

public trust, and they refuse to perform for them military and all other services.

The strangers sojourning, or naturalized, in the Burman dominions are, natives of Cassay, Siamese, Cochin-Chinese, Chinese, Hindus of Western India, Mohammedans, and some Christians. The natives of Cassay, originally captives, but now generally as free as the rest of the inhabitants, form a very considerable proportion of the population of the capital. They are much employed as weavers, blacksmiths, and other artificers, and have commonly formed the cavalry of the Burmese armies. The Siamese are, like the Cassays, captives, or the descendants of captives. Their Wun, or the Burmese chief who has charge of them, informed me that they amounted in all to sixteen thousand. The Cochin-Chinese amount to one thousand persons, according to the statement of their Wun, or chief, who was unable, however, to state to me under what circumstances this colony had first settled in the Burmese capital. I imagine, however, that the first settlers were prisoners carried off when the Siamese capital was sacked by the Burmese, and during other incursions into Siam.

The number of Chinese settlers at the Burmese capital was stated to me to amount in all to no more than three thousand two hundred; viz. three thousand for Amarapura, and two hundred for Ava and Sagaing, between them. In other towns of the empire, where there is any thing like trade, a few also are to be found; and, as stated elsewhere, some are engaged in working silver-mines within the dominions of Ava. Upon the whole, the number is extremely trifling, compared to the crowd of settlers of this nation found at the Siamese capital, and throughout the rest of that country. Political distrust, arising out of the neighbourhood of China, has, no doubt, a share in discouraging the settlement of the Chinese in Ava. The Chinese settlers, or sojourners here, are not only fewer in number, but inferior in enterprize, intelligence, and industry, to the class known in Siam and the Malay countries. They are, for the most part, from the province of Yunan, and are all merchants or traders; no persons of the class of day-labourers or

artisans settling in Ava from that province. At the Burman capital are to be found a few Chinese settlers from the province of Canton, who have found their way thither from the European settlements, through the route of Rangoon. Owing to the superior skill and industry of artisans of this class, a carpenter among them, for example, will earn fifteen ticals a-month at the capital, while a Burmese will barely earn one-third of that amount. The Hindus residing at Ava are, for the most part, Bramins, or persons so designating themselves. They are natives of the Eastern parts of Bengal, and not, as in Siam, settlers from the Southern parts of India. They are considerable in point of numbers, and generally preserve their national languages, manners, religion, and costume.

The cessions made by the Burmese to the British Government, in 1826, contain an estimated area of 48,800 English miles. This territory is occupied by men distinct in race, and differing widely in civilization, from the inhabitants of any of the previous conquests of the British nation in India; and therefore a succinct account of it may not be unacceptable. It consists of the following parts; the kingdom of Arracan, divided into four provinces; a part of the province of Martaban; and the entire provinces of Ré, or Yé, Tavoy, and Mergui.

Arracan is divided from Pegu and Ava by a natural barrier of mountains, running in a continued range from North to South, called by the different names of Yaoma and Bokaong. Their termination is at the Cape of Negrais, called, in the Burman language, the Promontory of Manten, in about 16° north latitude; but the limit of their origin is very uncertain. They seem to be of primary formation, chiefly composed of slate and granite; and their highest peaks, while bounding Arracan, vary in height from two hundred to eight thousand feet. To the South and West, Arracan is bounded by the Bay of Bengal and the Naf river; and it is separated in the last-named quarter, and the North, from the Bengal province of Chittagong, by the Naf river and Waili hills. Arracan has been computed

to contain sixteen thousand square English miles. Its provinces or subdivisions are, Arracan, correctly Rakaing, to the north; Ramri, to the south of Arracan; Sandawey, properly Than-dwa, to the south of Ramri; and the island of Cheduba, called by the Burmese, Manaong. Each of these, under the Burman administration, had its own separate Myowun, or governor. The greater portion of Arracan consists either of high mountains or very low lands, the latter nearly marshes, and both, for the most part, covered with thick woods, presenting the aspect of a country nearly in a state of nature. The coast is broken by shallow arms of the sea, and contains no good harbour conveniently situated for trade, while it is skirted throughout by shoals and dangers, rendering it inaccessible during one half of the year, and at all times precarious or dangerous. The great river of Arracan is said to have its origin about the twenty-third degree north. After passing through three degrees of latitude, it disembogues itself by several mouths, of which the channels are impeded by bars, numerous sand-banks and islands. To foreign commerce, therefore, at least, it is never likely to be of much service, nor does the nature of the country, through which it passes, appear, in an agricultural view, to be of a very improveable character.

The experience of all the invaders of Arracan, Mohammedan, Burman, and European, warrants the conclusion that it is, upon the whole, one of the most unhealthy places of any extent in the East. The periodical rains are extremely heavy, and continue from April to November, leaving scarcely five dry months in the year. This, with the extent of the woods and marshes, makes the climate decidedly wet and moist; but this will not account for its unhealthiness; for many parts of Pegu, which are equal in salubrity to any Indian climate, are similarly circumstanced. It may, therefore, be suspected that it is the barrier of mountains behind Arracan, which, impeding a free circulation of air, causes the poisonous miasmata, that are the sources of the bad remittent fever, which is the prevailing epidemic.

No mines of the precious or useful metals are wrought in this country,

nor am I aware that any considerable deposits of them are even ascertained to exist; neither are there any other valuable minerals. Teak, although existing on the Pegu side of the great range of mountains, is not found in any part of Arracan. From the nature of the country, rice is the commodity for the production of which it is most suitable; and during the Burman administration, the upper parts of Ava appear to have drawn considerable supplies from it. Salt, obtained by boiling sea-water, after concentration by solar evaporation, is manufactured on the coast; but from the shortness of the dry and hot season, not exceeding two months, under very unfavourable circumstances, so that the commodity is both high-priced and impure. The esculent swallow's nest is found in Arracan in considerable quantity; a matter not to be looked for so far north. Some of them were shown to me at Calcutta, and they appeared white, and well suited to the Chinese market.

Under the Burmese government, the net revenue remitted yearly to Ava in specie, after discharging the expenses of administration, was one hundred and forty visas, or fourteen thousand ticals, equal to about one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds. But some revenue was also paid in kind; and there were, as elsewhere, corvées and military services.

The Arracanese are essentially the same people as the Burmese, speaking, with a few verbal exceptions, and with immaterial difference of pronunciation, the same language; having the same manners, the same institutions, and the same religion. The Burmese themselves, indeed, trace their language and origin to Arracan, and often call it "the old country." At present, at least, they are a people of less intelligence and energy than the Burmese; or, in other words, are considerably less civilized. The wretched condition of a long occupied country is best shown by the ratio of population to the extent of territory. Its area of sixteen thousand miles is reckoned, by a computation made by us since its conquest, to contain a population of no more than 120,000 souls, or about seven inhabitants to the square mile. This population is said to consist of the following races, and in the following propor-

tions:—Arracanese six-tenths; Mohammedans from India, or their descendants, three-tenths; and Burmese, one-tenth.

Our conquests from the Burmese to the eastward and southward of Pegu are not only of greater extent, but promise to be more valuable acquisitions than Arracan. Their most northerly limit is between the nineteenth and twentieth degrees of latitude, and is defined where the great chain of mountains, dividing them from Siam, terminates in the left bank of the Saluen river. Their southern limit is generally considered to extend to the eleventh degree of north latitude, so that the extreme length of our territory is about five hundred geographical miles. The most westerly point is the promontory on which the new settlement of Amherst lies, and which is opposite to the island of Balú. This, according to many good observations of Jupiter's satellites, made by Captain Grant of the Surveyor-General's department, lies in the longitude of 97° 35′. Their most easterly point can only be conjectured, but certainly does not extend beyond the 99°. This would give an extreme breadth of about eighty-five geographical miles. The medium breadth, however, is far less than this; and considering that we share with the Siamese the peninsula between the Bays of Bengal and Siam, forming so considerable a portion of the whole territory, probably does not exceed fifty miles. These measurements would give the whole continental part of the territory an area of about 32,800 English miles. To this, however, must be added a great number of islands, some of them of considerable size. The area of these will not be over-rated at a thousand square miles, making the whole territory 33,800. To the south, the east, and the north, we have the Siamese for our neighbours, along a frontier of not less than six hundred miles, formed almost every where by a high chain of mountains, covered with forests, and which has extensive tracts of uninhabited country on both sides of it.

The Saluen river constitutes every where our western boundary with the Burmans. The frontier here is, probably, about a hundred and forty miles in length. In every other direction the Bay of Bengal forms our

boundary, giving us a sea-coast of between three and four hundred miles in extent.

Beginning from the northern portion of our territory, the navigable rivers within it are, the Saluen, the Gain, the Ataran, the Wagru, the Yé, the Tavoy, and the Tennaserim. Of these, the Saluen, or, as the name is correctly written, the Than-lwen, has by far the longest course, and conveys the largest body of water. It appears to be the Louk-iang of the Chinese, and to have its source in the province of Yunan. It then passes successively through the territories of Lao and Siam, enters that of the Burmese between the 19th and 20th degrees of north latitude, and disembogues itself by two channels, separated from each other by the island of Balú. The most southerly of these falls into the sea, nearly in the latitude of 16 degrees, where its mouth is not less than seven miles broad. The northern channel is said to be still wider; but it is full of shoals, and impracticable for shipping. The Saluen river, notwithstanding the length of its course, cannot rank, for size or utility, with many of the greater Asiatic rivers. It is, indeed, of sufficient breadth; but its channel is generally shallow, and so obstructed by islands, shoals, and rapids, that, with the exception of probably about an hundred miles from its mouth, it is not navigable for any description of vessels, and its mouth alone is navigable for shipping of burthen.

The Gain falls into the Saluen at the town of Martaban, and is supposed to have its origin in the chain of hills which divides the province of Martaban from the Siamese territory. Its course is south-west. It is a stream of considerable breadth, but little depth; its channel being a good deal obstructed by islands and sand-banks.

The Ataran, like the Gain, has its source in the hilly region dividing our territory from that of Siam. This is a narrow, deep, and sluggish stream: its whole course, until it falls into the Saluen, like the Gain, a little above the town of Martaban, may be about one hundred miles. I went above seventy miles up in the steam-vessel Diana, when the water was at the lowest, without experiencing the least difficulty. The river, above that distance, became

suddenly a mere mountain brook. The tide in all these rivers runs up a hundred miles from the sea; and to this distance the navigation for boats and small craft is extremely safe, easy, and commodious. In the most unfavourable season of the year, steam-vessels, whose draught does not exceed five or six feet water, may navigate them with perfect safety for a hundred miles from the sea. The course of all three within the Martaban district is through a champaign country of great fertility, and presenting unusual encouragement for agricultural industry.

The Wagru, or Kalyen river, is much smaller than either the Gain or Ataran, and its source is not probably above twenty-five or thirty miles from the sea. It passes generally through a hilly country. I went eighteen miles up this river. For ten miles it is navigable for ships of the largest burthen; and the lower part of it, which is but a mile from the port of Amherst, forms one of the finest and safest harbours in India. The banks of this river are supposed to be the most favourable situation in the provinces for ship-building, and the construction of dock-yards.

The river of Ye, the mouth of which is between the latitude of 15° and 16°, and which is exposed, unprotected, to the ocean, is but an inconsiderable stream. It is accessible but to native craft and boats, and this only in the N. E. or fine monsoon.

The Tavoy river has its source near the latitude of 15°, and disembogues itself in about 13° 30′, running a course nearly due south, and parallel with the direction of the peninsula. It passes through a narrow valley between two ranges of hills. This is a broad but shallow stream, and the navigation is interrupted by many islands, shoals, and sand-banks. The town, situated on the left bank of the river, is about thirty-five miles from the sea. Vessels of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, but not larger, can reach it.

The Tennaserim, or Mergui river, is said to have its source between the fifteenth and sixteenth degrees of latitude, and, like the Tavoy river, runs from north to south until it reaches opposite to Mergui, when it makes a sudden turn to the westward, and disembogues itself by two mouths, the

most northerly of which is a safe channel for shipping, and lies in the latitude of 12° 12′ north. It is said to be navigable for boats for one hundred miles, and European vessels of moderate burthen may ascend it for thirty.

The great range of mountains, which divides our provinces from Siam, is said to be generally from three to five thousand feet high, and chiefly composed of granite. The general character of the Martaban province is that of a champaign country, or at least, the plains greatly exceed in extent the hilly land. There are, however, here and there some low ranges of quartz rock, and a considerable number of insulated steep and picturesque rocks of blue lime-stone. The districts of Yé and Tavoy may generally be described as mountainous. The valleys or plains are very few in number, and there is no considerable one except that through which the Tavoy river flows, and even this does not appear to be of any very great breadth.

The aspect of the Mergui district is still more hilly than that of Tavoy, and the valleys narrower. Even that, through which the Tennaserim river flows, is scarcely of greater breadth than sufficient to afford this stream a free passage. The geological formation of this district is almost universally granitic.

The archipelago of islands, which skirt our coasts so thickly, does not properly commence until about the latitude of 14° 30′, and therefore belongs correctly to Tavoy and Mergui, leaving the shores of Yé and Martaban an open and exposed sea. These islands are all hilly or mountainous, and generally composed of granite, with an occasional intermixture of lime and sand-stone.

The new territory is better furnished with harbours than any other portion of the Bay of Bengal, there being three very good ones on the main land within the compass of four degrees of latitude, besides one or two among the islands. The best and securest harbour, without reference, however, to commercial convenience, is that of Mergui, in about latitude 12°. This will admit vessels of almost any burthen, and the ingress and egress are perfectly safe at all times. The river of Tavoy contains a good harbour, at about the distance of ten miles from its entrance; but above that, and to the town, it is shallow,

and the navigation intricate, being unfit for vessels of large burthen, and not very easy even for small craft. As parts of commerce, the greatest inconvenience attending Tavoy and Mergui, arises from the chain of islands skirting the whole coast before them. These, during the finest part of the year, make calms and light winds very prevalent, so that the navigation becomes in consequence extremely tedious and precarious, unless for steam vessels. The harbour of Amherst, formed as already described by the promontory, which lies at the eastern entrance of the Martaban river, is not liable to this disadvantage. Its inconvenience consists in the narrowness of the navigable channel into it, and this channel crossing the tide. During the six fine months of the year, however, ingress and egress are perfectly safe and easy; and in the boisterous season, many vessels of burthen have frequented it without meeting with any serious accident, so that in all probability experience will show that the objections to it are rather in theory than practice. Both in respect to safety and expedition, it is at all events far superior to the ports of London and Calcutta, or even of Liverpool. Its great advantages, however, are its immediate vicinity to a fertile territory, with an extensive inland navigation, and its connexion with the Irawadi, which opens to it a communication with territories much more extensive than that of its immediate neighbourhood.*

In regard to climate, I can speak, from personal observation, only of that of Martaban. The south-west monsoon and the rains set in here together, about the beginning of May. In that month both are comparatively mild. They are severest in the months of June, July, and August, when there are frequent hard squalls and very heavy rain, especially during the spring tides. In September the winds and rain moderate. In October they are still milder, and in the beginning of November they cease, and the cold weather sets in, which continues until the end of February. In January, I found the thermometer fall in the morning before sun-rise, at Amherst, to sixty-four degrees, and at night blankets were found comfortable. The warmest month is April;

* Fitch, who visited Martaban two hundred and forty years ago, describes it as a place of much trade. Captain Hamilton, whose statement refers to the year 1709, states that the Burmans, in their wars with Pegu, had sunk vessels in the river, and thus injured its navigation.

but even then the thermometer, in the hottest hour of the day, rarely rises to ninety degrees. In a climate so moist, and a country so covered with luxuriant vegetation, hot winds are unknown. In the dry season there prevail on the coast regular land and sea-breezes, and in the rains the strength of the south-west monsoon prevents the air from being close or oppressive. The report of the native inhabitants is in favour of the salubrity of these provinces, especially of Martaban and Mergui. Our own short experience seems to confirm this opinion. I have not, indeed, heard of any spot or place in our southern provinces remarkable for the existence of concentrated miasma—the source of those malignant remittent fevers and dysenteries, which are endemic in many parts of India. The only malignant complaint which has prevailed amongst our troops, has been ulcer of the lower limbs, confined to natives of India, and, in all likelihood, chiefly to be ascribed to temporary hardships and privations.

The only useful minerals, of which the existence is ascertained in the territories now under description are, lime, iron, antimony, and tin. Blue mountain lime-stone, affording the whitest quick-lime I ever saw, is widely and generally distributed over the plains of Martaban, forming those detached rocks to which I have already alluded. An ore of magnetic iron has been found in Tavoy; stream tin is found in Tavoy and Mergui; and a rich ore of antimony in quartz rock in Martaban.

The most valuable of the rude productions of the new territory is teak-timber. The teak is found only in the province of Martaban; but the forests here are of great extent, and from the careful and scientific examination of Dr. Wallich, are ascertained to contain timber of the best quality and largest scantling. The management of the Burman forests has hitherto been conducted on the rudest system imaginable. In preparing the timber for ship-building, the planks are not generally sawn, but hewn with the axe. The finest tree, thus treated, affords but two planks; whereas, if sawn, it would afford double the number, and of a better quality. These planks, as prepared by the Burmans, are so uneven that not more than four will go to a ton of fifty cubic feet; whereas, of sawn planks, a ton will stow seven. The

economy which would follow the most moderate application of European skill and machinery, may easily be inferred from this example. The erection of one or two saw-mills alone would, in all likelihood, reduce the price of teak-timber in the markets of England and India to one-half, or even one-third its present amount.

The other rude productions of these provinces are cardamoms, catechu, bees-wax, ivory, rhinoceros and deer's horns and skins, jerk-beef, esculent swallows'-nests, and the holothurion, or sea-slug. Most of these commodities are in constant demand in the markets of China, and would readily find their way thither, either through the Straits of Malacca, or directly by European vessels.

The merest fraction only of the area of these provinces is in a state of culture. The articles of agricultural produce are sufficiently various, but all upon a very limited scale, and the greater number the result of a rude and careless husbandry, as might naturally be expected. The principal are rice, cotton, indigo, black pepper, and areca nut. The quantity of land suited to the growth of rice is very great, especially in the district of Martaban; the soil is there eminently productive, and the labour of cultivation very inconsiderable. There are no forests to cut down, for the rice lands are extensive savannas, covered with a tall grass, readily burnt down in the dry season. The periodical rains, a harrow, and the treading of buffaloes, without the plough, sufficiently prepare the soil for the seed, which very generally gives a return of from fifty to eighty fold. The grain is, of course, extremely cheap; more so, indeed, than in any other part of the Burman dominions. In ordinary years, two shillings per cwt. may be considered as a common price for good clean rice. When European and Chinese settlers become owners of the land, (and it is through these classes only that we can rationally expect any rapid improvement in its agriculture,) the soil and climate will be found to be peculiarly well suited to the growth of such important articles as cotton, sugar-cane, and indigo. To these may be added, for the mountainous and more

elevated parts of the country, black pepper, coffee, the mulberry, and even tea.

The population of the provinces consists of the following different races: Talains, or Peguans, Burmans, Karyens, Taongsus, Chaloms, and Pasás. The two first are the most civilized, and the Karyens follow them. The rest are but poor, wandering, half-savage people. The Peguans form the bulk of the inhabitants. Shortly after these provinces came into our possession, an attempt was made to form a rough estimate of their population, and the following were the results:—

Part of Martaban	24,000
Yé	3,000
Tavoy	15,000
Mergui	8,000
	50,000

This afforded the miserable result of one and a half inhabitant to the square mile. This state of depopulation was produced by the incursions of the Siamese into the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui, and by two great emigrations of the Talain inhabitants of Martaban into Siam, which took place not many years before our conquest of it. After the restoration of the other parts of Pegu to the Burmese, on the conclusion of peace, many of the Talain inhabitants sought refuge from apprehended persecution in our portion of Martaban. The emigrants, on this occasion, were supposed to amount, in round numbers, to twenty thousand, making the whole population seventy thousand, or little more than two inhabitants to the square mile. Our portion of Martaban, the finest and most improveable part of our acquisitions, contains probably an area of about ten thousand square miles, while its population, including the recent accession, is but forty-four thousand, or scarcely four and a third inhabitants to the mile.

In reality, the state of these provinces far more resembles the wilds of America than that of our old conquests in Hindustan. They are countries

capable of colonization in the strictest sense of this term; and, were the free settlement of Europeans, Chinese, and others permitted, under a liberal and economical administration, we should soon see them well-peopled, and be presented with an example of rapid improvement, agricultural and commercial, of which no other portion of our Indian dominions is, in my opinion, capable.

The revenue for defraying the expenses of administration may, as I conceive, be raised from a small impost on the export and import trade, an excise on spirits and opium, and, eventually, by a tax on the rent of land. The duties on trade should be confined to the foreign commerce, extend only to a few staple articles, and be limited in amount to two or three per cent. on the value of the product. The view which I take of a land-tax is fully explained in the following extract of my Report to the Indian Government.

"In the distribution of new lands, and the organization of a land-tax, the following are the principles which, it appears to me, it will be most material to hold in view: viz. to give the occupants a permanent interest in the land—to make the tenures simple, and free from technicalities—to prevent the monopoly of large tracts of land—to fix, from the first, the principle on which the land is to be taxed in perpetuity—to make such reservations of forests, lakes, rights of way, and navigation, as may be advantageous to the public; and, finally, to secure to the Government, from the land, an adequate revenue, which shall increase with the advance of industry and population. The two first objects here enumerated, a permanent interest in the soil, and the simplification of the tenures, will be adequately attained by giving to the proprietors long leases similar to those given at Singapore. The land becomes, in this manner, a chattel interest, and not a real estate; and is, of course, relieved from all the legal inconveniences incident to the latter.

"Land-jobbing to an injurious extent will be prevented by rendering the land subject to a small quit-rent from the moment it is given. Every grant of land thus bestowed will be, from the first moment, an addition to the public revenue. The amount of the quit-rent should be small; and being so, it will

probably be found expedient to make it uniformly the same throughout the country.

"A tax on rent will form the most considerable and unexceptionable source of the revenue to be derived from the land. On lands as yet unappropriated, however, rent will not commence for a series of years. I propose that the tax should not be operative until ten years after the date of each grant, which may be considered a reasonable time, not detrimental to the interest of the state, nor likely to prejudice improvement. It will be expedient, however, that the rate should be determined at the outset. I conceive that ten per cent. of the rents, estimated at the value of a fourth of the gross produce of the land, will be a fair rate of taxation. In order that the public revenue may keep pace with the advance of rents, new assessments of the land must be made from time to time. To prevent these, however, from becoming troublesome to the Government, or vexatious to the proprietors, they should be made for a specific time, such, for example, as a period of ten years. Consulting, at once, both the interests of the State and of the proprietors, I would suggest that the amount of each assessment should be determined by arbitrators mutually chosen by the Government and the lessees.

"With respect to lands already appropriated by the native inhabitants, no distinction need be drawn between these and unappropriated lands, except that the first quit-rents may, in consideration of their improved state, and the surrender, on the part of the British Government, of most of the rights exercised by the native Government, be rated considerably higher than on new lands.

"To simplify the written leases, and to prevent them from being encumbered and overlaid by a multiplicity of conditions, I would propose that they simply comprise a specification of the lands, and that for the terms, reference should be made to the proclamation under which the grants are made, of which a copy may, perhaps, be conveniently annexed to each grant. I shall here briefly enumerate the conditions which it appears to me ought to be comprehended in such a proclamation.

"Grants of unappropriated land on leasehold tenures will be given on the following conditions:—

"Applicants will receive, in the first instance, certificates, or location-tickets, specifying the extent of land to be granted.

"A perpetual annual quit-rent of —— grains of pure silver on each acre of land, shall be paid by the lessee to the Honourable East India Company, their successors, &c. in half-yearly instalments, from the date of the location-tickets.

"When the land is surveyed, which shall be done at the expense of the grantee, a regular instrument, in the form of a lease, shall be given to the lessee.

"The lease, to be given as above, shall run for a period of nine hundred and ninety-nine years from the date of the location-ticket.

"After a period of ten years from the date of the location-ticket, the lands thus granted on lease shall be assessed with a tax rated at one-tenth part of their gross rental.

"In the assessment of the above tax of one-tenth of the gross rental of the land, the rent shall be determined at not more than one-fourth part of the value of the gross produce of such land.

"The tax of one-tenth of the rental of the land, as above, shall be determined from time to time, during the currency of the lease, for a period of ten years certain, or a new assessment shall be made at the termination of every ten years.

"The tax of one-tenth of the gross rental, as above, shall always be assessed by arbitration, one arbitrator to be chosen by the Honourable East India Company, their heirs or successors, and one by the lessee, an umpire being called in by such arbitrators, in case of disagreement between them.

"The tax of one-tenth of the rental, as above mentioned, shall be paid, by half-yearly instalments, into the treasury of the Honourable East India Company, their successors, &c.

"Such tax of one-tenth, as above, shall be paid in gold or silver of the legal currency of the Government for the time being."

"If it shall happen that the annual quit-rent above specified, or the tax of one-tenth upon the rental, shall fall in arrears, or be unpaid, in part or in whole, after the period limited and appointed for payment, it shall be lawful for the United Company, their successors, &c. to distrain for such quit-rent or tax as above, in whole or in part.

"The leases granted, as above, shall not comprise natural forests of teak timber of whatever extent, nor lakes, tanks, rivers, water-courses, roads, or pathways, all of which are hereby reserved in full property to the Honourable East India Company, their successors, &c.

"The Honourable East India Company farther reserves to itself, its successors, &c. in full property, the banks of all rivers, lakes, ponds, and water-courses, to the extent of fifty feet from the high water-mark of such rivers, lakes, ponds, and water-courses.

"Lands granted on lease, as above, shall not be alienated or mortgaged in whole or in part, unless such alienation shall be registered in a book of registry, to be kept for that purpose by the Honourable East India Company, their successors, &c.; and failing this condition, such alienation or mortgage shall be considered void and of no effect."

"In regard to the collection of the revenue, no difficulty can, I conceive, be anticipated, except in respect to the Native inhabitants. These have been immemorially accustomed to pay their contributions through their chiefs, whose corruption is notorious, and who commonly extorted far more than they ever paid into the public treasury. I shall recur to this subject hereafter, and in the mean while, shall only state that my views on this subject have for their object to make the chiefs of villages and districts elective by the householders and cultivators, or those paying contributions. In this case they may safely be made collectors of the land revenue, the Government paying to them a commission on the amount collected. On this plan, it may be expected that the remuneration given will secure the faithful services of the chiefs to the Government, while their responsibility to the cultivators will protect the latter from that extortion and abuse of authority which are the radical vices of the Burmese Government."

Image in gold with precious stones, taken from the Great Pagoda at Rangoon, and imagined to represent the Burman Conqueror Alompra.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Burman History.—Materials.—Cosmography.—Fabulous Story.—History and origin of Gautama.—Kings of Wethali, Majima, or Jaintya.—Kings of Prome.—Kings of Pugan.—Conjectures respecting the introduction of the Budd'hist Religion.—Kings of Panya.—Kings of Sagaing or Chitkaing.—Kings of Ava.—Alompra, and his successors.—Chinese Invasions of the Burman Empire.—British connexion.

THE sketch of Burman history contained in this chapter has been chiefly compiled from native documents or oral information, obtained during my

residence in the Burman dominions. The Burmese, as will hereafter be more fully explained, are not absolutely destitute of historical compositions; and I am indebted to translations of some of their narratives for a few of the details about to be given. The most valuable document, however, from which the sketch is compiled, is the chronological table, of which a translation will be found in the Appendix. The original, a neat modern manuscript, written on a long scroll of paper, folded zig-zag, according to a frequent practice of the Burmese and their neighbours, was found in one of the stockades captured by the British army. The translation was effected by Mr. Judson, to whom I have so often had occasion to express my obligations; and, with the exception of having the Christian era annexed, it is a literal version.

With the usual extravagance of Eastern nations, the Burmese carry their history back to a very remote and fabulous antiquity. It commences with a kind of Cosmography, and the greater portion of this, at least, seems borrowed from the country of the Hindus. The duration of "a world," say they, is divided into four periods of equal length. One of these only is destined for the residence of living beings, and the remaining three are passed: first, in the destruction of the habited globe by fire; second, in its continuing in a state of chaos; and third, in its restoration by means of water. The duration of the period intended for the residence of living beings, is determined by certain ages of man's life. In the first age, the life of man is only ten years; in the second it is twenty; in the third forty; and so on in an arithmetical ratio, until it attain one hundred victrillions, when it decreases in the same proportion, until it again arrive at ten. This circle of increase and decrease repeated sixty-four times, makes the total duration of the habited earth, when it is again destroyed by fire, again lies in a state of chaos, is again restored by the agency of water, and again repeopled. Subject to these revolutions, the world, strictly speaking, has neither beginning nor end. Eleven out of the sixty-four revolutions of man's age have passed away, and we are but in the beginning of the twelfth. Every period produces a royal being, who having attained the age of one hundred victrillions of years, assumes the name of Thumada (Sumada). Of these, eleven have already appeared.

The last of these was succeeded by a dynasty of twenty-eight kings, each of whose ages equalled his own, and who reigned in the three following countries, viz. Kok-tha-wadi (Kok-sa-wati), Yaza-gaya (Raja-gaya), and Mitela (Mit'hila). These were succeeded by one hundred kings, who reigned in Kok-tha-wadi only. After these worthies we have no less than twenty-two dynasties, each of which reigned in a different country. Among these countries, several Hindu names may be recognized; such as Hastipura, Madura, &c. The last dynasty, consisting of eighty-two thousand and thirteen kings, reigned in the native country of Gautama. The whole number of kings, who reigned from the time of the last Sumada to that of Gautama, is reckoned by the Burmese at 334,569! The earliest probable date in Burmese story, or rather in the story which the Burmans mix up with their own, is the commencement of the grand epoch established by Anjana, the grandfather of Gautama. This corresponds with the year before Christ 691. In the sixty-eighth year of that epoch, Gautama is said to have been born. The Burmese and other Budd'hists pretend to be very minute and circumstantial in all that relates to the nativity of the founder of their religion. He was conceived, say they, in the full moon of the month of July, in the year 67, and born in the May following. In his sixteenth year he ascended the throne; in his twenty-ninth he abdicated, and retired into the forest as an ascetic; in his thirty-fifth year he obtained deification, or became a Budd'ha; and he died, or became extinct, in his eightieth year, corresponding with the year before Christ 544.* The country of Gautama is commonly called by the Burmese Kapilawot (Capila-varta), but also Makata; and there is no doubt but it is the same with the Magad'ha of the Hindus, the modern Berar. The dynasty of Kapilawot became extinct with the abdication of Gautama. This was followed by a race of six kings, every one of whom had the evil habit of killing his own father. These reigned in a country called, by the Burmese, Raja-gaya (Budd'ha Gya?) This parricidal family was destroyed, seventy-two years after the death of Gautama, by the first minister of the last of them, named Susanaga (Sisunága),

* For an explanation of the term applied to the condition of Gautama after death, see Appx. No. XI.

a native of Wethali, which is the petty state of Jaintya, bordering on the Bengal district of Sylhet. This personage, alleged to have been descended from Gautama, in the female line, established the seat of his government in his own native country. His son, Kala-sau-ka, in the tenth year of his reign, and a hundred after the death of Gautama, assembled all the learned men of his country, and made them repeat whatever they knew of the doctrines of the Budd'ha; for there yet existed no "scripture." This assembly is known to the Burmese by the name of "the Second Council;" the first having taken place three months after the death of Gautama. From this time, to the year 289 before Christ, a period of eighty-three years, twelve princes are described as having reigned in Wethali; the last of whom, Sri-d'hama-sauka (Sri-d'harma-sauka), is a personage of some repute. He is described in Burmese story as having received "the sacred affusion," (Abhisêsa, the Hindu coronation, equivalent to our anointment,) and being a prince of great piety. "He destroyed his father's family; extended his dominions far and near; cleared the doctrines of religion from all difficulty; built 84,000 temples, 84,000 monasteries, and maintained 60,000 priests." It was the son of this pious reformer who permanently fixed the seat of Government at Prome, as will be presently mentioned.

The first seat of Burman Government to which any allusion is made, is Pri, or Prome, anciently called Sare-k'het-ta-ra (Cschétra, a sacred field?) and Rase-myo. This is said to have been founded in the year before Christ 443; that is, one hundred and forty-six years after the commencement of Gautama's mission, and a hundred after his death. For a period of a hundred and forty-two years, or down to the year before Christ 301, the seat of Government is occasionally stated to have been at Prome, and occasionally at Wethali, or Jaintya, also called Majima. In this last year it was permanently fixed at Prome, and no farther mention is made of Majima. The prince under whom this event took place, is described as a son of D'hama-sauka, King of Wethali, already mentioned. From this period I am disposed to date the probable native history of the Burmese; and about the same time, in all likelihood, took

place the first introduction of the Budd'hist religion among them. The seat of Government continued at Prome for three hundred and ninety-five years, during which there reigned twenty-four princes, which gives an average for each reign of between sixteen and seventeen years. After Prome ceased to be the seat of Government, and down to the present time, a period of one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four years, the Burmese appear to have shifted it nine different times; the whole of these changes, however, except one, having taken place within the last five hundred and twenty-eight years.

Thirteen years after the death of the last King of Prome, a new dynasty appears to have established the seat of Government at Pugan, where it continued for one thousand one hundred and ninety-three years, or near twelve centuries. In this long period there reigned fifty-five princes, making the duration of each reign between twenty-one and twenty-two years. The extensive ruins of Pugan afford strong presumption of the long continuance of this place as the seat of empire; for it may fairly be assumed, that in such a state of society remains of such extent could only result from the accumulated labour of many ages. The following remarkable events, some of which have been already referred to in another place, are stated to have taken place while the seat of Government was at Pugan. In the year 386 of Christ, a Burman priest, named Budd'ha Gautha, or Gausa, proceeded to Ceylon, and from thence brought with him a copy of the Budd'hist scriptures. These, therefore, had either not existed before, or had existed only in an imperfect form. This circumstance I have no doubt commemorates some important change in the form of worship, although I am by no means inclined to date from it the first introduction of the Budd'hist religion. In the year 997 of Christ, the Budd'hist religion underwent farther change, assuming the form it has ever since retained.* It was while the seat of Government was at Pugan that the present vulgar era was established. The

* I am disposed to believe that the Budd'hist worship was first brought to Ava through Bengal and Arracan; and that reforms or innovations were subsequently introduced from the Southern Peninsula of India, and the Island of Ceylon, after it ceased to be a prevailing religion in Northern India.

commencement of this corresponds with the year of Christ 639. As far as I can understand, it is purely of Native origin; nor am I aware that it is connected with any important event of national history, although, I believe, some European writers have fancied that it commemorated the first introduction of the religion of Gautama into Ava.

In the year of Christ 1300, the seat of Government was established at Panya, and fifty-six years thereafter Pugan was destroyed. It continued at Panya only for fifty-six years, and during the reign of three princes. In the fifth year of the reign of the first prince, it is recorded in extravagant terms, in an inscription found at Sagaing, and of which a translation is given in the Appendix, that he, the Prince, repelled an invasion of the Chinese; one of those often-repeated attempts at conquest by a more powerful and civilized people, from which the Burmese appear to have escaped subjugation less through their own courage and resources, than the almost insuperable difficulty of the wild country which separates Ava from China.

Thirty-four years before the death of the last Prince of Panya, a new Government appears to have been established at Sagaing, or Chitkaing: the date of this event corresponds with the year of Christ 1322. The seat of Government continued at Sagaing forty-two years, during which period there reigned no less than six princes. In the year of Christ 1364, the seat of Government was removed to Ava, and Panya and Sagaing were destroyed. It continued at this place for three hundred and sixty-nine years, and under twenty-nine princes; the average duration of each reign, therefore, being between twelve and thirteen years only. It was while the Government was at Ava, that Europeans first became acquainted with the Burmese.* This was

* The celebrated Ferdinand Mendez Pinto visited Ava in 1546. Amidst his egregious fictions or exaggerations, some indications of accuracy and good faith may now and then be discovered. The following is, for the most part, a very tolerable specimen:—"The kingdom of Pegu hath in circuit (frontier?) 140 leagues; is situate on the South side in 16 degrees; and in the heart of the country, towards the rhomb of the earth, it hath 140 leagues; being environed all above with a high ground, named Panganirau, where the nation of the Bramaas doth inhabit, whose country is four-score leagues broad and two hundred long."

about the middle of the sixteenth century, when this people conquered the Peguans, and had also well nigh effected the subjugation of Siam; their career, in short, on this occasion, greatly resembling that which they pursued two centuries thereafter, and nearly in our own times. The Burmese appear to have kept the Peguans in subjection down to the close of the seventeenth century. Towards the commencement of the eighteenth, the Peguans rebelled, in their turn, subdued the Burmese, and, in the year 1733, carried their king captive to Pegu, making themselves masters of the whole country. This state of things gave rise to the adventures of Alompra, the founder of the present dynasty, and the greatest, or at least the best-known character in Burman story. This ambitious and successful leader was, before his rebellion, Kye-gain of Moksobo, or Monchabo, then a small town or village. The office was nearly similar to that of Myo-thugyi, or chief of a township. His original name, or, more correctly, title, was Aong-zaya (jaya),* and he assumed that of Alompra after his advance to the throne. This name, correctly written, is Alaong-b'hura; and it is a term applied to any one destined, according to Burman belief, to become a Budd'ha. The meaning of this is, in short, that the conqueror bestowed upon himself a species of apotheosis. Alompra, from partiality to his native place, removed the seat of Government to Monchabo, which he walled, and rendered a place of considerable extent. After a reign of eight years, he died, and was succeeded by his son, Uparaja, commonly called Naong-tan-kri, or, the "royal elder brother." This prince made Sagaing his capital, and died after a short reign of three years. His successor was his brother, whose name is pronounced by Europeans Sembuen, but is correctly written Chang-p'hru-shang, and pronounced Sen-p'hyu-s'hen, meaning "king of the white elephant." He removed the capital to Ava. In 1776, he was succeeded by his son Sen-ku-sa, of whose character a very unfavourable account is given in the narrative of Colonel Symes. The account given to me was very different. According to this, he is stated to have been a

* The first is a Burman, and the second a Pali word. Both mean "victory."

prince of a liberal and benevolent disposition, much resembling in character the present King. His peaceable character, however, after a long career of war and rapine, rendered him unpopular with the chiefs; and after a reign of five years, he fell a victim to the intrigues of his uncle, the late king, who raised to the throne, in his room, Paong-ka-cha, commonly called Maong-maong, the son of Uparaja, and therefore the lineal heir of Alompra. This personage, a feeble prince, appears only to have been used by his uncle as a stepping-stone to his own ambition; for he was destroyed by him in the first year of his reign, when he himself ascended the throne. This prince, known by the names of Padun-mang, and Man-ta-ra-kri, began his reign in 1781, and, most capriciously, removed the seat of Government from the more suitable site of Ava to Amarapura. Notwithstanding his crimes, he appears not only to have been generally an able, but a prudent prince. I need hardly remark, that he is the individual so often referred to by my predecessors, Colonel Symes, Captain Cox, and Major Canning. Man-ta-ra-ki, after a long reign of thirty-eight years, was succeeded, in 1819, by his present Majesty, his grandson, and the son of the Ing-she-men, or heir-apparent, so often alluded to by the gentlemen whom I have just quoted. In 1822, moved by his own caprice, and confirmed in it by the predictions of soothsayers, he removed the capital to Ava. Down to the year 1819, a period of sixty-seven years, six princes of the dynasty of Alompra had reigned, giving little more than eleven years for each reign. Alompra and his successors extended the bounds of Burman dominion far beyond all their predecessors; having added to the ancient territory of the Burman race, not only Pegu, and a portion of Lao, but Martaban, Tavoy, and Tenasserim; provinces, sometimes independent, but often under the yoke of the Siamese; together with the principalities of Arracan, Cassay, Cachar, Assam, and Jaintya. The possession of the latter distant and poor countries, became a source of weakness and not of strength to the Burman power, from its rudeness and want of political skill, peculiarly ill suited for maintaining a beneficial authority over remote acquisitions. These possessions farther brought them into that collision with a civilized

nation which ended in a contest that has probably for ever arrested the progress of their wild and barbarous conquests.

One remarkable event in the history of the family of Alompra deserves some notice: the invasion of the Burman dominions by the Chinese. This took place in the successive Burman years, 1128, 1129, 1130, and 1131, or, from 1776 to 1780, in the reign of Sembuen, the third prince of the dynasty. Colonel Symes, in his narrative, represents the defeat and capture of a great Chinese army, by the skilful manœuvres of a Burman force sent against it. I could not hear that there was any foundation for this compliment to the military skill of the Burmese; and the following is the version of this story, which I received from the natives themselves. The Chinese had ravaged the upper part of the country for three years, and, on certain submissions being made to them by the Burmese, including the acknowledgment of vassalage, which they are accustomed to exact from their other neighbours, they retired. Instead of the Burmese general having captured a Chinese army, the convention by which he procured the evacuation of the country was considered by the King of Ava so humiliating, that, to mark his disapprobation, and satirize the cowardice of his general, he sent him the emblematic gift of a woman's dress! It is remarkable, that at the conferences with the British Commissioners, which led to peace, the Burmese chiefs quoted the example of the Chinese, as one which they expected we should imitate. Each party, they said, then retired from the contest on equal terms; the Chinese not claiming, as we did, territorial cession, or pecuniary indemnity. The Chinese invasion now mentioned appears to be the third of which particular notice is taken in Burmese story; for, besides that which I have mentioned as having taken place in 1305, another happened in the reign of Mang-k'ha-k'he: a monarch of Pugan, whose reign commenced in 1233, and ended in 1277. This prince, from his conduct on the occasion, is often nick-named "Tarok-pya-men," or "the Chinese runaway." This appears to have been the most formidable attack made by the Chinese; for they are said not only to have taken the capital, but to have pushed their incursions

to the farthest verge of the Burmese territory to the South, where a projecting point of land, on the Irawadi (Airavat, the name of Indra's elephant,) still bears their name, (Tarok-Mau, or Chinese point).

Before concluding this slight sketch of Burman story, a few reflections may be offered on its character. There is an air of authenticity and moderation in Burman chronology, a little singular in the East, and scarcely to be looked for among so rude a people. Contrary to my expectations, I was, indeed, informed in Ava, that the Burmese possessed some historical compositions, in which points of chronology were curiously discussed; or, at least, concerning which the writers, contrary to Oriental usage, thought it worth their while to pause and inquire. No doubt, there will be found much discrepancy in their early narratives; but the remarkable fact still remains, of so rude a people attempting at all to exercise their reason on such subjects. I have little doubt but that they have been led into this course by the numerous inscriptions, all, or almost all of them, bearing royal names and dates, which are scattered over the country; and the presence of which would always afford a ready refutation to the pretended chronologist, who consulted only his imagination. This spirit of inquiry is evinced in the following translations, which may be referred to, at least as objects of curiosity.

"573. Jaya Sing'ha, otherwise called Ozana, and Nantaong-mya, or Ti-lo-men-lo. The year 565, is thought by some to be the true era, because it is mentioned that the spiritual guide of Jaya Sing'ha completed in that year a certain book; but this circumstance is explained, by the fact of the king's having exercised royal authority long before his father's death; and an inscription on stone is found at the Jaya-bot monastery, referring to the commencement of this reign, in 573.* The king's father, having placed the white umbrella in the midst of his five sons, prayed that it might fall towards the

* There is a remarkable discrepancy between this statement and that of the "Chronological Table," which I do not pretend to explain. In the table, Jaya Singha's reign is described as having terminated about the Burman year 573, and here it is said to have properly commenced at that time.

rightful heir, and, according to his wish, it fell towards Jaya Sing'ha. After he ascended the throne, his four brothers betook themselves to the monasteries and became priests. Every eighth day the King respectfully visited them in person; and the whole royal revenue he divided into five parts, one for himself, and four for his brothers. The hearts of all were gladdened, and the whole country prospered. This Prince built a temple on the spot where his father had cast the lot that raised him to the throne, and he called it Ti-lo-men-lo, which means 'As likes the umbrella, so likes the kingdom.' In due time he was borne down with grief at the loss of his favourite queen and of a beloved son. He abstained from food, went no more abroad, built four or five temples, and died at the age of sixty, having reigned three-and-twenty years. The planet Saturn, on this occasion, displayed the appearance of a comet, and the Sun's shadow fell towards itself. His natal star was Mars."

"596. Kya-chura, otherwise called D'hama-raja, succeeded his father. He loved every body; read, and became master of every book; held public disputations; and seven times a day instructed his household. He wrote himself a work, called 'Parmata Bingdu,' and built a great house for the purpose of holding disputations. He also constructed a monastery at Sagú, and a great tank, by damming a mountain stream. During this reign, there were no wars, or commotions of any kind. Exercising himself one day with the spear, he received a wound, which put an end to his life in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign. On this occasion, a vulture was seen to perch on his stable,* and a demon was descried peeping over the throne."

The strongest internal marks of authenticity in Burman chronology, is the average shortness of the reigns. From the year 301 before Christ, to the accession of the present King in 1819, a period of two thousand one hundred and twenty years, the number of sovereigns is one hundred and twenty-three;

* The perching of a vulture on a house is considered by the Burmese a most direful omen to the owner.

and therefore the length of each reign is only between sixteen and seventeen years, or from three to four years less than the computed average for European monarchies. This is what might reasonably be expected among a rude people, subject to commotions, rebellions, usurpations, and foreign invasion. The greatest length of the reigns is neither found in the earliest or the latest period of Burman history, but in the intermediate one, while the seat of Government was at Pugan. The long continuance of this place as the capital, the vast extent of its ruins, and their comparative splendour, may lead us to believe that it was here that the Burmese nation enjoyed the greatest share of tranquillity and prosperity; and, consequently, that it was here also that the succession to the throne was most regular and uninterrupted.

In the sketch now given of Burman history, I have taken no notice of our own acquaintance, or political relations with Ava, and therefore now submit the following connected outline of them.

The first notice we have of the Burman dominions in an English writer, is that by Ralph Fitch, a merchant of London, who travelled in India towards the end of the sixteenth century, or from the year 1583 to 1591. Fitch left Bengal in the month of November 1586, in a small Portuguese vessel, and the first port of Pegu which he entered was that of Bassein, from whence he passed, by the inland navigation, to Rangoon and Syrian, eventually visiting the town of Pegu. Making allowance for the time in which he wrote, and for the scantiness of his opportunities, Fitch's account of localities and manners is surprisingly accurate and faithful. As examples, his account of the port and town of Bassein (Cosmin); of the navigation from Bassein to Syrian (Cirion); of the King of Pegu's palace; of the white elephants; of the catching and taming of elephants; of trade; of the temples; of the priests; of the trial by ordeal,—may all be safely referred to. I shall give a few extracts, to show, from the only authentic record which we possess, the condition of Pegu near two centuries and a half ago. His account of the temples is as follows. "And they consume many canes, likewise, in making of their Varellaes, or idol

temples, which are in great number, both great and small. They be made round, like a sugar-loaf; some are as high as a church, very broad beneath; some a quarter of a mile in compass: within they be all earth, done about with stone. They consume in these varellaes great quantity of gold; for that they be all gilded aloft; and many of them from the top to the bottom: and every ten or twelve years they must be new gilded, because the rain consumeth off the gold; for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their gold in these vanities, it would be very plentiful, and good and cheap in Pegu. About two days' journey from Pegu, there is a Varelle, or pagoda, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dagonne (Dagong); and is of a wonderful bigness, and all gilded from the foot to the top. And there is an house by it wherein the tallipoies, which are their priests, do preach. This house is fifty-five paces in length, and hath three parones, or walks in it, and forty great pillars, gilded, which stand between the walks; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded. It is gilded with gold within and without. There are houses very fair round about for the pilgrims to lie in, and many goodly houses for the tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images, both of men and women, which are gilded over with gold. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are four ways to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may go in the shade about two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly pass, by water or by land, for the great press of people; for they come from all places of the kingdom of Pegu thither at their feast."—The graphic account of the great Temple of Rangoon here given is, with very immaterial exceptions, so accurate, that, although written above two hundred and forty years ago, it might well serve to describe its present state; a proof at once of the fidelity of the writer, and the immobility of Burman society.—The account of the voyage from Bassein to Pegu is equally faithful. "From the bar of Negrais to the city of Pegu, is ten days' journey by the rivers: we went from Cosmin to Pegu in paroes, or boats; and passing up the rivers,

we came to Medon, which is a pretty town, where there be a number of paroes; for they keep their houses and markets in them, all upon the water. They row to and fro, and have all their merchandize in their boats, with a great sombrera, or shadow, over their heads, to keep the sun from them, which is as broad as a great cart-wheel, made of the leaves of the cocoa-trees and fig-trees, and is very light." The indiscriminate diet of the people is alluded to as follows: "The people do eat roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing."—The account given of the priests is particularly striking. "In Pegu, they have many tallipoies, or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort unto them. When they enter into their Kiack (Kyaong,)—that is to say, their holy place or temple—at the door there is a great jar of water with a cock or ladle in it, and there they wash their feet, and then they enter in, and lift up their hands to their heads, first to their preacher, and then to the sun, and so sit down. The tallipoies go very strangely apparelled, with one gamboline, or thin cloth, next to their body, of a brown colour; another of yellow, doubled many times on their shoulder; and these two be girded to them with a broad girdle; and they have a skin of leather hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon they sit bareheaded and barefooted—for none of them weareth shoes—with their right arms bare, and a great broad sombrera, or shadow, in their hands, to defend them in the summer from the sun, and in the winter from the rain. When the tallipoies, or priests, take their orders, first they go to school until they be twenty years old or more, and then they come before a tallipoie appointed for that purpose, whom they call a Rawli: he is of the chiefest and most learned, and he opposeth them, and afterwards examineth them many times, whether they will leave their friends, and the company of all women, and take upon them the habit of a tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth upon a horse about the streets, very richly apparelled, with drums and pipes, to show that he leaveth the riches of the world to be a tallipoie. In a few days, he is carried upon a thing like a horse-litter, which they call a serion, upon ten or twelve men's shoulders,

in the apparel of a tallipoie, with pipes and drums, and many tallipoies with him, and all his friends; and so they go with him to his house, which standeth upon the town, and then they leave him. Every one of them hath his house, which is very little, set upon six or eight posts, and they go up to them with a ladder of twelve or fourteen staves. Their houses be, for the most part, by the highway's side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and covered, tied with a broad girdle upon their shoulder, which cometh under their arm, wherewith they go to beg their victuals, which is rice, fish, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the door, and the people presently do give them, some one thing and some another; and they put all together in their pot; for they say they must eat of their alms, and therewith content themselves. They keep their feasts by the moon; and when it is new moon, they keep their greatest feast, and then the people send rice and other things to that Kiack, or church, of which they be. And then all the tallipoies do meet, which be of that church, and eat the victuals which are sent them. When the tallipoies do preach, many of the people carry them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach; and there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other ceremonies nor service, that I could see, but only preaching."

In the time of Fitch's visit, and his statement seems confirmed by that of Gaspar Balbi, who preceded him only by three years, Pegu was governed by a Burman dynasty, and, although separated from Ava, ruled by a prince of the same family. This state of things was probably the result of the Burman conquest of Pegu, which was effected during the visit of Mendez Pinto, in 1546, and of which that writer has rendered so exaggerated and obviously unfaithful an account. We gather from Fitch's statements, that the kingdom of Pegu was in his time in a far more prosperous state than during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even to the present times. Besides the capital, he describes as large and flourishing places, Cosmin, or Bassein, Medon, Dalla,

Syrian, a place called by him Macao, and Martaban. The description given of the capital is, on account of the writer's ascertained fidelity, worth transcribing. "Pegu," says he, "is a city strong and very fair, with walls of stone and great ditches round about it. There are two towns, the old and the new. In the old town are all the merchant strangers, and very many merchants of the country. All the goods are sold in the old town, which is very great, and hath many suburbs round about it; and all the houses are made of canes, which they call bambos, and be covered with straw. In your house you have a warehouse or godon, which is made of brick, to put your goods in; for oftentimes they take fire, and burn in an hour four or five hundred houses: so that, if the godon were not, you should be in danger to have all burnt in a trice. In the new town, is the king, and all his nobility and gentry. It is a city very great and populous, and is made square, and with fair walls, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they be made of stone; for every square five gates. There are also many turrets for sentinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with gold very fair. The streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to another, and so broad that ten or twenty men may ride afront through them. On both sides them, at every man's door, is set a palm-tree, which is the nut-tree, which makes a very fair show, and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walk in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and covered with tile. The king's house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about; and the buildings within are made of wood, very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is upon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his pagoda or idol standeth is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walls are gilded with gold. Within the first gate of the king's house is a great large room, on both sides whereof are houses made for the king's elephants, which be marvellous great and fair, and are brought up to wars and in service of the king; and among the rest, he has four white elephants,

which are very strange and rare, for there is none other king hath them but he: if any other king hath one, he will send to him for it." Here, in reality, we have, although upon a large and magnificent scale, a pretty faithful description of the modern city of Ava, with its palaces, pagodas, and elephants.

The account given of the foreign trade of Pegu is equally faithful with the rest of Fitch's narrative, and is such as to convey a very respectable opinion of its extent in those early times. "In India," says our intelligent author, "there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, except opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of St. Thome, or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither also much cotton yarn, red coloured with a root which they call saia, which will never lose its colour: it is very well sold, and very much of it cometh yearly to Pegu. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, St. Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the bar of Negrais and Cosmin. To Martavan, a port of the sea in the kingdom of Pegu, come many ships from Malacca, laden with sandal, porcelains, and other wares of China, and with camphora of Borneo, and pepper from Achin, in Sumatra. To Cirion, a port of Pegu, come ships from Mecca, with woollen cloths, scarlets, velvets, opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight brokers, whom they call Tareghe, (Thare-gyi,) which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be worth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred, and they be bound to make your debt good; because you sell your merchandizes on their word. If the broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keep him in your house, which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children, and his slaves, and bind them at your door, and set them in the sun; for this is the law of the country. Their current money in these parts is a kind of brass, which they call ganza, wherewith you may buy gold, silver, rubies, musk, and all other things. The gold and silver is

merchandize, and is worth, sometimes more, sometimes less, as other wares be. This brazen money doth go by a weight, which they call a biza, (the viss, or paiktha ;) and, commonly, this biza, after our account, is worth about half-a-crown, or somewhat less. The merchandize which be in Pegu, are gold, silver, rubies, sapphires, spinells, musk, benjamin or frankincense, long pepper, tin, lead, copper, lacker whereof they make hard wax, rice and wine made of rice, and some sugar."

From the statement here given, we may conclude that the trade and industry of Pegu had rather retrograded than advanced in the long period of two hundred and twenty-five years, which preceded the last fifteen. Then we find Portuguese and Mohammedan merchants carrying on a brisk trade from Bengal, the South of India, and the Malay countries, and furnishing the Peguans with the productions of those countries and of China; while the Arabs import not only the produce of their own country, but the manufactures of Europe. In Fitch's description of the manners of the Peguans, there are a few facts only which do not agree with the existing order. The Peguans, who now paint, or rather tattoo their bodies, in the same manner as the Burmans, are stated, in his time, to have been interdicted from this practice, which was a distinctive mark of the true Burman. This would seem to imply that the Burman conquest was recent, and that the two nations had as yet in no manner assimilated, as in a good measure they have done in our times. Brass (not at present so used) is said to have been used as money: and a whimsical, indecent, and savage rite, practised by the men of the country, is confidently and fully described, which certainly has no longer any existence.

The Portuguese appear to have established themselves early in the Burmese dominions, and to have engaged both in war and trade; but of the existence of the English, even as merchants, no mention is made during the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth century, we find them possessed of factories in various parts of the country, even as far as B'hamo, the celebrated mart of the

Chinese inland trade. "On some dispute with the Bûraghmah* Government," says Dalrymple, "the Dutch threatened (if they did not even attempt) to bring in the Chinese. This, very justly, gave umbrage to the Bûraghmah, who immediately turned both English and Dutch out of his dominions; many years elapsed before the English could obtain leave to return, and the Dutch never were re-admitted."†

In 1695, Mr. N. Higginson, then Governor of Madras, sent a letter and embassy to the King of Ava; of the letter, the following is the address: "To his Imperial Majesty, who blesseth the noble city of Ava with his presence, Emperor of emperors, and excelling the Kings of the East and of the West in glory and honour; the clear firmament of virtue, the fountain of justice, the perfection of wisdom, the lord of charity, and protector of the distressed; the first mover in the sphere of greatness, president in council, victorious in war; who feareth none, and is feared by all: centre of the treasures of the earth and of the sea; lord proprietor of gold and silver, rubies, amber, and all precious jewels; favoured by heaven, and honoured by men; whose brightness shines through the world as the light of the sun, and whose great name will be preserved in perpetual memory." The letter goes on to say, "The fame of so glorious an Emperor, the lord of power and riches, being spread through the whole earth, all nations resort to view the splendour of your greatness, and, with your Majesty's subjects, to partake of the blessings which God Almighty hath bestowed upon your kingdoms above all others. Your Majesty has been pleased to grant your especial favours to the Honourable English Company, whose servant I am; and now send to present before the footstool of your throne a few toys, as an acknowledgment of your Majesty's goodness, which I beg your Majesty to accept, and to vouchsafe an audience to my servants, and a gracious answer to my petition.

"I humbly pray your Majesty's fountain of goodness to continue your

* The true name of this people is Mranma, pronounced by themselves Myama. We have the following European versions of it: Bramaa, Bûraghmah, Burma, Burman, and Burmese.

† Dalrymple's "Oriental Repertory."

wonted favours to the Right Honourable English Company, and to permit our factors to buy and sell, in such commodities, and under such privileges, as your royal bounty shall please to grant; and allow us such conveniencies as are necessary for the repair of ships, whereby I shall be encouraged to send my ships yearly to your Majesty's ports; having orders from the Honourable Company to send ships and factors into all parts of India, when their service requires it; and pray your Majesty to give me leave to send a factor next monsoon to reside at Syrian."

The envoy, on this occasion, was a Mr. Edward Fleetwood; and of his views and sentiments on the conduct of the Mission, the following is a good specimen. "I inquired if it would not be proper to ingratiate myself with the King's mistress, for that I heard that she could procure me almost any favour I should desire. He told me I must by no means do it; for a prince of the country that was come to court, not long since, to beg some favour of the King, applying himself to that lady for her assistance, did, for that very reason, not only miss of what he came to request, but was degraded, and hardly escaped severe punishment."

The audience is described as follows. "The present was carried by as many coolies as we could get, to the number of a hundred and sixty, in small bamboo-baskets. The letter was carried by Mr. King on horseback, before the present; and myself, attended by the linguist, followed the present. When we came to the garden-gate, where the King was, we alighted; where we were met by one of the ovidores, who was there ready to conduct me in, and to direct me in the manner of approaching the King. Here I took the letter from Mr. King, and stayed almost a quarter of an hour before the gates were opened, when we fell down upon our knees and made three bows; which done, we entered the garden, the present following, and, having gone about half-way from the gate to the place where the King was seated, we made three bows again as before; when we were got within fifteen yards of the King, we made three bows again, as we had done before, and were ordered to sit down. After we were sat down, the King ordered the ovidore to receive the letter; and

about half a quarter of an hour after, asked me the three usual questions; viz. How long I had been in my passage from Madras to his port of Syrian? How many days from Syrian to Ava? And, at my departure from Madras, if I had left my Governor in good health? I told his Majesty that I had been about thirty days in my passage from Madras to Syrian; about forty-two days from Syrian to Ava; and that, at my departure from Madras, thanks to God! I had left my Governor in good health, supplicating the Divine power for the continuation of his Majesty's health and happiness. After this, I sat about half a quarter of an hour longer, and then was dismissed."

The answer to the letter of the Governor of Madras is not in the person of the King; for this would be contrary to custom. It is in the following strain. "In the East, where the sun rises, and in that Oriental part of it which is called Chabudu; the Lord of water and earth, and Emperor of emperors, against whose Imperial Majesty if any shall be so foolish as to imagine any thing, it shall be happy for them to die and be consumed; the Lord of great charity, and Help of all nations, the great Lord esteemed for happiness; the Lord of all riches, of elephants, and horses, and all good blessings; the Lord of high-built palaces, of gold; the great and most powerful Emperor in this life, the soles of whose feet are gilt, and set upon the heads of all people: we, his great governor and resident here, called Moa Acsena Tibodis, do make known to the Governor N. Higginson."—It concludes as follows:—"The mighty and powerful Emperor has done the honour to the Governor for the English Company in Madras to send him a present, being 1500 viss lack, 2500 viss tin, 300 viss ivory, six earthen dishes, and eight lackered boxes."

The next notice we have of the Burman dominions is in 1709, when Pegu is described by Capt. Alexander Hamilton, in his "New Account of the East Indies." In interest, perspicuity, and accuracy, Hamilton's narrative is far inferior to that of Fitch, written a hundred and twenty-three years earlier. It is flippant, vague, and superficial, and bears all the marks of having been composed, as he himself acknowledges, "chiefly from the storehouse of his memory."

Pegu, in the time of Hamilton, was subject to Ava; and the capital, so well described by Fitch, was a ruin. Hamilton gives some account of Ava, the Burman capital, which, he states, he had from a Mr. Roger Alison, who had been twice on an embassy to the King from the Government of Fort St. George. Of these embassies there is no account extant that I am aware of.

We have no farther account of the Burman dominions until the period of the wars carried on between the Burmans and Peguans, in the middle of the last century; when the East India Company, in the year 1755, deputed Captain Robert Baker, the commander of an East Indiaman, as their ambassador. The embassy was to the celebrated Alompra, and at a highly interesting moment of his career, immediately on his conquest of Pegu. The East India Company upon this occasion appeared rather in a shabby light. Their present, for example, was certainly a gift not fit for a King. It consisted, according to the ambassador's own account, of the following list:—"Four chests of gunpowder; some shot; two muskets; two brass carbines; a gilt looking-glass; two bags of red earth, and six bottles of lavender-water." The ambassador performed the usual prostrations. "These," says he, "were performed on the knees, bowing the head three times low down, which was repeated three separate times from the palace, where it was first begun, to the palace steps." The ambassador had some misgivings, that by this conduct he was compromising, as he himself calls it, "the Honourable Company's dignity." His reply to any objections which might be urged on this head, however, are those of a man of sense. "I answer," says he, "the custom of this country is well known; that some such ceremony has been always paid; and they that would reform the manners of a jealous prince or bigoted people, need much force or eloquence; I was master of neither. Moreover, I was possessed of no instructions on that head, and I could not justify myself to those who had an authority to examine me, for interrupting that friendship and good understanding which we might expect to ensue from this journey, on a punctilio, which, in a little time, by prudent management, I believe may in a great measure be got over."

The King received the English envoy in state, his two eldest sons sitting at the foot of the throne. "Having paid him my compliments," says Captain Baker, "he looked at me for some time, and at length said, 'How does your King do?' I answered, he was well, when we had the last accounts from Europe.—'How old is he?' Seventy-two years.—'Is he at peace with his neighbouring princes?' Yes; and has been since the last war with our old enemy the French, which is now about six years." A curious conversation then ensues. The King charges the English with aiding the Peguans. Captain Baker, in reply, hopes it will in the event appear clearly to his Majesty, that if such assistance was given, it must have been through the force of the Peguans, or the fraud and device of our inveterate enemies the French. The King then ordered a letter from the English Chief of Negrais to be read; "to which," says Baker, "he gave calm attention, until coming to these words, 'As you will, by this means, obtain an alliance and friendship with so great a power as the Honourable East India Company, who can send you such assistance as will support your Majesty's throne against all future rebellions, domestic feuds, and foreign enemies.' At which he affecting a very hearty laugh, (and his officers in attendance, like true courtiers, joined in the chorus,) said, 'Have I asked? or, do I want any assistance to reduce my enemies to subjection? Let none conceive such an opinion! Have I not, in three years' time, extended my conquest three months journey on every quarter, without the help of cannon or muskets? Nay, I have, with bludgeons only, opposed and defeated these Peguans, who destroyed the capital of this kingdom, and took the Prince prisoner; and, a month hence, I intend to go with a great force in person to Dagoon (Rangoon), where I have an army now lying, when I will advance to the walls of Pegu, blockade and starve them out of it; which is the last town I have now to take to complete my conquest; and then I will go in quest of Bourno.'* Then, the Secretary proceeding on to these words, 'These gentlemen may be witnesses to your Majesty's placing your signet to the contract on your part, &c.'—he

* The French Chief of Syrian, afterwards treacherously put to death by Alompra.

again affected the same mirth, and was, too, again joined by his courteous attendants, saying, 'What madman wrote that?' The letter being gone through, he says, 'Captain, see this sword: it is now three years since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies; it is, indeed, almost blunt with use; but it shall be continued to the same till they are utterly dispersed. Don't talk of assistance, I require none: the Peguans I can wipe away as thus,' drawing the palm of one hand over the other."

"I told him," says Captain Baker, "I was convinced of his potency, but hoped, at the same time, our voluntary offer would not be taken in bad part. He answers, 'See these arms and this thigh;' (drawing the sleeves of his vesture over his shoulders, and tucking the lower part up to his crutch)—'amongst a thousand you won't see my match. I myself can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu. I protest, and God knows the truth of my assertion, that state is a burthen to me; 'tis a confinement which I endure only on account of the necessity there is for it towards the support of Government. I have carried my arms to the confines of China, the King of which country has sent me a rich present of curious things' (several of which he showed me); 'on the other quarter, I have reduced to my subjection the major part of the kingdom of Cassay, whose heir I have taken captive—see, there he sits behind you. I have also some of the Princesses in my court—they sit yonder. (Then says he to them, 'Come forth!' on which they passed before us.) 'I have upwards of a hundred near relations; amongst the rest an own brother—there he sits (pointing to him); and nine children, two of them men grown—there they are: they have behaved well in the late war; the third a youth—here he is; the rest are but young.'" In this account, which is graphic and interesting, the great Alompra appears as little better than a barbarian and a braggart. Yet he was a man of no common merit; but, on the contrary, imbued with many of the qualities necessary not only to his own personal aggrandisement, but really useful in promoting the progress of social order and civilization among his countrymen. Captain Baker gives the following character of him:—"Being thus successful in the wars, he began now to take a princelike

state on him, and to receive the compliments and courtesies usually paid to sovereigns in this country: which before he absolutely refused, saying God would send the people a prince; he, for his part, was only as an introduction to a revolution. Thus is the rise of the present King of the Bûraghmahs, (for he is now generally allowed as such, all officers taking their oaths of allegiance to him; and none now durst put him in mind of his having said God would appoint another king.) He is about forty-five years of age; about five feet eleven inches high; of a hale constitution, and sturdy though clean make, and of a complexion full as dark as the generality of Bûraghmahs: his visage somewhat long, though not thin, nor prominent; and coarse features, a little pitted with the small-pox: his aspect somewhat grave when serious; and, when seated in his throne, I thought he supported majesty with a tolerable grace: his temper, if I have made right inferences from my conversations with the people—for though he were a fiend from the lower regions, his subjects, through fear as a conqueror, would extol his virtues—is hasty; and disposition severe, or rather cruel. I don't remember to have heard any instance of his justice, though he himself administers it in almost every case, that deserves to be more remembered for its impartiality than severity, though the former never fails to meet with encomiums from them about him; for he always causes, and often sees, all corporal or capital punishments to be executed to the utmost rigour of the sentence, which generally argues rather a barbarous than humane disposition.

"As to his courage, his actions have often proved it undaunted and resolute, which, with that strictness of discipline he keeps in his army, has won him his crown. He has nine legitimate children by one wife; the three first sons: the eldest married, and is about twenty-two years of age; the second about nineteen, and is married also. He has also abundant relations and dependents, whom he generally employs in posts of trust or consequence; and so many of the principal men of the country have lent a hand to his cause, and are now become interested in it, that if he happens to complete his conquest of the Peguans this season (as, putting by the assistance the French may

render them, has certainly much probability in it), it will, in all human appearance, be more than the fugitive Prince can do to retrieve his right, until some unforeseen contingencies may come to pass, or the hearts of the people, which is often seen to change, shall happen to be united in a disposition to favour his restoration."

The next embassy to the King of Ava, Alompra also, was that of Ensign Lester, in 1757, deputed by the Chief of Negrais. On this occasion, the customary etiquette of the Burman Court was complied with; the envoy approaching the King on his knees, and leaving his sword and shoes behind. Some remonstrance was attempted against this arrangement; but he was informed, "that no person, let him be of the highest rank, could have audience given them by the Great King of Ava, Pigu, &c. &c. (Allaum Praw, next to God,) if they did not conform to the above." During the audience, the envoy was somewhat incommoded from continuing too long in the Oriental posture, and upon this and other important matters expresses himself as follows:—"As I had not room to stretch my legs out, and I was somewhat uneasy, I saw a small stool behind me, which I took and sat on: this caused a laughter among the great men about me: the King asked the reason, and was informed; on which he rose up and came close to me, and laughed very heartily, and asked me what was the reason that Englishmen could not kneel; I told him we were not accustomed to it; on which he pointed to the yard of the boat which was close by, and told me I might sit there. I told his Majesty I was not insensible of the honour he did me. He then pointed to the Prince of Persaim, and told me he had given him a new name, Mungee Narataw, on account of his good behaviour. The King then asked me several questions through the above interpreters, viz. 'Does your King go to the wars and expose his person, as I do? Do you understand the use of ordnance, &c.? Could you point a gun, to kill a man at a great distance? Is there as much rain in your country as in this? What is the reason you wear that at your shoulder? (my shoulder-knot.) How much money does the Company pay you per month? Why don't you black your

bodies and thighs, as we do? (at the same time rising up, and showing me his thigh. 'Let me feel your hand;' feeling my fingers and wrist, he said we were like women, because we did not black as above. Is there ice in your country, as in mine—small creeks froze over? I answered to all the above questions, which seemed to please them; and to the last question, I told him that I had seen a river, as broad as this his Majesty is now in, (meaning London river,) frozen over, and an ox roasted whole upon the ice; to which the King, as also all the great men about him, laughed heartily. The King asked me what was the reason we did not leave the Negrais, and come all to Persaim, and settle there? I told him that the Negrais was a key to that river: if we lost it entirely, that the French, whom I believe we were now at war with, would likely come there; but that we should come with a firm resolution to settle at Persaim, if his Majesty would indulge us in settling the treaty, and leave a small force at the Negrais. The King then said, if all the powers in the world were to come, he would drive them out of his country. He then asked me, if we were afraid of the French; I told him that the English and French had no great liking for each other, but there never was that Englishman born that was afraid of a Frenchman."

Mr. Lester had a second audience of the King, in which his Majesty again appears as a great boaster. "The short time I was with the King, he asked me several questions of the same kind as the last time I was with him. He likewise told me that he would go to Madras, and carry a large chest of rich stones, with all sorts of other commodities which his country afforded: he likewise told me, if a nine-pound shot was to be fired out of a gun, and come against his body, it could not enter; with some other things of the same kind. As his barge was just going to put off, I asked the King if he had any commands to the Chief of Negrais; he told me he had given Antonio a letter, which he would deliver to me; made me a present of eighteen oranges, two dozen heads of Indian corn, and five cucumbers: so I took my leave of this great Monarch, and came away; and, on our coming to the boat, Antonio told me that the boat I came in must go to Ava with the King, and I must remove

to another boat, showing me a small inconvenient boat which was almost sinking. I was obliged to go into this boat, or go to Ava with the King; so I agreed, as I could not help myself. But I advise any gentleman that should come on these occasions, before they leave the Negrais, to get a good conveyance; for of all mankind which I have seen, the Bûraghmah promises the most and performs the least."

Mr. Lester obtained a grant of the Island of Negrais, and of a piece of ground at Bassein for a factory, with a favourable commercial treaty. But this was the last concession made to us, through mere diplomatic agency, by any state to the Eastward of the Bay of Bengal; and the reason is obvious. This was the very moment of the rise of our Indian empire—of the victories of Lawrence and Clive; and the progress of our arms naturally threw the Eastern princes upon their guard. In fact, two years after the mission of Ensign Lester, the Island of Negrais, reduced to a miserable garrison of a dozen individuals, by the withdrawing of the principal force for the defence of Bengal, was cut off by an act of treachery and assassination on the part of the renowned Alompra; for it appears that the enterprise, through fair means, was above the strength of this mighty conqueror. The true motives were explained to Captain Alves, in the mission of this officer, which took place in the following year, 1760. His courtiers represented to Alompra, "that the English were a very dangerous people, and, if not prevented in time, he would find, would act in the same manner as they had done in Bengal, and on the coast, where the first settlements were made in the same manner as at Negrais, but that, by degrees, they had fortified themselves, and brought men, and all manner of military stores in, under various pretences, till they thought they were strong enough, then they pulled off the mask, and made kings whom they pleased, and levied all the revenues of the country at discretion."

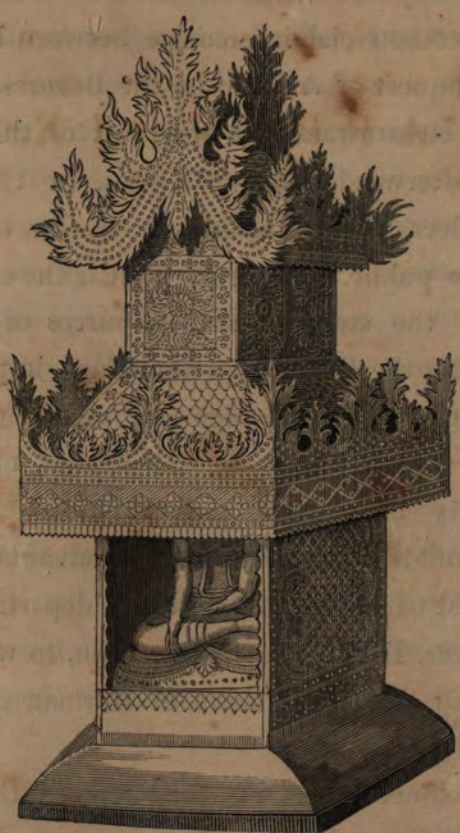
The apprehension entertained by the Burmans of our power has, in all likelihood, given rise to prophecies existing amongst them, that their country is to be conquered by a race of white men. Such a prophecy is even of earlier

date than the conquests of Alompra. Captain George Baker, the officer already quoted, makes the following curious statement on this subject. "I cannot help taking notice of another prophecy, universally received, which greatly impeded any grant from the Pegu Government, though the Bûraghmah Prince seems to despise it. It is a report that, about this period, a nation wearing hats shall conquer the empire, and overthrow the Government. I mention this that I might have an opportunity of observing, that in all countries there are vulgar prophecies, which will ensure success to the politician who is observant of them."

For four-and-thirty years we seem to have had little diplomatic intercourse with the Burman empire. In the mean while, the timber of Pegu became a necessary in our Indian naval and military arsenals, and this chiefly gave rise to a commercial intercourse between Pegu and our principal settlements. The conquest of Arracan by the Burmese at length made them our neighbours; and circumstances arising out of this event, produced the mission of Captain, afterwards Colonel Symes, in 1795. The narrative of this accomplished officer, long published, is by far the most complete and satisfactory before the public. Its great fault is the exaggerated impression which it conveys of the strength and resources of the Burman empire. Colonel Symes describes the Burmese as a civilized, improving, numerous, and warlike race: a picture of them which our recent contest, and the close examination of their character, which the results of that contest afforded us an opportunity of making, are far indeed from having verified. Colonel Symes, it should be noticed, had the advantage of being accompanied by a distinguished naturalist, and, in every department, a judicious, careful, and zealous inquirer, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, to whom we are especially indebted for nearly all that was known of Burman geography previous to the late war.

The mission of Colonel Symes was followed, in the succeeding year, by another, under Captain Cox, of which the narrative was published in 1821. This work, with errors of style and arrangement, to be expected in a posthu-

mous publication, abounds in useful information, and, upon the whole, exhibits a more faithful picture of the Burmans and their country, than the more ambitious and agreeable narrative of his predecessor. In 1802, Colonel Symes went on a second mission to Ava, which was attended by no satisfactory result. Of this no account has been published, nor did the envoy avail himself of the additional information which he collected, for the correction of his former statements or opinions. In 1809, Major Canning was entrusted with a mission to Ava, the difficult object of which was to explain to the Burmans the nature of our system of blockade. The information collected by this officer tended to correct the highly-coloured picture of the Burman nation, drawn by his immediate predecessor.



Household Temple in silver, with an image of Budd'ha.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ENVOY'S PUBLIC INSTRUCTIONS.

To J. CRAWFURD, Esq. Civil Commissioner, Rangoon.

Sir—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Dispatch of the 12th ultimo, reporting, in reply to the Instructions of the 14th April last, your sentiments on the subject of the contemplated mission of an Envoy to the Court of Ava, in which capacity you have, with your accustomed zeal for the public service, expressed your readiness to proceed to the capital.

2.—The Governor-General in Council entirely concurs in the suggestions submitted in the third paragraph of your letter, regarding the style and equipment of the Envoy, and sanctions the employment of the Diana steam-vessel for your conveyance, and the appointment of the escort of fifty Europeans, with two British officers, as therein proposed. In the event of Lieutenant Campbell, of his Majesty's 38th Regiment, being attached to the escort, his Lordship in Council authorizes you to employ him, as suggested by you, as a second and temporary assistant during your mission, and his Excellency the Commander-in-chief will be requested to grant him leave of absence from his corps for the period in question.

3.—Regarding the general demeanour to be observed by you in your intercourse with the Court of Ava, adverted to in the sixth paragraph of your letter, I am directed to observe, that the Governor-General in Council must necessarily leave a great deal to your approved judgment and experience, concluding also, that you will shape your proceedings in ceremonials and other matters of etiquette with advertence generally to the precedents of Lieutenant-Colonel Symes and Major Canning, modifying and suiting them to existing circumstances as may seem to you politic and expedient after due consideration and consulting with Mr. Judson and others best acquainted with the character, customs, and feelings of the Burmese. His Lordship in Council observes, that you state Mr. Judson's opinions

on this subject to accord with your own present views and sentiments. These opinions, it is presumed, refer to what is said by Mr. Judson of the inexpediency of reminding the Burmese of their subjection, by haughtiness of conduct, or assumption of superiority on the part of the British officers, and not to the question of the permanent residence of an Envoy at Ava. On this latter point, the Governor-General in Council does not deem it necessary to come to any final determination at the present moment, but will await the receipt of farther information from you as to the advantage or otherwise of such an arrangement, when you shall have become more intimately acquainted with the feelings and deportment of the Burman King towards the British Mission. His Lordship in Council's present notion is, that every useful purpose will be accomplished by a temporary residence at the capital of a few months.

4.—With regard to the subject of the seventh and following paragraphs of your letter, namely, the negotiation of the Commercial Convention provided for by the Treaty of Peace, I am directed to observe to you, that the draft of the engagement previously submitted by you in a private form, was taken into consideration in the Territorial Department, and a reference made from thence to the Board of Customs. The Governor-General in Council, concurring generally in the sentiments expressed by that Board, a copy of whose letter will be found in the accompanying extract from the proceedings of Government, in the Territorial Department, you will regulate your discussions with the Court of Ava, in the spirit of the Board's observations, adopting the principle of perfect equality and reciprocity, as stated in the third paragraph of your letter, and refraining from any attempt to obtain exclusive privileges. These, it is probable, would be viewed with jealousy by the Burman ministers, and, if conceded, might be obtained at a greater sacrifice of what we should have to yield, as an equivalent, than would be desirable, as we should thus be deprived of turning to better advantage the rights we possess under the Treaty to the third and fourth instalments. The relinquishments of part or the whole of these instalments, as you observe, is what we have to offer in return for commercial privileges; but it appears to his Lordship in Council that it would not be politic to propose such an equivalent at the present time, as, independently of other considerations, we should thereby forego a powerful hold we possess upon the Burmese, to obtain from them a satisfactory adjustment of some other points of greater importance, perhaps, than the exclusive commercial privileges contemplated, which, after all, might never come into operation on any great scale. By commencing in our commercial dealings with the Burmese on terms of equal and reciprocal advantage, we shall secure their hearty concurrence in our views; and as the traffic between the two countries may extend, and the value of it come to be better known to the Burman Court, we may reasonably indulge the hope, that it will more readily listen to any farther propositions connected with commerce which we may then bring forward, and consent to an arrangement for granting to us such exclusive privileges as, with our farther experience of their character and conduct, we may deem it advisable to purchase in the mode contemplated. In the existing uncertainty, with regard to the ultimate disposal of our territorial acquisitions on the Martaban and Tennasserim coast, his Lordship in Council would be unwilling to enter into any complex commercial arrangements which, after all, might prove to be of little practical value.

On the whole, it appears to his Lordship in Council the most advisable course to simplify, as much as practicable, the terms of commercial relations with the Government of Ava, and to avoid going into many of the details contained in your sketch of a Commercial Treaty, which, it is to be apprehended, would only tend to excite suspicion and jealousy, and be followed by few practical results. His Lordship in Council is happy to observe, that in the ninth paragraph of your letter you appear yourself to be of opinion that it would not be politic to come to a hasty decision on the relinquishment of the remaining instalments, and that farther inquiry and experience are necessary.

6.—On the subject of the establishment of a Consul or Commercial Agent at Rangoon, discussed in the eleventh paragraph of your letter, his Lordship in Council deems it sufficient to observe, that under the present impression of the inexpediency of maintaining permanently a Resident at the Court of Ava, it is not considered of any importance whether or not the Burmese Court consent to recognize a second local British authority in Ava. The principal British authority, under whatever designation, of Resident, Agent, or Consul, may himself generally reside at Rangoon; and on the occasion of his proceeding to the capital on any special duty, some subordinate authority may be left to officiate at Rangoon—an arrangement to which his Lordship in Council does not imagine the Court of Ava can have any possible objection.

7.—The subject adverted to in the concluding paragraph of your letter, namely, the settlement of the line of demarcation, is one of great importance, and may form, his Lordship in Council conceives, one of the most delicate and difficult discussions with the Court of Ava. As far as regards Assam, his Lordship in Council does not anticipate any objections on the part of the Burmese Government, since, when once excluded from Assam itself, the Burmese Government can have little interest in maintaining any authority over the rude tribes of the adjoining country, who are too poor to hold out any inducement to the Burmans to establish themselves in that quarter. The Governor-General in Council is unable to furnish you with any precise information touching the boundaries of Eastern Assam; but these instructions will be accompanied by copies of the latest correspondence with the Agent to the Governor-General on the north-east frontier, on the subject in question; and in any discussions with the Court, you will assume the line laid down by Mr. Scott; consenting, however, to any farther local inquiry which may be necessary, and offering to refer the point to your Government for its orders.

8.—In like manner I am directed to transmit to you copies of a recent correspondence with the Commissioner in Sylhet, regarding Munnipore, which will place you in full possession of the views and sentiments of Government with respect to Rajah Gumbheer Singh. His Lordship in Council trusts, that as the Burmese themselves retreated from the Kubboo district, and retired beyond the Neengte, you will succeed in establishing that river as the boundary. You will of course consult the senior Commissioner fully on this subject, and avail yourself of all the information he possesses, as to what passed between him and the Burmese Commissioners at Yandabo, regarding Munnipore and its Chief. It is obvious that we possess in the remaining instalments more than an equivalent to obtain the satisfactory adjustment of all disputed points regarding the boundaries of Assam and Munni-

pore, as well as those to the southward; but his Lordship in Council would not wish that any thing definitive should be settled, without farther reference to your Government, since in the interval we may expect to obtain more correct information from Mr. Scott and Mr. Tucker. With regard to Gumbheer Singh in particular, you will observe, on reference to the Correspondence, that the views and wishes of that chieftain are still very uncertain. It is to be borne in mind also, that we may have equivalents in land (as well as in the remaining money due to us) to offer for the adjustment of a well-defined boundary on the Assam and Munnipore frontier; since our permanent occupation of all the territory ceded to us on the Martaban and Tennasserim coast is by no means finally settled, but contingent on the decision of the Authorities in England. Relatively to our boundary on the side of Aracan, the Governor-General in Council persuades himself that no serious difficulties will be found to exist, the range of mountains referred to in the third article of the Treaty of Peace appearing to extend to the very southern extremity at Negrais. If, however, the Burmese should appear to possess a just claim to any lands where the range of mountains may be ill-defined, or may not be admitted as the line of demarcation described in the Treaty, you will endeavour to ascertain, as correctly as possible, their position and extent, and report the circumstances for the consideration of his Lordship in Council, and the matter will remain for final adjustment by commissioners, as provided for in the Treaty. The Governor-General in Council deems it proper, in this place, to advert to your dispatch on the subject of the Island of Negrais, which you conceive would form a very desirable acquisition to us at the mouth of the Bassein river. The subject is one deserving of consideration, and should not be lost sight of in the event of any future exchange of territory; but you will be careful not to originate at the present time any propositions for farther cessions of territory, though you may receive any offers on their part for mutual exchanges.

9.—On the side of Martaban you appear to contemplate the probability of discussion with the Court of Ava, whose feelings, in respect to their loss of territory in that quarter, will, you apprehend, be aggravated by the emigration of its subjects. His Lordship in Council is fully sensible of the extreme difficulty which the British Commissioners experienced in settling the boundaries in that quarter, with the defective information which they then possessed. The proceedings of the Commissioners relative to the conference held with the Plenipotentiaries of the King of Ava on the subject of the fourth article of the Treaty are also imperfect, and do not show whether the Saluen river was agreed to as the line of demarcation, after the maps therein referred to had been inspected by the Burman Agents, though it may be presumed that this was the case. This subject will be more fully adverted to in a separate letter respecting Martaban: but I am directed to observe, in this place, that on all doubtful points connected with the boundaries of the ceded territories, the Governor-General in Council would lay it down, as a rule for your guidance, that the Burmese should have the benefit of the most liberal construction of the Treaty. With regard to the principal island, namely, that called in our charts Pelew and Bruxe's Island, his Lordship in Council understood, from the senior Commissioner, that it was known to lie distinctly to the south or south-east of the main channel of the Saluen river, and was consequently included in the

cession to us; but his Lordship in Council authorizes you to receive any proofs which the Burmese may offer of their title, under the terms of the Treaty, and to refer the question for the farther consideration of Government, accompanied, of course, by all the local information which has since the Treaty been collected by the officers deputed to that quarter.

10.—You will not have failed to observe that hitherto the Governor-General in Council has treated the question of negotiating the satisfactory adjustment of boundaries by the relinquishment, if necessary or expedient, of a part or the whole of the two remaining instalments, under the supposition that we are to retain our recent acquisitions on the Martaban and Tennasserim coast. As the question of occupation will be farther discussed in my separate letter, in reply to your dispatches relating more particularly to those territories, it will be sufficient to observe here, that if it be hereafter determined to withdraw from the whole, or the greater portion of them, many of the questions relating to boundaries in other quarters will be of comparatively easy adjustment, as we shall then have so much to offer in exchange; and with regard to the right to the islands of the Saluen river, no question need be raised at all.

11.—Enclosed, I have the honour to transmit to you the English draft of the letter which the Governor-General has addressed to the King of Ava. The original, with your credentials and the presents for his Majesty, will be transmitted to you from the Persian Department.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
GEORGE SWINTON,
Secretary to the Government.

Fortwilliam,
30th June, 1826.

No. II.

ENVOY'S REPORT OF HIS MISSION.

TO GEORGE SWINTON, ESQ. SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR—I have the honour to lay before his Excellency the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council a full and circumstantial narrative of the proceedings of the Mission to the Court of Ava, from the period of its quitting Rangoon. Referring to the details therein contained, I shall confine my present dispatch to a few necessary remarks, and explanations upon the results of the Mission.

From the narrative of our proceedings, it will be seen that, on the 23d of November, a Commercial Treaty was concluded with the Burmese Government, a copy of which is appended to this dispatch. I had not the advantage of receiving the public and detailed instructions of Government until the day after that document was signed and sealed. I trust, however, it will be found that, in the conduct of the discussion throughout, I have

followed the principles laid down for my guidance in the general instructions of Government, as well as in the confidential suggestions with which I had been favoured.

The copious sketch of a Treaty which I had the honour to submit to the Government in my dispatch of the 5th of June, was soon discovered to be inapplicable to the present state of our relations with the Burmese Government, to the feelings, and the ascertained character of the Court. This document, which originally consisted of twenty-two articles, was therefore reduced to seven, before it was even proposed to the Burman Government. Two of these seven, which were afterwards objected to by the Burmese as not being strictly of a commercial nature, were abandoned on my part without much difficulty, in order to obviate the risk of exciting suspicion or jealousy, as well as with the hope of facilitating the attainment of other conditions, which appeared to be more essential. The Treaty, as it was finally carried, consists only of four articles, upon which I proceed to offer a few remarks.

The substance of the Treaty throughout is, with little exception, the same as that of the draft originally given in by me at the commencement of the negotiation; but the style and diction are entirely Burman, and no English original exists. The motives which induced me to rest satisfied with a Burman version only, are recorded on the proceedings of the Mission, and I hope will be approved by the Government. I shall only add at present, that the terms and idiom being purely Burman, and the unrestricted choice of its own officers, there will, it may be hoped, be less risk of its being misconstrued or misapplied, than was found during the negotiation to be the case with the Treaty of Peace, of which I may truly affirm, that there was not one provision which the Burmese Court did not attempt, in some shape or other, to put a forced construction favourable to its own interests, and too often in direct variance both with the letter and spirit of the agreement.

The first article of the Convention stipulates generally for a free commercial intercourse between the subjects of the two Governments, and for protection to the persons and property of those engaged in trade. It in fact, however, makes no real alteration in the circumstances under which that trade has been long conducted; but it may be said to secure, by the formalities of a public instrument, a branch of British commerce which had hitherto existed only by sufferance.

By the second article of the Treaty, all British vessels, not exceeding fifty tons burthen, or thereabouts, are exempted from the payment of tonnage duties and port charges. This places our trade in the ports of the Burman Empire nearly on a footing with that of its own subjects and of the Chinese, whose boats and junks seldom exceed the tonnage now mentioned, and who have always been exempt from the payment of such charges. The stipulation makes no change in the state of the Burman trade at British ports. The privilege thus secured to us may, it is hoped, give rise to a coasting trade of some value and extent between the Burmese ports and our various settlements in the Bay of Bengal.

The third article secures some advantages to British merchants resident in the Burman dominions, although far short of those required by the justice and necessity of the case.

According to the Burman laws, all vessels shipwrecked upon the coast are forfeited, and become the property of the King. This arbitrary and unjust law is cancelled by the fourth

and last article of the Convention, which stipulates for British property shipwrecked, the same immunity and protection as under civilized governments.

The greatest obstacle to the extension of British commerce in the Burman dominions, was the rigid prohibition which has at all times existed against the exportation of the precious metals. The Government will perceive the ineffectual attempts which I made to overcome it. The Burmese Government entertains a strong prejudice against the exportation of gold and silver, conceiving that it tends to the inevitable impoverishment of the country. The evidence which exists on the proceedings, however, will show that it was not of such a nature, but that it might have been overcome. This however, as will be seen by the records of the negotiation, must have been effected at such sacrifices as would not have been worth the cost. The Burman Government, in fact, did not fail to observe, in the course of the discussions, that this was the only concession of moment which it had in its power to make, in return for demands of vital consequence which it had resolved to make through its own ambassadors in Bengal; and it determined, therefore, to withhold it, presuming that it might be held out to us as an equivalent in a future negotiation.

Another grievance which was severely felt by British merchants, native, and European, residing in the Burman dominions, was the prohibition to take along with them their families upon quitting the country. I endeavoured, in vain, to procure the abrogation of this custom, which was refused on the same principle as that concerning the exportation of the precious metals, viz. a desire to produce it as a set-off against the large demands which it was in contemplation to make in Bengal.

From the sketch thus exhibited, the Government will perceive that much has not been effected in respect to our commercial relations with the Burmans. The path has, however, been cleared for entering into more liberal and extended arrangements, should it hereafter be found expedient to renew the negotiation. The temper of the Court of Ava, on this particular point, has been fully ascertained, and the records of the discussion will render any future negotiation safe and easy.

The next question which I have the honour to bring under the notice of the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council, is that of our Eastern frontier. The Government will perceive with satisfaction, from the records of the negotiation, that the Burmese Government acknowledges not only the independence of Assam and Cachar, but of Munnipore. This result has arisen from the fortunate circumstance of the article of the Treaty of Yandabo, which refers to this particular subject, being more distinctly and fully worded in the Burman than in the English version, as will be observed from the literal translation of that document, which, for convenience of reference, I have appended to this report.

As far as Munnipore in particular is concerned, it will be perceived that in the Burman translation there is superadded to the English version this strong expression, that "Gumbheer Singh shall not be molested in the government of his principality by the King of Ava," which is interpreted by the Burmese Government to amount to an exclusion from all interference whatever on its part. These sentiments are fully explained in the note given in by the Burmese negotiators at the conference of the 3d of November. Having ascertained the

temper of the Burman Court upon this subject, I communicated my sentiments on the independency of Munnipore, in a note delivered in at the conference of the 5th of November. No objections were offered to the opinions expressed in this document, either at the time, or in the discussion which took place on the 10th of November; so that the independence of Munnipore upon the Court of Ava may be considered as a point clearly determined.

The limits of the two countries, however, still continue unsettled, and this question must become the subject of future negotiation. At present, the claims of the two parties seem difficult to reconcile. As far as I am able to form a judgment from the few facts which have come to my knowledge, those of the Burmese Government are so extravagant, that, could they be substantiated, Gumbheer Singh would be deprived of the larger portion of what he considers, and, I suspect, justly, the proper principality of Munnipore. The legitimate boundaries of the two countries can only be ascertained and fixed by local inquiry and investigation instituted by British agents, and through the mediation of the British Government; for, to leave so delicate and difficult a matter to be adjusted between the parties themselves in the present state of their feelings, would inevitably produce such a collision of interests as must end in hostilities between them.

It is the probability of our being their immediate neighbours at Munnipore, which has chiefly alarmed the Burmese Government. They are sufficiently aware, that from this point their capital and the heart of their dominions are open to invasion either by land or water. Their apprehensions on this subject are expressed in the note of the Burman negotiators of the 3d of November, already quoted; and more fully in the conferences of the 5th and 10th of the same month. I trust, the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council will approve of the explanations which I afforded, with a view of removing the fears of the Burmese Government on this point. I considered myself warranted, in making the assurance that the British Government had no intention of occupying Munnipore, and that Gumbheer Singh should not be aided either in men, money, or advice, to the prejudice of the Burmese Government. This explanation was founded on the ground of what was admitted by the British Commissioners at Yandabo, in the conference of the 23d of February 1826, when it was expressly conceded that we had no intention of occupying Munnipore ourselves, as well as by the spirit of the instructions of Government, conveyed in the eighth paragraph of a dispatch to my address of the 30th of June.

By the strict letter of the Treaty of Yandabo, it does not appear that we are precluded from occupying the Munnipore territory, or from admitting Gumbheer Singh into the number of our tributaries; but, as no mention was made at the conferences of our intention of doing so, the Burmese Government have a fair claim to any doubt which may arise on the subject. Still, Munnipore must virtually be considered as an ally of the British Government; and, in the event of the principality being endangered by the hostility of the Burmans, we shall become necessarily guarantees for the security of a State, the independence of which we have ourselves established by Treaty; and of which the safety will probably be found a condition necessary to the preservation of peace, and the integrity of our frontier, at a point where it is unquestionably the weakest.

The Government will observe from the minutes of the conference of the 10th of No-

vember, that I was anxious to send a British officer across to Munnipore, for the purpose of collecting information, chiefly on the subject of the frontier between that State and Ava; and the Burman negotiators appeared at first to give their assent to this measure. After the conference in question, however, neither this point, nor any other respecting Munnipore, was brought forward by the Burman Authorities; and, on my part, I carefully abstained from renewing the subject in any shape, for fear of exciting the well-known jealousy of the Burmese Court on all such points, as well as because I was satisfied that the negotiation in this respect had already been productive of all the results contemplated by the Government in my instructions.

In reference to the Aracan frontier, I have much satisfaction in reporting, that no question whatever has arisen. The Burmese version of the Treaty of Yandabo is so full and clear upon this point, as to have fortunately precluded the possibility of any exception being made on the part of the Burmese Government.

The question of frontier at Martaban became early a subject of discussion, as Government will perceive by the minutes of the conference of the 22d October, one of the first which was held. The subject was renewed in a more formal manner by the Burman negotiators on the 12th of November, by the production of a note, which, as well as my reply, will be found in the minutes of that day's conference. A conversation followed, which will also be found duly recorded. The result of this conference established the Saluen river, in the amplest and clearest manner, as the boundary between our southern acquisitions, and the Burman territory. A farther answer to the paper given in by me on the 12th was promised in a conference which took place on the 17th, but it was never furnished; nor was the claim of the Burman Government renewed in any form whatever. On the contrary, at one of the last conferences which took place, our occupation of the eastern bank of the Saluen was referred to by the Burman negotiators as a permanent arrangement.

The subject of Balú Island, in the channel of the Saluen river, was never introduced at all by the Burman negotiators; and I also abstained from bringing it forward, seeing that no advantage could accrue from agitating a question which may be easily settled at any time on the basis laid down in the 3d and 4th articles of the Treaty of Yandabo; or the cession of which may be obtained, should it be found expedient, by the relinquishment of money or other territory.

His Excellency the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council will observe, that the opinions expressed by the senior Commissioner, in a dispatch from the Commissioners at Rangoon, dated the 15th August, in reference to the Martaban frontier, are fully substantiated by the results of the negotiation at Ava. The Saluen river, it will appear, was deliberately selected as the line of demarcation, by the British Commissioners at Yandabo; the fullest explanations were afforded to the Burman Commissioners during the conferences, and they were not called upon to sign the Treaty, until they had ample time to deliberate upon its contents. It fortunately happened, that one of the Commissioners of Yandabo was also a negotiator at Ava, while the two interpreters were also present; so that the fairest and amplest opportunity was offered of invalidating the statements produced by me,—or of adducing evidence of Burmese claims, had any existed.

The question of emigration from the Burman dominions to the territories ceded to the British Government, was one which it was believed might have led to serious and difficult discussions with the Burman Court. This by no means, however, turned out in the sequel to be the case. The subject was not privately hinted at, nor publicly introduced, until the last conference but one. Upon that occasion, no claim was made to the individuals who had emigrated; and the sole object of the Burman Government seemed to be to sow dissension between those individuals and us, by representing them as dangerous and disloyal persons. The fact is, that the question of emigration into our territories was one of local interest at Rangoon only; that it excited little interest, and was little understood by the Court; and that the partial communication which was made on the subject nearly at the close of the negotiation, seems to have originated in a casual communication made from the Authorities in the lower provinces about this time.

The introduction of the question of emigration by the Burmese negotiators, appeared a suitable moment for bringing forward the important question of the release of the Asiatic prisoners seized by the Burman Government in the course of the war, and detained in contravention of the eleventh article of the Treaty of Yandabo, which was accordingly done in the conferences of the 2d and 5th of December, a note being formally given in on the latter day on the subject. As far as the statements of the prisoners themselves can be relied upon, it appears that there are from six to seven thousand persons, taken captive during the war, now forcibly detained in the Burman dominions, and in a state of slavery: these chiefly consist of natives of Munnipore, Cachar, and Assam, with a few inhabitants of the district of Sylhet.

By the English draft of the Treaty of Yandabo, the release of all prisoners whatsoever, European, American, or Asiatic, is expressly stipulated for. The Burman version, however, is not so favourable; for, as far as Indian are concerned, it provides only for the release of such persons as come under the name of *black Kulas;* that is to say, as far as the present case is concerned, of all persons of the Christian, Mohammedan, and Hindoo persuasions, being inhabitants of the states and countries lying north-west of the Burman dominions. I much fear that it excludes the followers of the Buddhist faith, who are inhabitants of Aracan, Cassay, Cachar, and Assam; composing, in all probability, the majority of the prisoners.

The honour of the Government is concerned in seeing justice done to the unfortunate persons now alluded to; and I am in hopes that the Burmese Court, through its ambassadors about to be sent to Bengal, may be disposed to enter into such an arrangement for their relief, as justice and good faith require. Promises to this effect were held out to me confidentially; but when I consider the disingenuousness and pertinacity evinced by the Burmese Authorities upon this subject in the course of the discussions, I do not venture to entertain any very sanguine hopes of success.

The payment of the fourth and fifth instalments of the crore of rupees, due on the Treaty of Yandabo, was, as the Government will perceive by the proceedings, a subject of repeated discussions during the negotiation. It was first introduced in the propositions given in by the Burmese negotiators at the conference of the 3d of November. That document is obviously worded with studied ambiguity, and it is very difficult to collect from it

to what extent the demands of the Burmese Government are intended to be carried. They amount, however, at least to a demand for the remission of the two last instalments.

My reply to this paper is contained in a note delivered in at the conference held on the 5th of November. Government will there perceive, that I took upon myself the responsibility of proposing to put off the period of paying the instalments for a limited time, on certain conditions, fully detailed on the proceedings. The motives which induced me to take this step are now to be explained. I was, in the first place, thoroughly convinced of the incapacity of the Burmese Government to make punctual payment of the instalments as they became due; and that therefore some arrangement to facilitate to them the means of payment was absolutely necessary, if for no other reason than to prevent embarrassment to ourselves.

Of the poverty of the present Burman Government, as far as my inquiries go, there can be no question. The late King of Ava, by disposition parsimonious, after a reign of thirty-eight years, more peaceful and tranquil than that of any of his predecessors, had accumulated a treasure, which, for a Burman prince, may be considered considerable. I have received three distinct accounts, from as many different quarters, of the amount of this treasure. The highest statement makes it 7,500,000 ticals of flowered silver; and the second, upon which I place most reliance, makes it only 4,600,000. The third statement, which is also from good authority, gives only the treasure in silver, which it estimates at 3,600,000. By this last account, the amount of gold is alleged to have been very inconsiderable. All the three accounts assert, that the whole of this sum has been expended by his present Majesty in the removal of his capital, in the building of extensive palaces and temples, but, above all, in conducting the late war, towards the latter part of which, it is sufficiently known that large disbursements, contrary to the general usage of Government, were made from the public treasury.

His present Majesty ascended the throne in the year 1819, and in pecuniary matters is of a very opposite character from his predecessor. He has no passion for accumulating money, and has hitherto levied no contributions, having that object immediately in view, as his predecessor had frequently done. During a considerable part of his short reign, he has been engaged in an expensive contest; has been long deprived, by our occupation of it, of the revenue of that portion of his country which had hitherto contributed the most to filling the public treasury; besides having, over and above these causes, already paid to ourselves, with the assistance of contributions from his courtiers, a sum amounting, by Burman estimation, to 3,750,000 ticals.

The treasure which is not already in the public coffers is certainly not likely soon to be collected from a country essentially poor. The results of my inquiries, of which I shall have the honour soon to lay an abstract before the Government, go to prove that the Burman territory is but very partially cultivated, and thinly peopled by a race of inhabitants who have made little progress in useful industry. The financial system of the Government is rude, barbarous, and inefficient, beyond what can be easily believed. No regular land revenue, as in other Asiatic countries, is collected, on account of the sovereign, the great majority of the lands being given away in Jageer to the members of the royal family, to public

officers, and to favourites, in the form of pensions or salaries, and a mere trifle being reserved for the King. Of the amount of the available public revenue, a just opinion may be formed from this well-known fact, that the most considerable item of it is the revenue of the port of Rangoon, of which the King's share certainly has not exceeded three lacs of ticals a-year.

No disbursements in the shape of money are almost ever made from the treasury, as no money-salary is paid to any officers, from the highest to the lowest,—all those who have no lands, living as they can upon the produce of fees, perquisites, and extortions. Even the Government itself does not touch upon its hoard, except on very extraordinary occasions, and may be said to support itself as if it were from hand to mouth. If an embassy is to be sent to a foreign country, a contribution is levied for the purpose; if an army is sent upon an expedition, the necessary expenses are raised on the spur of the moment; if a temple is to be built, the same thing is done; and so on, in all other cases. When the remaining instalments are to be paid to us, this is the mode in which the money will inevitably be raised, even supposing considerable funds to exist in the King's coffers. It may well be believed that under a Government so rude and unskilful, and from a country so exhausted and misgoverned, no large accumulation of public treasure can reasonably be expected.

These grounds, I trust, will appear to the Government sufficient to warrant me in having proposed an arrangement for the temporary remission of the third and fourth instalments. That arrangement, as will be seen from the narrative of the proceedings of the Mission, was not carried into effect; the Burman Government having declined, after much discussion, and much vacillation of conduct, to make in return the necessary equivalents, and having proposed themselves to make this particular point the subject of a negotiation with the Supreme Government, through their ambassadors in Bengal.

In my correspondence from Rangoon, anticipating difficulty and embarrassment in paying them, I had the honour to recommend to the Supreme Government the relinquishment of the two last instalments due on the Treaty of Yandabo, in consideration of certain commercial advantages. The experience which I have since had of the Government of Ava, convinces me that my first opinion was erroneous. I am now thoroughly convinced that no part of the debt due should be hastily, if at all, relinquished; and that its existence forms one of the best and most effectual restraints which we could possibly possess upon the wilfulness, pride, and presumption, which are such marked features of the character of the Burman Government.

Although it be my conviction that the debt ought not to be relinquished, it is at the same time my opinion that it would be a matter of much convenience, both to ourselves and to the Burmese, to enter into an arrangement which may facilitate its liquidation. Government will observe from the proceedings, that the Burmese, at one period of the negotiation, were about to make a proposition for paying interest on the capital sum for a limited number of years. Subject to the final sanction and approval of Government, I was disposed to entertain this proposition favourably; but it was soon abandoned by the Burmese Government itself, under the belief that more favourable conditions than could be hoped for from

me might be obtained by an appeal to Bengal. Were an arrangement on this principle concluded, the result would virtually amount to the payment of a tribute on the part of the Burmese Government, and to a long continued dependence upon us. A sum comparatively so small as the interest of fifty lacs of rupees would be paid without serious difficulty, and its amount would, at the same time, be sufficient to support all those diplomatic and military establishments on the southern frontier, from the maintenance of which our hopes of preserving peace with so vain, fickle, and ambitious a power as that of the Burmans must, after all, mainly rest.

It will be seen that, in the course of the negotiation, every proper opportunity was taken of impressing upon the Burmese Government our right, by Treaty, to maintain a resident Political Agent at its Court. This is a privilege which certainly ought not to be abandoned, because some contingency may possibly arise to make its exercise expedient. In the mean while, I am decidedly of opinion, that the maintenance of a permanent Political Agent at Ava would be a measure more likely to impair than support our interests at that Court.

Upon the subject now under discussion, I had the honour to submit to Government an early opinion in a minute of the 27th of March last, placed on the records of the Commissioners for Ava and Pegu. The sentiments expressed in that document are, as I conceive, amply corroborated by the experience and results of the present Mission. I may here repeat, that a British resident at Ava, distant by a navigation of 1200 miles (near 500 of it within the Burman territory, where every species of communication is placed under the most rigorous and vexatious restraint) from the authority he represents, and an object of perpetual jealousy to a Government indescribably ignorant and suspicious, could exercise little useful influence upon the councils of that Government, would have no means of furnishing his own with useful intelligence, and would, in a word, be placed in a situation amounting to little better than an honourable imprisonment.

The circumstances which attended the residence of the present Mission at Ava afford confirmation of this opinion. During nearly a period of two months and a half, although a British force was still at Rangoon, I found myself compelled, by the temper of the Government, to abstain from all correspondence. The same feeling was evinced at every station of our route, up and down; so that, in a period altogether of four months and a half, no communication could be made to the Government of our proceedings, with the exception of the casual and precarious one which was made by the route of Aracan.

I may add that, in return, Sir A. Campbell had no means of communication with us, except by transmitting dispatches under a military escort; and that one letter, addressed by a British officer to a member of the Mission, was detained and perused, after our own arrival at Ava; while the officers of the Burmese Government acknowledged that, immediately after the conclusion of peace, they had broken the seals of, and detained a public dispatch, under circumstances peculiarly aggravating.

The circumstances which took place on the arrival of the Government dispatch by way of Aracan may be referred to, in farther corroboration. Although its transmission was managed with the greatest prudence and discretion, it excited alarm on the part of the Bur-

mese Court, and, as will be seen from the record of my proceedings, its arrival was accompanied by circumstances of a disagreeable nature, strongly characteristic of the jealousy and suspicion of the Burmese Government.

Another proposal which has been suggested, is that of maintaining a resident Agent at Rangoon. This would, no doubt, be an arrangement most agreeable to the vanity, pretensions, and jealousy of the Burmese Government; but I do not hesitate in pronouncing it as open to still more cogent objections than the other. The Agent of the British Government, in this case, would be inevitably shut out from all communication with the Court of Ava, and become virtually and practically the representative of the Supreme Government of India, to the Provincial Government of Pegu. His services would be of some value for the protection of British commerce at the port of Rangoon; but, jealously and narrowly watched, he would be possessed, in his political capacity, neither of influence nor of utility.

Having stated these objections against attempting to maintain our political relations with the Burmese Government by means of diplomatic Agents residing in the country, I have the honour to submit my sentiments on the mode in which it appears to me that those relations may be best and most effectually supported. I have no hesitation in thinking that, generally, all our future intercourse with the Government of Ava ought to be conducted through the military or civil officer vested with the chief political authority on the Saluen frontier; that little direct communication should be held between the Supreme Government and the Court of Ava, and certainly none at all between it and any subordinate Burman authority. The Burmese Government, on their side, have evinced a determination to conduct, as far as they may be allowed, their correspondence with us through the Governor of Pegu, and this arrangement will certainly not fail to meet with their approbation.

The chief British Authority on the Saluen frontier, under the circumstances which I now suppose, will be exactly on a parity of rank and station with the Governor of Pegu; and, being situated within a few hours' sail of the residence of that officer, will always be able to maintain with him a frequent, friendly, and unembarrassed intercourse. A British officer thus situated, with a great part of the Burman frontier open to him, and with frequent communication with merchants, travellers, and other native inhabitants, would be possessed by himself, or through confidential agents, of the means of furnishing the Government with information much more extensive and authentic than it would be possible for the most intelligent and active individual to supply either at Rangoon or Ava, jealously watched as both he himself and those who might be disposed to furnish him with intelligence would unquestionably be at either of those places.

One question of much consequence requires a few observations, viz. the probability or otherwise of the continuance of peace with the Burmese Government. The events of the late war have left, both upon the Court and people, a strong and universal impression of the superiority of our arms. For a few years to come, the renewal of hostilities on the part of the Burmese Government may, I believe, safely be considered as a very improbable event. At present, the Burmese are destitute of the munitions of war, and the inhabitants are so utterly indisposed to a renewal of the contest with the British power, that, even were

the Court capriciously resolved on war, it could not venture upon making the necessary levies in men or money, without incurring certain risk of bringing on insurrections and rebellions, which would endanger its existence.

It is certain, notwithstanding, that a disposition to renew the contest whenever an opportunity may occur, is seriously entertained on the part of the Burmese Court; and that they will systematically pursue such means as they imagine themselves to possess for making the necessary preparations for it. The vain pretensions and arrogant spirit which have so long characterised the Burman Court, are, as the Government will perceive from the records of the negotiation, little abated. It seems determined to maintain its pretensions and to long for an opportunity of extending again its pernicious dominion over the petty nations on its north-west frontier, as well as to recover the provinces wrested from it by the British power.

It is natural to ascribe such a disposition to the Burmese Government in its present situation; but, independent of this, several circumstances came to our knowledge during our residence at Ava, which strongly corroborated the views thus ascribed to it. In the deliberations which took place at Ava, and which led to the negotiations at Melloon and the peace at Yandabo, the only argument which the European and American prisoners, and other advocates for peace, ventured to address to the presumption and vanity of the Government, notwithstanding that a victorious enemy was within forty miles of its capital, was, that the Burmese should patch up a peace in the mean while, only for the purpose of making the necessary preparations for renewing the contest on the first favourable opportunity.

Respecting the results of the late war, the general impression abroad among the officers of the Burmese Government, whose sentiments we had an opportunity of ascertaining, is, that they were worsted not owing to our superior courage, but to our possession of arms and discipline,—advantages, according to their account, merely fortuitous. In regard to fire-arms especially, they believe that little more is required than an ample supply of these to enable them to renew the war with every prospect of success. They are already making some feeble efforts to supply this want, by purchasing muskets wherever they can obtain them, giving at least double the prices at which the Americans have of late been enabled to supply the Siamese. There can be no doubt, but that, through the French and American trade, they will soon be furnished to the full extent of their means of purchasing.

The same spirit accounts for the avidity with which they receive European and Indian deserters, even to camp followers and private servants, and the facility with which they listen to pretensions made to a knowledge of fire-arms and artillery by the humblest of these adventurers.

In coming down the Irawadi, a few days after quitting Ava, it escaped from the Burmese chief who was conducting the Mission to Rangoon, that the King was now convinced of the necessity of maintaining a standing force adequately armed and disciplined; and that he was fully aware of the inefficiency of the hasty and forced levies of which the Burmese troops had heretofore consisted. With these views, he stated that his Majesty had given orders for raising a standing force of fifty thousand men, and that thirty-five

thousand were already enrolled for this purpose. It is probable that this statement, if true at all, is much exaggerated; but the very circumstance of the idea being entertained is a strong indication of the temper and feeling of the Government.

Whatever may be the anxiety of the Burmese Government to maintain a standing army, it seems exceedingly doubtful whether it possesses the means or capacity of organizing and supporting a force of this nature even upon the slenderest scale. Its financial system, as already mentioned, is rude and inefficient in the extreme. The chiefs appear to possess neither public spirit, courage nor intelligence; and the genius of Burman institutions, civil and religious, is far from being calculated to generate military habits and feelings among the mass of the people. From the little I have had an opportunity of seeing of the Burmans, I do not hesitate to consider them as being, in comparison with all the military tribes of India, a people eminently tame and unwarlike.

The extreme jealousy which exists on the part of the Government and its officers towards Europeans of every denomination, and the illiberal and parsimonious manner in which they are treated, will always exclude persons of character and talent, capable of imparting to their troops any respectable share of European discipline and tactics from entering into their service; and the few foreigners who may be content to remain among them under such circumstances, will generally therefore consist of worthless characters of the lowest order, from whose instructions or example they can reap no advantage.

Should the Burmese again resolve upon entering into a war, it deserves to be considered towards what portion of our frontier their hostility will most probably be directed. Considering our means of defence, and the strength of our positions on the Saluen frontier, there is, I conceive, little to be apprehended from Burmese aggression in this quarter, while they are themselves on the contrary extremely open to attack. From all I can understand, the Aracan frontier, which has a strong natural boundary, and few roads or passes practicable for an army, is equally secure.

The weakest point of the frontier established by the Treaty of Yandabo is that probably on the side of Munnipore, as already stated. This, besides being occupied by a feeble state, is at no great distance from the Burman capital, and may readily be invaded under the most favourable circumstances to the enemy, either by the Kyendwen river, or by land. A practicable carriage-road leads from Ava to the town of Munnipore by twenty-seven easy marches of six taings, or about twelve miles, each. I went once or twice nearly the whole of the first march from Sagaing, and found the road, although altogether neglected by the Government, easy, and such as would afford no obstacle to the progress of artillery. This is the route by which the Burmans have always invaded the Cassay country, and that which will, no doubt, be pursued in any future attack or incursion.

In their relations with us, however, the first object of Burman ambition is the resumption of Aracan. It was the most considerable of their conquests, and a certain religious veneration seems to be attached to it. They will not, I imagine, fail to make an attempt to repossess themselves of it, whenever a favourable opportunity, or what they may be misled to consider as such, shall occur. The faith of treaties will certainly not restrain them from such an aggression. When Mr. P—— returned from Bengal, bringing with him the ratified

Treaty of Yandabo, and was explaining to the King what came to his knowledge there on the subject of the recent arrangements with the Burmese Government, his Majesty coolly observed, "There will be no harm in our availing ourselves of the first good opportunity of seizing upon Aracan." This sentiment was in strict accordance with the principles of Burmese diplomacy, and not a casual or inconsiderate expression on the part of his Majesty.

With the same views as actuated the Burmans in the sentiments which they expressed in regard to Munnipore, they would be glad to see a feeble power in occupation of Aracan. A proposition, having this object in view, was, in fact, confidentially made to me while at Ava, and the Burmese officers went the length of proposing to bring to our residence a prince of the Aracan dynasty now residing neglected at Ava, and gaining a poor livelihood as a dealer in precious stones. This individual, it was suggested by them, might be placed upon the throne of Aracan, as a sovereign, at least nominally, independent. I of course declined being introduced to him, for obvious reasons.

I shall take this opportunity of submitting, before bringing the present dispatch to a close, that the spirit evinced by the Burmese Government in the late negotiation has thoroughly convinced me that our peaceful relations with it are most likely to be preserved by a strict adherence to the conditions of the Treaty concluded at Yandabo; and that whatever concession or indulgence we may be disposed to grant beyond its strict letter ought not to be yielded without much caution and consideration. The Burmese Government is already sufficiently disposed to put unwarranted constructions on the provisions of that instrument; and were the most material of them surrendered on our side, such is its presumption, its want of good faith, and want of generosity, that our liberality would inevitably be considered the result of weakness or intimidation. The minor provisions of the Treaty, in such an event, would be soon neglected,—one demand would follow upon another, and the same arrogance and the same pretensions which led to the late war would soon render another necessary.

Under this view of our relations, I have already had the honour to recommend that no part of the debt due should be relinquished without an equivalent; and I am equally convinced, that to restore any of the conquered provinces would be impolitic. Were the finances of the Burmese Government in such a state as to render it capable, besides paying the debt of fifty lacs of rupees, of redeeming them by a pecuniary value, the subject might merit consideration; but that this is not the case is a fact in which I place the most entire belief, and for which I have already submitted my reasons.

Should our own maintenance of all, or any, of the conquered provinces be not considered politic, the placing of these under the government of independent rulers, reserving the sovereignty of such ports and places as might be necessary in a political, military, and commercial view, will, I humbly conceive, be a measure more consistent with our honour and interests, with the welfare and happiness of their inhabitants, and even with the real interests of the Burmese Government itself, than restoring them to the domination of that power, already possessed of a territory far more extensive than it has the skill to govern,—whose rule over its tributaries has always been rigorous and oppressive in the extreme, and

upon whom the restoration of its distant conquests will have no other effect than that of holding out to it the temptation, and affording it the means, to make new aggressions upon its neighbours, and finally of bringing it into hostile collision with ourselves.

I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) J. CRAWFURD, Envoy.

Saugor, 22d February, 1827.

No. III.

TREATY OF PEACE CONCLUDED AT YANDABO.

ENGLISH VERSION.

Treaty of Peace, between the Honourable the East India Company on the one part, and his Majesty the King of Ava on the other, settled by Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B. and K.C.T.S., commanding the expedition, and Senior Commissioner in Pegu and Ava, Thomas Campbell Robertson, Esq. Civil Commisioner, in Pegu and Ava, and Henry Dacie Chads, Esq. Captain commanding his Britannic Majesty's and the Honourable Company's naval force on the Irawadi river, on the part of the Honourable Company, and Mengyee Maha-men-hlah-kyanten, Woongyee Lord of Lay-kaing and Mengyee-maha-me-hlah-thee-ha-thoo Atwen Woon, Lord of the Revenue on the part of the King of Ava, who have each communicated to the other their full powers agreed to, and executed at Yandaboo in the Kingdom of Ava, on this twenty-fourth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, corresponding with the fourth day of the decrease of the moon Taboung, in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-seven, Guadma era.

ART. 1st.—There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable Company on one part, and his Majesty the King of Ava on the other.

ART. 2nd.—His Majesty the King of Ava

BURMAN VERSION.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between the English Company's Governor-General of India and the King of Burmâ, made by the Chief General, the Noble Archibald Campbell, Commissioner, Robertson, Esq. Commissioner, and Chads, Esq. Commander of the English war-vessels on the Irawadi river, appointed by the Governor-General, and Men-gyee Măhā-men-hlā-kyan-ten, Woon-gyee, Lord of La-kaing and Men-gyee Măhā-men-hlā-thee-hă-thu, Atwen-woon, Lord of the Revenue, appointed by the King of Burma, at Yan-da-bo, on the fourth of the decrease of Ta-boung, in the year 1187 (Feb. 24th, 1826.)

ART. 1st.—Let there be perpetual peace and friendship between the Governor-General and the King of Burma.

ART. 2nd.—The King of Burma shall

renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous petty states of Cachar and Jyntea. With regard to Munnipore, it is stipulated that, should Gumbheer Singh desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Rajah thereof.

ART. 3rd.—To prevent all future dispute respecting the boundary line between the two great nations, the British Government will retain the conquered provinces of Aracan, including the four divisions of Aracan, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandowey; and his Majesty the King of Ava cedes all right thereto. The Amoupectoumieu or Aracan mountains, (known in Aracan by the name of the Yeoamatoung or Phokingtoun range,) will henceforth form the boundary between the two great nations on that side. Any doubts regarding the said line of demarcation, will be settled by Commissioners appointed by the respective Governments for that purpose, such Commissioners from both Powers to be of suitable and corresponding rank.

ART. 4th.—His Majesty the King of Ava cedes to the British Government the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tennasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Saluen river for the line of demarcation on that frontier. Any doubts regarding their boundaries will be settled as specified in the concluding part of Article Third.

ART. 5th.—In proof of the sincere disposition of the Burmese Government to retain the relation of peace and amity between the two nations, and as part indemnification to the British Government, for the expenses of the war, his Majesty the King of Ava agrees to pay the sum of one crore of rupees.

ART. 6th.—No person whatever, whether

no more have dominion over, or the direction of, the towns and country of Assam, the country of Ak-ka-bat, (Cachar) and the country of Wa-tha-li (Jynteea). With regard to Munnipore, if Gan-bee-ra-shing desire to return to his country and remain ruler, the King of Burma shall not prevent or molest him, but let him remain.

ART. 3rd.—That there may be no cause of future dispute about the boundary between the two great countries, the English Government will retain the country of Aracan, that is, Aracan, Ramree, Man-oung, (Cheduba) and Than-dwa, which they have conquered; and the King of Burma shall not have the dominion. Let the Yo-ma and Bokoung range of mountains, unto the Great Pagoda, on the Man-ten promontory, (Cape Negrais) be the boundary. If hereafter there should be a dispute about the boundary, let men be appointed by the English and the Burmese Governments, to decide correctly, according to ancient limits. The men appointed, shall be respectable officers of Government.

ART. 4th.—The King of Burma cedes to the British Government the towns of Ye, Tavoy, Myik, (Mergui) and Tennasserim, with their territories, mountains, shores, and islands. The Salwen river shall be the boundary. If hereafter there should be a dispute about the boundary, let it be settled as specified above.

ART. 5th.—The King of Burma, in order to make manifest his desire to preserve perpetual friendship between the two great countries, and to defray part of the expenses incurred by the British Government in the war, shall pay one crore of rupees.

ART. 6th.—No person who has gone from

native or foreign, is hereafter to be molested, by either party, on account of the part which he may have taken, or have been compelled to take, in the present war.

ART. 7th.—In order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two Governments, it is agreed that accredited Ministers, retaining an escort or safe-guard of fifty men, from each shall reside at the Durbar of the other, who shall be permitted to purchase or to build a suitable place of residence of permanent materials, and a Commercial Treaty upon principles of reciprocal advantage will be entered into by the two high contracting Powers.

ART. 8th.—All public and private debts contracted by either Government, or by the subjects of either Government, with the others, previous to the war, to be recognized and liquidated, upon the same principles of honour and good faith, as if hostilities had not taken place between the two nations; and no advantage shall be taken by either party of the period that may have elapsed since the debts were incurred, or in consequence of the war; and according to the universal law of nations, it is farther stipulated, that the property of all British subjects who may die in the dominions of his Majesty the King of Ava, shall, in the absence of legal heirs, be placed in the hands of the British Resident or Consul, in the said dominions, who will dispose of the same according to the tenour of one side to the other during the war, whether a Burmese subject who has joined the English, or an English subject who has joined the Burmese, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, shall be punished or molested on that account.

ART. 7th.—That the friendship now settled between the two great countries may be permanent, let one Government person be appointed by the British Government, with fifty attendants and arms complete, to reside in the royal city of Burma; and let one Government person, appointed by the Burman Government, with fifty attendants and arms complete, reside in the royal city of the Govenor-General. And let the Burmese Governor, residing in the Ku-la country, and the Ku-la Governor residing in the Burmese country, purchase, or build anew, as they may choose, a suitable house of wood or brick for their residence. And in order to promote the prosperity of the two nations, an additional Treaty shall be made, relative to opening the gold and silver (A Burman phrase,) road and trading one with another.

ART. 8th.—All debts contracted previous to the war, by Government people or common people, shall be completely liquidated, according to good faith. No one shall be suffered to excuse himself, saying, the war took place after the debt was contracted; nor shall either party confiscate the property of the other in consequence of the war. Moreover, when British subjects die in the Kingdom of Burma, and there be no heir, all the property left shall, according to the usages of white Ku-las, be delivered to the English Government person residing in Burma; and in like manner, when Burmese subjects die in the British Kingdom, and there be no heir, all the property left shall be delivered to the Burmese Government person residing there.

the British law. In like manner, the property of Burmese subjects dying, under the same circumstances, in any part of the British dominions, shall be made over to the Minister or other Authority delegated by his Burmese Majesty to the Supreme Government of India.

ART. 9th.—The King of Ava will abolish all exactions upon British ships or vessels, in Burman ports, that are not required from Burman ships or vessels in British ports; nor shall ships or vessels, the property of British subjects, whether European or Indian, entering the Rangoon river, or other Burman ports, be required to land their guns, or unship their rudders, or to do any other act not required of Burmese ships or vessels in British ports.

ART. 10th.—The good and faithful ally of the British Government, his Majesty the King of Siam, having taken a part in the present war, will, to the fullest extent, as far as regards his Majesty and his subjects, be included in the above Treaty.

ART. 11th.—This Treaty to be ratified by the Burmese Authorities competent in the like cases, and the ratification to be accompanied by all British, whether European or Native, American, and other prisoners, who will be delivered over to the British Commissioners; the British Commissioners, on their part, engaging that the said Treaty shall be ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council; and the ratification shall be delivered to his Majesty the King of Ava, in four months, or sooner if possible, and all the Burmese prisoners shall, in like manner, be delivered over to their own Government, as soon as they arrive from Bengal.

(L. S.)

Signatures of the British Commissioners.

(Seal of the Lotoo.)

Signatures of Burmese Commissioners.

ART. 9th.—When British vessels come to Burmese ports, they shall remain without unshipping their rudders, or landing their guns, and be free from trouble and molestation, as Burmese vessels in British ports.

ART. 10th.—The King of Siam, the ally of the British Government, having taken part with the British in the war, shall be considered as included in the present Treaty.

ART. 11th.—This Treaty shall be ratified by Commissioners appointed by the King of Burma; and all English, American, and other black and white Ku-la prisoners shall be delivered to the British Commissioners. Also the Treaty, assented to and ratified by the Governor-General of India, shall be transmitted to the King of Burma within four months; and all Burmese prisoners shall be immediately called from Bengal, and delivered to the Burmese Government.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE. — The British Commissioners being most anxiously desirous to manifest the sincerity of their wish for peace, and to make the immediate execution of the fifth Article of this Treaty as little irksome or inconvenient as possible to his Majesty the King of Ava, consent to the following arrangement with respect to the division of the sum total, as specified in the Article above referred to, into instalments; viz. upon the payment of twenty-five lacs of rupees, or one quarter of the sum total, (the other Articles of the Treaty being executed,) the army will retire to Rangoon. Upon the farther payment of a similar sum at that place within one hundred days from this date, with the proviso, as above, the army will evacuate the dominions of his Majesty the King of Ava with the least possible delay, leaving the remaining moiety of the sum total to be paid by equal annual instalments, in two years, from this twenty-fourth day of February, 1826, A. D. through the Consul or Resident in Ava or Pegu, on the part of the Honourable the East India Company.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE. — The British Commissioners, in order to manifest their desire for peace, and that the King of Burma may pay with ease the crore of rupees mentioned in the fifth Article, when he has paid eighteen and three-quarters lacs of ticals, or one-fourth part of the whole sum of seventy-five lacs of good silver, which is one crore of rupees, the English army will retire to Rangoon. Upon farther paying eighteen and three-quarters lacs of ticals, within one hundred days from this date, the English army shall speedily depart out of the Kingdom of Burma. In regard to the remaining two parts of the money, one part shall be paid within one year from this date, and the other within two years, to the English Government person residing in Burma.

No. IV.

TRANSLATIONS OF BURMAN LETTERS AND PROCLAMATIONS.

LETTER FROM THE VICEROY OF PEGU TO THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS.

MAHA-MEN-L'HA-RAJA, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF AND WUN-GYI, TO THE ENGLISH CHIEF GENERALS.

ACCORDING to the Treaty settled at Yandabo, with a view to the permanent alliance and friendship of the two nations, the requisite money was paid, and all the prisoners, Englishmen and Sepoys, were delivered up. In regard to the money subsequently due, I remained at Hen-tha-ta; Ne-myo-menkyan, Wun-dauk, Maha-men-l'ha-si-thu, Governor of

Prome, Maha-men-kyan-nau-ra-ta, Governor of Tha-ya-wa-ti, the Rewun, and the Governor of Ye, were appointed to assay and pay the money which was to be delivered in Rangoon; in doing which, there has been, I am informed, a long delay. It is certainly easy to settle the business, if the balance due on the deficiency in the quality of the silver be paid and accepted. We are taking measures in all places and in all affairs, with a view to maintain peace and friendship. The English Chief Generals are doing the same. Agreeably, therefore, to our mutually taking measures in order to a good understanding between the two nations, I am desirous of reminding you of things pertaining to permanency or perpetuity. I wish to have a meeting with the Chief Generals, and discuss some points. Give me an answer for my information.

THE WUN-GYI AND GENERAL-IN-CHIEF MAHA-MEN-L'HA-RAJA, TO THE BRITISH CHIEF GENERALS.

THE letter of the Chief General's, sent by the Collector of Revenue, Ne-myo-thi-ri-si-thu, has arrived and been communicated. The Wundauk, Ne-myo-men-kpan; the Governor of Prome, Maha-men-l'ha-su-thi; the Governor of Tha-ya-wa-ti, Maha-men-kyan-nau-ra-ta; the Re-wun, and the Governor of Ye, were appointed to pay correctly the money, which, according to the Treaty of Yandabo, was to be paid at Rangoon within one hundred days. As the balance due on deficiency in the quality of 15, 20, and 30 per cent. silver was not accepted according to former usage, a long time has elapsed in melting and delivering the money, as the Chief Generals well know. We are speaking and paying, with a view to the quiet and happiness of the towns and villages, while Men-dam-ma and Na-sat, being persons who are appointed chiefs, with titles, not regarding their duty to their Sovereign, are collecting arms and men, to the distress of the poor people of the villages, so that robbers attack and plunder to such a degree, that all the creeks and openings below Ran-gen-saff-ya are impassable to trading people, which circumstances are communicated to me by people from Rangoon. It is not suitable that the villages should be thus disturbed, but punishment ought to be inflicted in order to suppress disorders and preserve quiet. When the money is paid it will be suitable, according to the principles of mutual confidence inculcated in the Treaty, in order to the quiet government of the towns and villages, to deliver them up with their chiefs. After thus delivering up, we must meet and discuss matters with a view to maintaining friendship between the two great countries. In regard to the Commissioner and Envoy desiring to proceed to the royal presence, I am appointed by his Majesty, Wungyi and Generalissimo, with authority over all the country below Pu-gan; and it is suitable to discuss all sorts of matters at the place where the Commissioner is. According as we peaceably discuss matters with a view to the maintenance of friendship between the two great countries—consider uprightly all these things, and return an answer, that I may know———

A true translation,

A. JUDSON.

LETTER FROM THE MYO-WUN OF TONG-GO, TO THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS.

The Chief of Toung-oo, Meng-teng-kyau-zwa, and officers, give information. English Commanders, the Great Kingdoms have been actively hostile with each other, and many rational beings have been destroyed: this is a matter which excites commiseration. At Yandabo the commanders of both parties withdrew their military forces, and entered into a written engagement of peace; of this fact, in the presence of the Royal Brother Ram-ma-wa-ti the Governor of Toung-u, the military commanders of Han-tha-wa-ti have been made acquainted; it is, therefore, accurately known. From Taongu, the forces sent for military operations, the Secretary Thi-ha-radra-kya-teng and official men, receiving written directions, are caused to be withdrawn: the other forces ordered to march for military operations, are also caused to be withdrawn. The inhabitants of the thirty-two provinces of Han-tha-wa-ti, and of the thirty-two provinces of Martaban, without being injured in their common walks and abodes, are to be collected together, to be protected, and to remain in tranquillity. These facts are known and are consistent with the terms of pacification between the nations. There is a royal order that messengers with a letter shall be dispatched from the Royal Brother Governor of Taongu; they are accordingly dispatched. As to the order of the most glorious Sovereign, which has been received, it purports that in the contest with the English Military Commanders, men in official capacities, the poor, and the servile, who have been taken prisoners, or have sought their protection, shall not be considered as guilty, but shall dwell in peace. The tranquillity of the inhabitants of the villages and towns which have been restored by the English Commanders is a matter for their reflection. This is the information sent——

1187, weaning of the Moon Tan-gu 13th day, 1826, April 4th.

No. V.

FORM OF BURMAN OATH.

I will speak the truth. If I speak not the truth, may it be, through the influence of the Ten Laws of Demerit, viz. passion, anger, folly, pride, false opinion, immodesty, hard-heartedness, and scepticism; so that when I and my relations are on land, land animals, as tigers, bilús, elephants, buffaloes, poisonous serpents, scorpions, &c. shall seize, crush, and bite us, and we suddenly die. May the ten calamities (occasioned by) rulers, fire, water, thieves, and enemies oppress and destroy us, and we die, and perish, and come to utter destruction. May we be subject to all the calamities that are within the body, and all that are without the body, and the pains (occasioned by) unpleasant objects of sense; and may we be seized with madness, dumbness, blindness, deafness, leprosy, and hydrophobia. May we be struck with thunderbolts and lightning by day and by night, and come to sudden death. In the

midst of not speaking truth, may I be taken with vomiting clotted black blood, and suddenly die before an assemblage of the people. When I am going by water, also, may the genii who guard the waters assault me, the boat be upset, and the property be lost; and may alligators, porpoises, sharks, and all other sea monsters, seize and crush me to death. And when I change worlds, may I not arrive among men or Nats, but suffer unmixed punishment and regret, in the utmost wretchedness, among the four states of punishment, Hell, Prita, Beasts, and Athurakai.

If I speak truth, may I and my relations, through the influence of the Ten Laws of Merit, and on account of the efficacy of truth, be freed from all calamities within and without the body; and may calamities which have not yet come, be warded far away. May the ten calamities and the five enemies also, be kept far away. May bilús, tigers, elephants, serpents and scorpions, love and fear, and keep far away. May thunderbolts and lightning, the genii of waters, and all sea animals, love me; and may I be safe from them. May my wealth increase like the rising sun and the waning moon; and may the seven possessions, the seven laws, and the eight merits of the virtuous be permanent in my person. And when I change worlds, may I not go to the four states of punishment; but, exempt from them, attain the happiness of men and Nats, and realize Merit, Reward and extinction (Nib-b'han).

No VI.

REGISTRY AND CONVEYANCE OF LAND.

Year 1156, 12th day of the increase of the moon Nat-dau, the Governor of A-kha-raing and wife say, the mortgage of our inheritance of, and rightful authority over, the town of A-kha-raing, from Moung-po-tan, let Meng-Chau-da-gong-na-kyan-ten and wife receive—according to the saying of the governor B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and wife Me-Aong, the original mortgage of Meong Po-to, amounting by weight to silver of 5 per cent. alloy, six hundred and fifty ticals; also, law expenses in the redemption of the town, silver of ten per cent. alloy, five hundred and fifty ticals—Bho-dau-Ka-lo and wife Me-Aong's debt, silver twenty-five per cent. alloy, four hundred and fifty ticals. Also, payment of old debts demanded, silver five per cent. alloy, one hundred and eighty-five ticals—on account of the governor of the town Shwa-pyi-Nan-tw'ha-thaong-yan receives of silver, twenty-five per cent. alloy, by weight three hundred and eight and a half ticals—Also an Atweng-wun beneath the sole of the golden foot has a demand, to pay which, B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and Me-Aong received silver, twenty per cent. alloy, weight one hundred and fifty ticals—the sums, collectively, amounting to two thousand two hundred and ninety three and a half ticals:—the silver, to B'ho-dau Ka-lo and Me-Aong, Meng Chau-da-gong-na-kyan-ten and wife, pay and purchase right of possession to the town of A-kha-raing. The suburbs pertaining to the town, eastward, touch the Pagoda on the borders of La-gwun-pyin; southward, touch Dapieng creek and Kyu creek; westward, join the territory of Baong creek; northward, touch

Cha-pu-taong creek, Wa-ta-re village, Kyaing-ni creek, Ma-hura creek, and ridge of hills. Regarding the suburbs (situated) at the four faces of heaven B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and Me-Aong, to Meng Chau-da-gong-na-kyan-ten and wife, the right of possession to the town of A-kha-raing, for the several sums amounting to two thousand two hundred and ninety-three and a half ticals,—sell. Hereafter, at any time, if they wish to redeem the town, B'ho-dau-Ka-lo and wife shall redeem it with the purchase-money of the town and fifty per cent. interest. The transfer of the town to the possession of Meng Chau-da-gong-na-kyan-ten, children, and grand-children in succession, in presence of Tha-k'heng P'hu-ra, the Myo-Woon, their countenances being consentaneous, and the delivery of the written document, witnessed by Kyà-k'haong Ao-ya, also by the Government mariner, Maong-no, also, interpreter Chain-da-mo-ne. Recorder of the written document Meng-wun-ku-la-pyo, Gaong-maong-pyo; Scribe, Maonga.

The Myo-thu-gyi, his mark.

His wife Me-Aong, her mark.

No. VII.

TRANSLATIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS.

In conformity to a prediction contained in the revelation made by the mouth of the Deity, replete with infinite perfections, and intent upon Nib-ban, the end of all, the grandson (descendant) of King Na-chi-shan, son of Ta-chi-shan, who completely conquered an army of nine hundred thousand Chinese, in the year 848, i. e. 1848 of the sacred era, commencing with the Deity's absorption or passing into Nib-b'han; he (the grandson) having, in the year 787 of the vulgar era, extirpated his enemies in every quarter, King of Righteousness, named Si-ri-su-d'ham-ma-raja, excelling all others in birth, wisdom, and religious zeal, ascended the throne in the Ma-g'ha year 788, with his queen and concubines; and while enjoying sovereignty in the Golden House of Gems, in the midst of the royal countries of A-ri-mat-ta-na, (Pegan,) Myen-saing, Pen-ya, Sa-gaing, and Ava, and exercising authority over great and small countries, beginning with the country of Mram-ma (Burmah), with all the high lands and mountains and sloping banks of the four rivers of E-ra, Pan-laong, Paong-laong, and Kyen-twen, he considered how he should promote the religious worship of the Deity;—upon which the Nats gave information concerning Wi-thud-da-za-na-ma-nan-ha ra-pa-ri-pun-nya-wa-thi-thi-ri-thad-d'ham-ma-lin-ka-ra-thi-ha-nu-ma-ha-tha-mi, in the island of Thin-k'ho (Ceylon), called also Lan-ka Di-pa, who was capable of performing, in thought, word, and deed, the religion of the Deity, replete with wisdom and learning, and so celebrated that the Nats made offerings to him, as they did to Thi-wa-li, the own disciple of the Deity; and the King sent the chief priest, Ma-king, with a royal letter saying, that he desired to nourish the tree of religion with the water of his Lord's wisdom, and to do homage to his feet;—upon which he, (the saint,) desirous of pro-

moting religion, crossed the great sea with certain relics of the Deity: and when the Men-ta ra, styled Si-ri-su-d'ham-ma-maha-raja, and his consort heard that Wi-thud-da-ya, &c., mentioned in an ancient prophecy, had arrived with sacred relics, they were penetrated with joy: as King Kap-ping and his consort, when they heard the preaching of the Deity himself, they went out to meet the saint. And when the sacred relics arrived, the earth shook, and walls were broken down, as if the Deity himself had arrived. When such miracles took place, great offerings were made, from motives of extreme religious zeal and reverence; and the King, seeing such divine power displayed, equal to the Ya-maik miracle, (the Deity exhibiting himself half fire and half water,) asked leave of the divine teacher to promote the welfare of the three orders of rational beings—men, Nats, and Brah-mas. And the teacher looked towards his disciples, with a view to the welfare of those three orders of beings; and thus the teacher and the disciple, with mutual consent, in order to establish the sacred period of five thousand years, built the Golden Pagoda, which is like the Gem Pagoda, of King A-ba-ya-dut-ta-ka-ma-ni. On Saturday, the full moon of Tabaong, in the Ma-gha year, and the P'hus-sha year 794, on a clear spot of ground, south-west of Sa-gaing, the King built the Maha Ra-ta-na (Great Gem) Pagoda; whose circumference is one hundred and eighty cubits, and height one hundred and twenty, and it is plastered.

MO-N'HAN-MEN-TA-RA-KRI.

SUPREMELY devoted to the most excellent Three Gems—the Deity, his Law, and his Priesthood—all that have been, and all that are to be; replete with glory, power, and reputation, the result of meritorious deeds performed in past transmigratory existences, through an uninterrupted line of excellence; pervading, by the might of his golden arm, the land and water of the whole island of Tha-pre, (the Great Eastern Island, or Jam-pu-di-pa;) reigning in Ari-mat-ta-na, (Pugan,) Puk-ka-ya-ma, Ze-ya-pu-ra, (Old Sa-gaing,) Panga, Ava, and Sa-gaing (New); and having gained Mon'han and Ka-la on the east, exercising sovereign sway over Kyen, Len, Pra-k'haing, (Aracan,) Than-twa, (Sandoway,) and Thet-k'ha-pa; retaining in constant attendance Tho-ham-bwa, King of Man, who resisted one day only; entitled to homage, as a divine personage, in consequence of possessing supernatural wisdom; the conqueror of the war-chief Sen-thwa, who came in his pride to battle, leading the many hundred thousand troops of the Uti King, (Emperor of China.) His Majesty Na-ra-pa-ti-pa-wa-ra-maha-d'hamma-raja-ti-raja-ti-pa-ti, King of Righteousness, and His Royal Consort, the Queen, sincerely attached, by faith and joy, to the Three Gems, and desirous of enjoying the happiness of men, the happiness of Nats, and the repose of Nib-b'han; having rendered religion illustrious by building the Maha-t'hu-pa-rong, one hundred and thirty cubits high, on the ground of victory, in the golden country called Sa-gaing; the Princess of Thit-sin, foster-mother and nurse of Her Highness the South Queen, the summit of glory, knowing the laws of mortality, sincerely

attached to the Three Gems, and desirous of enjoying the happiness of men, the happiness of Nats, and the re pose of Nib-b'han; in the Ma-g'ha year 816, on Friday, the 8th of the increase of Tan-saong-mag, makes an offering of the Kula Kyaong, (foreign monastery,) viz. the Golden Kyaong, adorned with four peculiar roofs, on the spot of ground north-west of the T'hu-pa-rong, built by His Majesty. And her son, San-thit, makes an offering of the Mra Pagoda, in Thit-sin, twenty cubits in diameter, and forty cubits high; and the Pi-ta-kat Kula Kyaong, viz. the Golden Kyaong Rap-thi, adorned with four peculiar roofs.

And with a view to establish the sacred period of five thousand years, having given four thousand six hundred ticals of pure silver, certain golden ornaments, and one hundred ticals of gold, and obtained possession of the north and south villages of Na-ta-raok, with three thousand three hundred and thirty-three and three quarters pés of land; the village of Taik-kri, with seventy pés of land; the village of Na-pa-ren, with five pés, planted with betel-palms; a field of ten pés, watered by the sweet Mango brook; five hundred and fifty-five palm-trees in Pa-laing, beside many young palms, and one other field of palms, containing five pés: these grounds and palms were measured and counted, His Majesty summoning the land-measurer Thu-parit, Agent of Wa-ta-na of the North side, and the Chief of Men-rwa; stone pillars were erected on the ground, and a legal transfer made. These grounds and palms are divided and given as follows:—To the Royal Kyaong in La-kaing, we give the large village of Na-ta-raok, with two thousand five hundred and seventy-three pés of ground, the five hundred and fifty-five palm-trees in Pa-laing, beside the many young palms, and the other field of palms, containing five pés. (Here follows a statement of the boundaries, as marked by certain trees, brooks, &c.) To the Mra Pagoda, and the Kyaong in Thit-sin, we give the garden village of Na-ta-raok, with seven hundred and sixty-one pés of ground; the village of Taik-kri, with seventy pés; the village of Na-pa-ren, with five pés, planted with betel-palms; and the field of ten pés, watered by the sweet Mango brook. (Here follows a statement of boundaries.)

Also, in order to contribute to the perpetuity of the A-sin-ta-wan Kyaong, and the Si-kong Pagoda in Sa-ku, we make an offering of the village of Tan-rong, with one hundred and thirty palm-trees, obtained in exchange for the war-elephant Na-ra-set, and a silver salver, weighing three hundred ticals.

Through the influence of these meritorious deeds, I desire to be freed from all the miseries of transmigratory existence, and having enjoyed sovereignty among men and among Nats, to arrive at the repose of Nib-b'han. May His Majesty and the South Queen; the royal sons, daughters, and grandchildren; my husband, sons, daughters, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, relatives, and servants; and all creatures, from the lowest hell to the summit of the universe, share equally with myself. May those who destroy or injure my good works, incur the eight evils, and the ten punishments. When they die, may they suffer millions of millions of worlds in the eight great hells, and the hundred and twenty-eight smaller hells; and when they are released from hell, may they become ants, worms leaches, and prit-tas, and in those states famish for want of food.

NO. VIII.

TRANSLATION OF A BURMESE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

N. B. B. C. Before Christ. A. D. the year of our Lord. G. E. the Grand Epoch. S. E. Sacred Epoch. or Era of Gautama. P. E. Prome Epoch, more correctly, the Era of Salivana. V. E. the Vulgar or Common Burman Era.

B. C.	G. E.	S. E.	
691	1		The grand epoch established by An-ja-na, the grandfather of Gautama.
628	68		Gautama born.
608	84		Gautama began to reign.
589	103		Gautama obtained deification (became a Buddha).
551	141		Ajatasat began to reign.
544	148		Gautama died and obtained Nib-b'han (annihilation.)
543	149	1	The Sacred Epoch established by King Ajatasat.
520	172	24	His son U-da-ya-bad-da, began to reign.
496	196	48	His son Muny-da, and after him his son Na-ga-da-sa.
485	207	59	Maha Sam-b'ha-wa.
478	214	66	His younger brother Chula Sam-b'ha-wa, began to reign.
472	220	72	Su-sa-na-ga in Maj-ji-ma (central India).
453	239	91	His son Ka-la-san-ka, in Maj-ji-ma.
443	249	101	Twat-ta-paong, the founder of Sa-re-k'het-ta-ra, (or Ras-se Myo, vulgarly called Prome.)
426	266	118	His son Bat-ta-se-na in Maj-ji-ma.
404	288	140	Nan-da began to reign, and was followed by eight Kings of the same name in Maj-ji-ma.
392	310	162	Chan-ta-kut-ta in Maj-ji-ma.
376	316	168	His son Bin-tu-sa-ra in Maj-ji-ma.
373	319	171	His son Twat-ta-ram in Prome.
351	341	193	His son Ram-b'haong in Prome.
330	362	214	His son D'ham-ma-sau-ka in Maj-ji-ma.
326	366	218	D'ham-ma-sau-ka received the sacred affusion (Ab'hi-se-sa).
320	372	224	Prince Ma-hin-d'ha became a priest (Rahan), and his sister, Princess San-g'ha-mit-ta, a priestess (Rahan).
307	385	237	The period of the third rehearsal of the communications of Gautama. The priest Ma-hin-d'ha went on a religious mission to Si-ho (Ceylon).
301	391	243	Ra-han-man, son of D'ham-ma-sau-ka, began to reign in Prome.

B. C.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	
289	403	255		Death of D'ham-ma-sau-ka (literally "his going to Heaven.")
251	441	293		His son or grandson, Rak-k'han, began to reign in Prome.
219	473	325		His son K'han-laong in Prome.
182	510	362		His son Lak-k'hong in Prome.
148	544	396		His son Si-k'han in Prome.
118	574	426		His son Si-ri-rak in Prome.
111	581	436		Ta-pa-mang in Prome.
94	598	450		The communications of Gautama reduced to writing in Ceylon.
60	632	484		Ta-pa-man's son, Pi-ram, in Prome.
39	653	505		Ram-mak-k'ha in Prome, and his son.
A. D.				
21	713	565		Ram-sin-ga in Prome, and his son.
24	716	568		His son Ram-mun-cha-lin-da in Prome.
39	731	583		His brother Be-rin-da in Prome.
54	746	598		His son Mun-ja in Prome.
56	748	600		His son Pu-nyan-nya in Prome.
59	751	603		His brother Sa-k'ha in Prome.
62	754	606		Sa-k'hi in Prome.
65	757	609		His younger brother, Kan-nu, in Prome.
66	758	610		His elder brother, Kan-tak, in Prome.
69	761	613		His elder brother, Bin-ja, in Prome.
73	765	617		His son Su-mun-dri, in Prome.
			P. E.	
79	771	623	1	The Prome Epoch, established by King Su-mun-dri.
80	772	624	2	His son Ati-tra in Prome.
83	775	627	5	His brother Su-panya-na-ga-ra-chin-na, in Prome.
94	786	638	16	Death of King Su-panya-na-ga-ra-chin-na.
107	799	651	29	Sa-mud-da-raj began to reign in Pugan.
152	844	696	74	Ras-se-kyaong in Pugan.
167	859	711	89	Phru-chau-ti in Pugan.
242	934	786	164	His son T'himany-rany in Pugan.
299	991	843	221	His son Rang-mang-pok in Pugan.
324	1016	868	246	His son Pok-san-lany in Pugan.
386	1078	930	308	Bud-d'ha-gau-sa went to Ceylon.
387	1079	931	309	Pok-sang-lany's son, Kyaong-du-rach, began to reign.
412	1104	956	334	His son Sany-t'han.
469	1161	1013	391	Muk-k'ha-man, and Su-rai.
494	1186	1038	416	Sany-t'han's great grandson, Ra-mwan-mya.
516	1208	1060	438	Sok-ton.
523	1215	1067	445	His son Sang-lang-kyaung-ngai.
532	1224	1076	454	His brother Sang-lany-pok.
547	1239	1091	469	His brother K'han-laong.

A. D.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	V. E.	
557	1249	1101	579		His brother K'han-lap.
569	1261	1113	491		His son T'hwan-t'hok.
582	1274	1126	504		His son T'hwan-prach.
598	1290	1142	520		His son T'hwan-k'hyach.
613	1305	1157	535		Pup-pa-chau-ra-han.
639	1331	1183	561	1	The present Vulgar Epoch, established by Pup-pa-chau-ra-han.
640	1332	1184	562	2	His son-in-law Shwe-bun-si succeeded.
652	1344	1196	574	14	His brother Pis-sun.
660	1352	1204	582	22	His son Pit-taung.
710	1402	1254	632	72	His brother Na-k'hwe.
716	1408	1260	638	78	Myang-ka-kywe.
726	1418	1270	648	88	Sing-ga.
734	1426	1278	656	96	Sing-k'hwan.
744	1436	1288	666	106	His son Shwe-laung.
753	1445	1297	675	115	His son T'he-wan-twang.
762	1454	1306	684	124	His son Shwe-mauk.
766	1458	1310	688	128	His son Chau-k'hang-nach.
785	1477	1329	707	147	His brother T'hwan-lwat.
829	1521	1373	751	191	His son K'hai-lu.
846	1528	1390	768	208	His brother Pyany-bya.
864	1556	1408	788	226	His son Tan-nak.
889	1581	1433	813	251	Sin-chwan and his brother Cha-le-nga-kwe.
914	1606	1458	838	276	His son Sing-g'ho.
930	1622	1474	852	292	Taung-su-kri, (The Mountain chief.)
945	1637	1489	867	307	Kwan-chau-kraung-pru.
966	1658	1510	888	328	His son Kraung-cho.
972	1664	1516	894	334	His brother Chuck-ka-té.
997	1689	1541	919	359	Kraung-p'hrus'son Nau-ra-t'ha-chau.
1030	1722	1574	952	392	His son Chau-lu.
1056	1748	1600	978	418	Kyan-chach-sa.
1081	1773	1625	1003	443	His grandson Alaun-chany-su.
1151	1843	1695	1073	513	His son Ku-la-kya.
1154	1846	1698	1076	516	His son Mang-rai-na-ra-sung-ga.
1157	1849	1701	1079	519	His brother Na-ra-pa-ti-chany-su.
1190	1882	1734	1112	552	His son Je-ya-sing-ga, or Nan-taung-mya-mang.
1212	1904	1756	1134	574	His son Kya-chwa.
1227	1919	1771	1149	589	His son Uch-cha-na.
1233	1925	1777	1155	595	His brother Mang-k'hwe-k'hye.
1277	1969	1821	1199	639	His son Kyany-chwa.
1291	1983	1835	1213	653	His son Chau-nach.

A. D.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	V. E.	
1300	1992	1844	1222	662	Ta-chi-shang-si-ha-su in Panya.
1313	2005	1857	1235	675	His son Chau-mwan-nach in Panya.
1322	2014	1866	1244	684	His son Uch-cha-na. This year Asang-k'ha-ra-chau-rwan founded Chit-kaing, and began to reign.
1330	2032	1874	1252	692	His elder brother Ta-ra-bya-kri in Chit-kaing (Sagaing).
1342	2034	1886	1264	704	His younger brother Na-chi-shang-kyany-chwa in Chit-kaing.
1351	2043	1895	1273	713	His son Kyany-chwa in Chit-kaing.
1356	2048	1900	1278	718	Chau-mwan-nach died, and Pugan was destroyed.
1362	2053	1905	1283	723	Kyany-chwa's brother Mau-pa-na-ra-su in Chit-kaing.
1364	2056	1908	1286	726	His elder brother Uch-cha-na-praung in Chit-kaing. This year Sa-to-mang-bya founded Angwa (Ava), and began to reign, Chit-kaing and Panya were destroyed.
1377	2069	1921	1299	739	His father-in-law Many-kri-chwa in Ava.
1401	2093	1945	1323	763	His son Ta-ra-bya-kri in Ava, succeeded the same year by Mang-kaung 1st.
1422	2114	1966	1344	784	His son Chany-pru-shang-si-ha-su in Ava.
1425	2117	1969	1347	787	His son Many-l'ha-gnay in Ava, succeeded the same year by Ka-le-kye-ngo.
1426	2118	1970	1348	788	Mo-n'hany-mang-ta-ra in Ava.
1439	2131	1983	1361	801	His son Mang-rai-kyany-chwa in Ava.
1442	2134	1986	1364	804	His brother Na-ra-pa-ti-kri in Ava.
1468	2160	2812	1390	830	His son Maha-si-ha-su-ra in Ava.
1480	2172	2024	1402	842	His son Mang-k'haung 2nd in Ava.
1501	2193	2045	1423	863	His son Shwe-nan-kyany-shang in Ava, (proper name Na-ra-pa-ti.)
1526	2218	2070	1448	888	Mo-n'hany-so-hau-pwa in Ava.
1541	2233	2085	1463	903	Un-b'haung-chan-b'hwa in Ava.
1546	2238	2090	1468	908	His son Mo-bya-na-ra-pa-ti in Ava.
1551	2243	2095	1473	913	Cha-kong-chany-su-kyaoy-taug, or Na-ra-pa-ti-gan, in Ava.
1554	2246	2098	1476	916	Sa-to-mang-chau in Ava.
1565	2257	2109	1487	927	Prany-chun-mang-rai-kyany-chwa in Ava.
1597	2289	2141	1519	959	Nyaung-ram-man-kri in Ava.
1605	2299	2149	1527	967	His son Anauk-pak-lwan-mang-ta-ra-kri in Ava.
1629	2321	2173	1551	990	Sa-lwan in Ava.
1648	2340	2192	1570	1010	His son Na-dat-da-ya-ka in Ava.
1661	2353	2205	1583	1023	His brother Pruny-mang in Ava.
1672	2364	2216	1594	1034	His son Na-ra-wara in Ava, succeeded the same year Mang-rai-kyany-tang, grandson of Sa-lwan.
1698	2390	2242	1620	1060	His son Man-aung-ra-da-nga-da-ya-ka in Ava.

A. D.	G. E.	S. E.	P. E.	V. E.	
1714	2406	2258	1636	1076	His son Chang-p'hru-shang in Ava.
1733	2425	2277	1655	1095	His son K'haung-thit, carried captive to Han-sa-wati.
1752	2444	2296	1674	1114	Alaung-b'hu-ra (Alompra), began to reign at Mut-cho-bo, (Monchabo).
1760	2452	2304	1682	1122	His son U-pa-ra-ja at Chit-kaing.
1763	2455	2307	1685	1125	His brother Chany-p'hru-shang (Sembuen), at Ava.
1776	2468	2320	1698	1138	His son Chany-ku-cha at Ava.
1781	2473	2325	1703	1143	His cousin Paung-ka-cha, commonly called Maung-maug, son of U-pa-ra-ja, at Ava, succeeded the same year by his uncle Pa-dun-mang or Man-ta-ra-kri, son of A-laung-b'hu-ra, and founder of A-ma-ra-pu-ra.
1819	2511	2363	1741	1181	His present Majesty, grandson of Pa-dun-mang, ascended the throne at A-ma-ra-pu-ra.
1822	2514	2366	1744	1184	Ava rebuilt, and made the capital.

No. IX.

VOCABULARIES.

ENGLISH.	BURMESE.	ARÂCAN.	KARYEN.	KYEN.
Sky	Moh	Kaung-kan	Muko	A-né.
Star	Ke-'nek-kat	Kre	Sa	A-she.
Sun	Na	Ni	Mu	K'hu-n'hi.
Moon	La	La	La	Klau.
Island	Kywon	Kywan	Sué	Kyun.
Mountain	Taung	Taung	Kacha	Song.
Stone	Kyauk	Kyauk	Le	Long.
Water	Re	Ri	Ti	Tu-i.
River	Myit	Mrik	Ti-mo-pra-loh	Lik.
Sea	Peng-le	Pan-le	Po-le-loh	Pan-lai.
Fire	Mih	Mi	Me-u	Mi-a.
Man	Lu	Youk-kya	Pa-po-kwa	Pa-dau.
Woman	Main-ma	Ming-ma	Pa-pa-mu	No-tau.
Father	Apha	A-ba	Pa	Pau.
Mother		A-yaung	Mo	Nu.
Head	K'haung	Gaung	Pako	Lu.
Eye	Myit-si	Myit-si	Pametha	Myik.
Mouth	N'hok	Kan-dwen	Pakobu	Ka-ko.
Tiger	Kya	Kya	Batho	Ky-i.

ENGLISH.	BURMESE.	ARACAN.	KARYEN.	KYEN.
Hog	Wet	Wet	Toh	Wok.
Buffalo	Kuwi	Kywe	Pana	Nau.
Dog	K'hwa	Kwi	Tui	U-i.
Elephant	Sen	San	Kaso	Mu-i.
Goat	Sit	Sik	Metele	Ma.
Fowl	Kyet	Kret	Soh	À.
Fish	Nga	Na	Nya	Nau.
Gold	Shwe	Shwi	Tu	Ha.
Silver	Ngwe	Mwi	Se	Hen.
Copper	Kye-ni	Kri-ni	Tora	Kyi.
Tin	Kye-p'hyu	Ka-ma-p'hyu	Ta-wah (white iron)	Ka-bau.
Iron	Than	Than	Ta	T'hi.
Cotton	Gwon	Wa	Be	Pwa.
Silk	Po	Po	Thato	Po.
Pepper (black)	Na-yok-kaung	Na-rok-kaung	Moritha	Lut.
Sugar-cane	Kyan	Kran	Tipoh	Su.
Rice	San	Sain	Hutha	Saung.
Ratan	Kyin-lon	Krin-long	Re	Mo.
Banana	Ng'het-pyau-thi	Na-pyan-thi	Thakui	N'han-pau.
Salt	S'ha	Sa	Itha	Isi.
Weave, to	Yet	Ret	Patata	T'hau-tau.
Boat	L'he	Laung	Kli	Klu-i.
Buy	We	We	Prapre	K'ha-l'he.
War	Sit	Sik	The	Ya.
City	Myo	Mro	We	Lu.
Few	Ni	A-ne	Siko	A-yat.
Many	Mya	A-mya	Taprukla	Anong.
Great	Kyi	Kri	Pado	A-len.
Little	Nge	Ne	Asih	A-dik.
Sweet	K'hyo	K'hyo	Asoh	A-twi.
Bitter	K'ha	K'ha	Tahka	K'hau.
Good	Kaung	Kaung	Are	A-tau.
Bad	So	So	Tareba	A-si.
Be	P'hyit	Hi	Olih	A-mi-e.
Do	Lok	Lok	Pamada	Po.
Give	Pa	Pi	Prehi	Pet.
One	Tit	Taik	Taplé	Pa-hat.
Two	N'hit	N'haik	Kiplé	Pa-n'hi
Three	Thon	Thong	Theplé	Pa-t'hong
Four	Le	Le	Luiplé	L'hi.

ENGLISH.	BURMESE.	ARACAN.	KARYEN.	KYEN.
Five	Ngà	Na	Yeplé	N'hau.
Six	K'hyauk	Khrauk	Kuplé	S'houk.
Seven	K'hwo-n'hit	K'hu-n'haik	Nuiplé	Shi.
Eight	S'hit	S'hit	Khoplé	S'hat.
Nine	Ko	Ko	Kuiplé	Ko.
Ten	Ta-se	Ta-se	Ta-si	Ha.
Eleven	Ta-se-tit	Ta-se-taik	Si-taple	Kau-la-hat.
Twelve	Ta-se-n'hit	Ta-se-n'haik	Si-kiplé	Kau-la-n'hi.
Twenty	N'hit-se	N'haik-se	Kisi	Ku-i.
One hundred	Ta-ya	Ta-ra	Tareya	Pya-hat.
One thousand	Ta-taung	Ta-taung	Tagato	Toung-hat.
Ten thousand	Ta-thaung	Ta-thaung	Tagala	S'houng-hat.
One hundred thousand	Ta-thing*	Ta-thing	Tagathi	S'hin-hat.

No. X.

DEPOSITIONS OF EUROPEAN AND OTHER CAPTIVES IMPRISONED BY THE BURMESE GOVERNMENT DURING THE LATE WAR.

THE following depositions, taken before me at Rangoon, in the month of May 1826, shortly after the cessation of hostilities, illustrate in so interesting and striking a manner, the character of the Burmese and their Government, as well as the history and incidents of the war, that I deem them worth insertion. Several of the parties examined, it will soon be discovered were individuals of much acuteness and intelligence; and all of them were, not only, well acquainted with the country and people, but had been placed under circumstances, in many respects, extremely favourable.

JOHN LAIRD.

Question. What is your name, and of what country are you a native?—*Answer.* My name is John Laird; I was born in the town of Forfar, county of Angus, North Britain.

Q. When did you first come into the Burman dominions?—*A.* I came first to Rangoon in command of the ship Mahomed Shah in March 1820. After a stay of about one month, I returned to Bengal; I came back again to Rangoon in August or September of the same year, and have continued in the Burman country ever since, with the exception of a short absence of two months, when I visited Calcutta.

* The Burmese have numerals extending to ten millions.

Q. How have you been employed during your residence in this country?—*A.* As a merchant and agent.

Q. Have you resided any time at the Burman capital?—*A.* I went to the Burman capital, then Amarapura, for the first time, in December 1820, and resided there on that occasion about three months, when I returned to Rangoon, having disposed of the goods which I took up. I visited the capital again, then Ava, in the beginning of 1823, and stayed there about three months. I left Rangoon the last time for Ava in 1824, and did not return until released from prison by the British army.

Q. What took you to Ava upon this last occasion?—*A.* I was ordered up in chains, by the King and Prince of Sarawadi.

Q. Did you go up in chains?—*A.* No; I paid a bribe of sixty ticals to the commander of the war-boat sent from Ava to convey me, and was excused.

Q. With what offence were you charged?—*A.* With none whatever that I am aware of. I was simply told that the King had called me. Fifty men came to my house to put me in irons: I said, "Don't put me in irons, I will make you a present." They demanded six hundred ticals, and were finally satisfied with sixty.

Q. Do you understand the Burman language?—*A.* I understand generally what is said, and can speak a few words.

Q. How did you generally communicate with the native inhabitants?—*A.* Through interpreters whom I always kept in my employment.

Q. Do you speak any other of the Indian languages?—*A.* Yes, Hindustanee and Malay.

Q. Were you agent for the Prince of Sarawadi?—*A.* Yes, and also for the late Prince of Tongo, brother to the King.

Q. Did you enjoy any privileges under the Prince?—*A.* Yes, I had a monopoly of the teak timber, and other produce of the province of Sarawadi, which is the domain or estate of his Highness. The people could sell their produce to me only, as long as I gave the market price of Sarawadi for it.

Q. Had you a title from his Majesty the King?—*A.* Yes; I got one through the Prince of Sarawadi to strengthen my hands as his agent.

Q. Did this title confer any power on you?—*A.* Yes; a great deal: I could enforce payment of my own debts, and was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Myowun of Rangoon. I was under the authority of the Shah-bandar only, a Spanish gentleman of the name of Lanciego.

Q. Are you well acquainted with the Prince of Sarawadi?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Do you consider you were in his confidence?—*A.* As a commercial agent I was, and upon other subjects he often spoke to me familiarly.

Q. Did you ever hear his Highness express his opinion concerning a war with the British?—*A.* Yes; when I arrived at Ava, on the 4th of March, 1824, I waited upon the Prince of Sarawadi. Upon that occasion, his Highness asked me if I knew a Mr. Richardson, who had lately quitted Ava. I informed him that I knew this individual only as a clerk of Mr. Gouger, a British merchant then at the capital, and afterwards imprisoned. The reason of his Highness putting this question was, that the Court, on the information of certain Moham-

medan merchants, had been led to suspect Mr. Richardson to be a spy dispatched to Bengal by Mr. Gouger with information for the British Government. His Highness then observed, "There are two Chiefs of Assam and Cassay, who have run off into the British territory; do you think the English Government will deliver them up?" I said, it was contrary to the custom of the English to deliver up any person who had sought their protection. The Prince, on hearing this, said, "If they will not deliver them up, we will go to war and take them by force. Do you think we can beat the English?" I said, "No;" to which the Prince replied, "See how we beat them at Coxes Bazar. You are strong by sea, but not by land. We are skilled in making trenches and *abbatis*, which the English do not understand." I answered, "I beseech you not to deceive yourself with this opinion, but advise his Majesty not to go to war." I added, that the English and Burmans were two great nations who had been long friends, and ought not to quarrel on account of two petty individuals, like the Princes alluded to. The Prince said, "If the Chiefs are not surrendered, there will be war;" and he continued to insist that they would be taken by force.

Q. Are you of opinion that the Burman Court and people, generally, were anxious for a war with the English?—*A.* Yes, I am of opinion that, from the King to the beggar, they were hot for a war with the English. They looked upon the English as a parcel of merchants, and considered the Governor-General to be of no higher rank or consequence than the Viceroy of Rangoon.

Q. What has induced you to form this opinion?—*A.* What I heard repeated at the Prince's levees daily as coming from the palace, and the opinions expressed by himself and his courtiers upon many occasions, almost daily. I judged also from the opinions expressed by Burman merchants who were in the habit of transacting business with me.

Q. What advantage do you consider the Burmans expected to derive from a war with the English?—*A.* They expected to conquer Bengal, to plunder it, and extend their territories to the westward.

Q. Did you ever hear that the Burmans, before the war, were alarmed at the power of the British Government in India?—*A.* No, I never heard so. I have always considered that the Burmans had a contempt for the British, whom they considered as merchants who had hired a few mercenary soldiers to fight for them.

Q. Were they aware of the wealth of Calcutta and Bengal?—*A.* Yes, certainly: they judged of it from the reports of their own merchants who visited Calcutta, as well as by the large investments brought to Rangoon by British merchants.

Q. Do you consider that this circumstance was any inducement to a desire for war with the English?—*A.* Certainly.

Q. Were you ever in the presence of his Majesty the King of Ava?—*A.* Yes, often.

Q. On such occasions, did you ever hear an opinion expressed which led you to believe that the Court was desirous of a war with the English?—*A.* Yes; I remember one circumstance which struck me very forcibly, and led me to form that opinion. When I was in Ava, for the second time, in 1823, I was present at an evening levee of the King. The late Bandula, and several of his officers, who had just arrived from the conquest of Assam, were there. They had on their heads gold-wrought handkerchiefs, part of the plunder of

Assam. The King took them off their heads and admired them. One of the Atwenwuns said to the King, "Your Majesty's dominions now extend to the Northern Sea. There never was so great a King as your Majesty." The King smiled, and asked, if in his new acquisitions there was any port of trade for large ships. It was answered, that there was not; but that there was a considerable inland trade with Bengal by boats. The King then ordered that a proper person should be appointed Shah-bandar for the collection of his revenues in Assam. Bandula now presented the King with two English dogs which had been taken, and proceeded to mention what number of prisoners he had brought, as well as the hostages and presents from the native Prince whom he had left in authority. Bandula said, "I pursued the fugitives across the Burrampooter into the British territory; but, as the English are on terms of friendship with your Majesty, and you derive a large revenue from their trade to Rangoon, I retired. But if your Majesty desire to have Bengal, I will conquer it for you, and will only require for this purpose the Kulas, or strangers, and not a single Burman." His Majesty smiled, but gave no reply. He was greatly pleased with what he heard during the evening, and was fidgeting about in his seat every now and then, according to his custom when he is delighted with any thing.

Q. What Kulas, or strangers, do you suppose Bandula meant upon this occasion?—*A.* Mohammedan and Hindu settlers from Western Asia, residing at the capital, and, I imagine also, Chinese.

Q. Are these strangers numerous at the Burman capital?—*A.* Yes, particularly the Chinese and Cassayers, who, I suppose, form a fourth part of the whole population of the capital?

Q. Who was your interpreter on this occasion?—*A.* Mr. Rodgers, an Englishman, who has resided forty-one years in the country, and understands the language thoroughly.

Q. What observation did Mr. Rodgers make upon what transpired upon this occasion?—*A.* He said to me, "If the King takes the advice of these men, there will be war with the English, and the country is gone." I said, "Why don't you advise his Majesty against it. He said, "If at this moment I were to speak a word on the subject, my head would be cut off."

Q. Did you ever hear that Bandula had marched at the head of an army towards the British frontier before the commencement of the war?—*A.* In going up to Ava by water, in the month of February 1824, I met troops proceeding to join the army of Bandula, then at Sambeguen.

Q. Were you told that they were going to attack the British dominions?—*A.* No. I sent my interpreter on shore to make inquiry, who stated on his return, that the report was, that the army was intended to quell a rebellion in Aracan.

Q. What was said at Ava when news arrived of the capture of Rangoon by the British army?—*A.* I heard at the levee of the Prince of Sarawadi, that the King had issued orders for raising an army to drive the strangers out of the country. It was said that he expressed a hope that the Kulas would not run away before the arrival of his army, as their fire-arms would be of great service towards the conquest of Siam. It was the general belief that the English had come to burn and plunder the country, and carry off the

inhabitants, in the manner practised by the Burmans and Siamese towards each other on the frontier.

Q. How soon were you put in confinement after the arrival of the English at Rangoon?—A. The English were imprisoned on the 28th of May, and the Americans on the 8th of June.

Q. When you were in prison, had you any opportunity of getting news of what was passing?—A. Yes, sometimes even to the capture of a Sepoy's jacket.

Q. What opinion did the Burmans generally entertain of the British soldiery before the commencement of hostilities?—A. They imagined them to be a rabble, and they thought that ten thousand Burmans would beat four times the number of British troops.

Q. When did they begin to change their opinion on this subject?—A. After the capture of the Seven Stockades, where Thongba-woonghee, who commanded, and a Woondock, were killed.

Q. Did this event produce a strong impression in Ava?—A. Yes; the Court was much alarmed, but continued to assert that the English were afraid to advance from Rangoon.

Q. Whether were the Burmans most afraid of the European or Native troops of the British army?—A. They were afraid of the European troops, and not of the Native.

Q. What means had you of ascertaining this?—A. I ascertained it from deserters of the Burman army, who were imprisoned with me.

Q. What did they say of the conduct of the Sepoys?—A. They said, they waved their hands as a signal for them to be off, and fired over their heads.

Q. Did you hear this once, or oftener?—A. It was constantly repeated to myself and the other prisoners.

Q. Are you aware what object the Burmans had in repeating this story?—A. No; I cannot say.

Q. Did you believe it at the time?—A. No; I did not believe it.

Q. Are the Burmans, in your opinion, now convinced that they have been worsted by the English?—A. Yes, certainly.

Q To what do they ascribe their defeats?—A. They now acknowledge the superior courage and discipline of the British troops.

Q. Do you think the present peace will be lasting?—A. No; I do not. There is no confidence, no faith, to be placed in the Burmans, from the highest to the lowest rank. If they suppose themselves to have an opportunity of regaining the provinces conquered from them, they will not fail to avail themselves of it.

Q. Do you consider that the appointment of a British resident at the Court of Ava, is likely to have a beneficial effect in preserving peace with the Burmans?—A. Yes; a person in that situation will have every opportunity of watching the designs of the Court.

Q. Is it easy to gain information of the transactions of the Court of Ava?—A. Yes, very easy. By means of small presents, almost any intelligence might be obtained. A piece of book-muslin, or leno, or a handkerchief-piece of a new pattern, will often do the business.

Q. Do you not think that the British agent will be jealously watched by the Court?—

A. Yes; at first, but in time this will be got over. If his Majesty takes a personal liking to the resident, all difficulty is got over; and then woe be to the man who says any thing against him.

Q. Do you think the resident will experience any difficulty in communicating with the British Government, through Aracan, or by Rangoon?—*A.* Yes, much difficulty. Letters will be often intercepted, and the communication frequently interrupted.

Q. What line of demeanour, on the part of the British resident, do you consider would prove most beneficial to the interests of his Government?—*A.* The first matter necessary, is to get into the King and Queen's favour; then into that of Menzagi, the Queen's brother. The resident should confine his visits to the members of the Royal family; but, by means of small presents, keep on good terms with the Woonghees, Attawuns, and Woondocks.

Q. Do you consider that the British trade in the Burman dominions is likely to receive any protection or benefit from the presence of a British agent at the Court of Ava?—*A.* Yes, undoubtedly. I would return to Ava myself as a merchant, were a British resident appointed there.

Q. Have you had extensive means of gaining information respecting the trade of the Burman dominions?—*A.* Yes, very considerable means.

Q. What do you consider to be the productions of the country, either at present suited for foreign exportation, or likely to become so, when the country is settled, and trade on a fair footing?—*A.* The following enumeration occurs to me: rice, grain, cotton, indigo, cardamums, black-pepper, aloes, sugar, saltpetre, salt, teak-timber, stick-lac, kutch, or terra japonica, areca, damar, fustic, sapan-wood, wood and earth oil, honey, bees' wax, ivory, with rubies and sapphires. I may add, that the following metals and minerals are found in the Burman dominions: iron, copper, lead, gold, silver, antimony, white statuary marble, limestone, and coals.

Q. What do you know respecting the teak trade?—*A.* I had a monopoly of the teak forests of Sarawadi, the principal place of produce, for one year.

Q. What do you suppose may be the annual produce of Sarawadi?—*A.* I got about 7500 pair of shinbins; but, notwithstanding the monopoly, others got large quantities also.

Q. Do you know any thing of the produce of the teak forests of Lain, Prome, and Tongo?—*A.* No; I cannot afford any precise information respecting them.

Q. Have you ever visited the teak forests of Sarawadi, and what do you think of them?—*A.* I have. The timber is very fine, and in great quantity. It is all natural wood, the Burmans never planting.

Q. Are they capable of affording a larger annual produce than they yield at present?—*A.* Yes; any quantity the market may demand.

Q. Do the forests of Sarawadi produce kutch?—*A.* Yes, in great quantity. This produce is obtained by boiling the wood of a forest tree*, which is in plenty. It is inferior in quality to the kutch of the upper provinces, being darker in colour.

Q. Have you ever seen any cane-sugar in Ava?—*A.* Yes; I have seen some very fine

* Mimosa Cathechu.

clayed sugar, manufactured by the Chinese of Ava: I thought the best description of it superior to the Siam sugar.

Q. What was the price of this sugar in the market of Ava?—*A.* From thirty to thirty-six Sicca rupees the 100 viss, or 365 pounds avoirdupois.

Q. Are you of opinion that the culture of the sugar-cane, and manufacture of sugar, might be extended?—*A.* I was told by the Chinese, that nothing was wanting but a market to enable them to produce sugar in large quantity. The Burmans prohibited the exportation.

Q. Are you of opinion that any part of the Burman territory is suited to the produce of indigo?—*A.* Yes; the lower parts of the country, especially the districts of Sarawadi and Sarwa. The soil of these is rich. I have seen indigo growing wild, and the natives cultivate a considerable quantity for home use. When the war broke out, I was on the point of establishing an indigo manufactory, at a place called Tendo, in Sarawadi.

Q. Have you ever heard of any other person having established, or proposed to establish, an indigo manufactory in Pegu?—*A.* Yes; Sarkies Manook, an Armenian merchant of Rangoon, established an indigo manufactory in the district of Sarwa, immediately before the war, but I do not know the result.

Q. What are the principal articles of import by sea into the Burman dominions? *A.* Bengal, Madras, and British piece-goods; British woollens, iron, wrought and unwrought, copper for ship-building, lead, quicksilver, borax, sulphur, gunpowder, fire-arms, saltpetre, sugar, arrack, and rum; a little opium, earthenware, Chinese and English glass-ware, cocoa-nuts, and betel-nut.

Q. Has the trade in piece-goods increased of late years?—*A.* Very much, especially in British piece-goods, which were not known at all to the Burmans a few years ago. The trade in Madras piece-goods has declined.

Q. Do you know any thing of the trade carried on between the northern parts of the Burman dominions and China?—*A.* Yes; I have made inquiry into it.

Q. Will you mention what you know respecting it?—*A.* The trade is carried on at Banmo, on the Chinese frontiers, and a fair held at a place called Midai, four or five miles to the northward of Amarapura. Mohammedan and Burman merchants of Ava go to Banmo to meet the Chinese, part of whom come down to Midai in December. I have visited the fair at Midai, and think there could not be less than four thousand Chinese there.

Q. What goods did the Chinese import?—*A.* Copper, orpiment, quicksilver, vermilion, iron-pans, silver, gold, rhubarb, tea, fine honey, raw silk, spirits, hams, musk, verdigris, dry fruits, and a few fresh fruits, with some dogs and pheasants.

Q. What description of tea is it that the Chinese bring?—*A.* It is black tea, of different qualities, made up in round cakes or balls: some of it is of very fine flavour, and some very indifferent.

Q. Do you know of what part of China this tea is the produce?—*A.* No; I do not, but suppose it to be the production of the provinces adjacent to the Burman Empire. I have made three voyages to Canton, but never saw tea of the same description there.

Q. What are the ordinary prices of this tea in Ava?—*A.* When the caravan arrives,

the price of tea is low, but rises when it goes away. I never paid, by retail, more than one tical a vis, (three pounds sixty-five cents,) for what I purchased for my own use.

Q. Do you consider this tea fit for the European market?—*A.* Yes; I think the best quality is. There are much worse teas drank in Europe.

Q. For whose use is this tea imported?—*A.* Chiefly for that of the Chinese residents. The Mohammedan residents also use a considerable quantity, as well as the higher classes of Burmans—all, in short, that can afford it.

Q. Are you aware that the tea-plant is the production of some parts of the Burman Empire?—*A.* Yes; but I do not know of what part. Tea, under the name of Lepek, is consumed by all classes of Burmans, and is a great article of Native trade. It is eaten in small quantities, after meals, with garlic and sesamum oil; and it is customary to offer it to guests and strangers, as a token of welcome.

Q. Do you know how, and where, saltpetre is obtained in the Burman country?—*A.* Yes; I have seen it manufactured at a place called Aong-ben-le, about ten or twelve miles from Ava. The saltpetre appears as an efflorescence on the soil, which is washed and filtrated. The lye is boiled in Chinese iron-pans, and the crystals form about a piece of wood inserted in the pots. The same lye affords common salt, which is separated by a process which I do not understand.

Q. Were the saltpetre grounds extensive in the vicinity of Aong-ben-le?—*A.* The whole country appeared to me to be impregnated with saltpetre. It was very barren, and produced nothing but a few tamarind-trees and thorns. A few of the lowlands, watered by a large tank several miles long, and about two broad, afforded rice. There is another place, to the southward of Ava, where saltpetre is manufactured in larger quantity than at Aong-ben-le.

Q. How do the Chinese convey their goods?—*A.* On small horses and mules, which they do not dispose of, but take back to China.

Q. What time do the Chinese take in travelling from their own country to Ava?—*A.* I cannot precisely say, but I have heard two months.

Q. What returns do the Chinese chiefly carry back with them?—*A.* The principal article is cotton, and then ivory and bees' wax, with a small quantity of British woollens, chiefly broad-cloths and carpets.

Q. Have you heard what quantity of cotton is exported from Ava to China annually?—*A.* I have made inquiry, and seen great quantities exported. I consider, the quantity cannot be less than seventy thousand Bengal bales, of three hundred pounds each.

Q. Do you know any thing of the quality of this cotton, and whether it be cleaned, or goes in the seed?—*A.* The greater part of it is cleaned: all that is sent on horseback is so. The cotton of the lower provinces is of a short staple, that of the upper long, and of the finest texture.

Q. Did you ever hear that the cotton of Pegu is sent to Chittagong and Dacca?—*A.* I have understood it is, and that from it is manufactured the fine Dacca muslin.

Q. Do you know any thing of the trade carried on with the country of the Shans, or, as it is called by Europeans, the kingdom of Lao?—*A.* Yes. The Shans repair annually, in

the dry season, to the Burman country, bringing with them, stick-lac, bees' wax, a yellow dye-wood, various drugs and gums, the names of which I do not know; raw silk, lacker-ware, ready-made clothes, consisting of jackets stuffed with cotton; onions, and garlic, turmeric, and coarse cane-sugar in cakes. Stick-lac is the principal article. The returns are dry fish and nappi, with salt.

Q. Where are the fairs held to which the people resort?—*A.* The chief fair is held at a place called Plek, from six to eight miles south of Ava, on a small river which falls into the Irawadi under the walls of the capital. I have been there purchasing stick-lac. The next largest fair is at the Dagon Pagoda, near Rangoon. There are several minor ones along the east bank of the Irawadi.

Q. You have stated you were imprisoned on the 28th May?—*A.* Yes.

Q. How were you arrested?—*A.* I was called to the palace by a messenger, who stated that the King wished to see me. When I arrived there, I was interrogated by a secretary. After the interrogation, I was delivered into the hands of a gaoler, and detained in the palace that day and following night. Next day I was interrogated by another secretary. The principal charge made against me was, that I had brought up newspapers with me when I came last from Rangoon, and did not communicate the contents to the Court.

Q. What answer did you give to the charge?—*A.* I stated, that I was forbid the Court, —did not understand the Burman language, and therefore had no means of communication.

Q. Had any person advised you in regard to the conduct you ought to pursue upon such an occasion?—*A.* Yes. The Prince of Sarawadi advised me to say nothing about the war, or give any information respecting the dispute about the island of Shahpari.

Q. After your second interrogatory, how were you disposed of?—*A.* I was kept under arrest at the palace until the 8th of June, when I was committed to the state gaol, with three pair of irons, by sentence of the Lotoo.

Q. How were you treated when in the palace?—*A.* During my stay there, I was put seven times into the stocks, for not above a quarter of an hour on each occasion. I was each time released on payment of a small bribe, to extort which was the object of putting me in.

Q. Were you maltreated when sent from the palace to the state prison?—*A.* No; none of the prisoners were maltreated, with the exception of Mr. Judson.

Q. How were you treated in prison?—*A.* At first, the whole of the prisoners had a long bamboo passed between the legs, over the fetters; so that one leg rested on the bamboo, and the other on the platform on which we lay. We had no mats or pillows to lie on. Our food was not allowed to be brought into the gaol to us by our servants, without paying a bribe at the door. The head-gaoler informed us, that we might be released from this state by paying among us, to the best of my recollection, between two and three thousand ticals. There were nine of us; we refused to pay so large a sum, and a smaller one was taken. As far as I remember, Messrs. Judson and Price paid one hundred ticals each. Mr. Gouger, for himself and two persons imprisoned along with him, two hundred and fifty ticals. The Prince of Sarawadi promised to pay two hundred ticals for me, but did not pay them, for I was a second time put in close confinement, after the Prince had quitted Ava to take command of the army, and told it was on this account.

Q. Were the prisoners ever prevented from holding intercourse with each other?—A. Yes; we were at one time put in separate cells, and prohibited from speaking to each other. Indeed, we were generally prohibited from conversing with each other, and for the three first months rigidly so.

Q. Were you supplied with food and clothes by the Government while in prison?—A. No, with not a particle of either; we were even obliged to pay half a tical a month for permission to our servants to come in with our food, besides other occasional exactions. It is not the custom to feed any description of prisoners. The Sepoy prisoners of the British army were, contrary to custom, ordered to be fed by the King, but the gaolers plundered them of the greatest part of what was ordered.

Q. How long were you imprisoned in Ava?—A. Somewhat more than eleven months.

Q. Where were you sent, after being taken out of gaol in Ava?—A. First to Amarapura, where we stayed one day, and then to Aong-ben-le, ten or twelve miles from Ava.

Q. Were you maltreated when conveyed from Ava to Aong-ben-le?—A. Yes; we were stripped of all our clothes, except a pair of trowsers and a shirt; a rope was tied round our waists, and we were bound two and two. A keeper, who had a rope two or three fathoms long fixed to each prisoner, drove us along; and in this manner, in the heat of the sun, and in the month of May, we travelled, barefooted and bareheaded, to Amarapura. At this place, our feet being blistered and cut, and being no longer able to travel, we were put in irons, and sent in carts to Aong-ben-le.

Q. Did any of the prisoners suffer from this treatment?—A. Yes; a Greek of the name of Constantine was killed by it. An officer of rank, to whose charge we were delivered, accompanied us from Ava, and perceiving that the Greek could not travel, ordered a horse for him. After the governor was out of the way, the horse was taken away. He could not go on, and was dragged for some way along the ground; a cart was then pressed, and he was put into it. He arrived close to the old palace at four in the afternoon, insensible, and expired about sunset.

Q. Did you see Constantine the Greek dragged along the ground?—A. Yes; I did.

Q. How did he come to suffer more than the rest?—A. He was an old man, and the sinews of his legs were contracted.

Q. What do you suppose was the reason for your being taken from Ava to Aong-ben-le?—A. The Pakan-wun, appointed to the command of the army after the death of Bandula, had been for a few days our fellow-prisoner at Ava, and used to promise Mr. Rodgers, if released, to do something for our comfort. Aong-ben-le was his place of birth, and we therefore, at first, imagined we were sent there at his intercession; we were afterwards informed that it was his intention to massacre us at the head of his army, which was to march through Aong-ben-le for this purpose.

Q. Do you know what became of the Pakan-wun?—A. He was put to death by being trod upon by elephants, on a charge of treason, about a month after he was raised to power.

Q. Are you of opinion that he intended to destroy you?—A. No; I never thought so, but I think it likely that he wished to destroy two of the party, Rodgers and Lanciego; who had, as officers of the Burman Government, thwarted him several times. He was a clever and am-

bitious man, and having been twice punished by the King, it was supposed he wished to avenge himself, by dethroning his Majesty, and assuming the Government. Had he succeeded in this, he would have made peace with the English and used us as instruments in bringing it about.

Q. How were you treated in the prison at Aong-ben-le?—*A.* Worse than at Ava: I was five or six times put into the stocks to extort money from me, and had to pay four times for the irons I had on.

Q. Was your property confiscated?—*A.* It was seized by the Government, with the exception of my wearing-apparel, and we lived upon the labour or begging of our servants.

Q. Did your Indian servants behave well to you during your imprisonment?—*A.* Yes, extremely well, particularly a Talain and Malay domestic.

Q. From what class of the natives did you receive the greatest kindness?—*A.* From the petty traders and poor people. The only people of rank who paid us attention, were the wife of the Governor of Aong-ben-le, and the Myosare of that place.

Q. How many Sepoys or Native officers were confined along with you?—*A.* About two hundred and fifty were confined at one time for a day or two only; seven were left in close confinement with us, all of whom died, but one, of dysenteries, brought on by irregular supplies of food. Sometimes they had nothing to eat for two or three days, and then they had too much and ate voraciously.

(Signed) JOHN LAIRD.

THE REVEREND MR. A. JUDSON.

Q. WHAT is your name, and of what country are you a native?—*A.* My name is Adoniram Judson, and I am a native of Massachussets, in the United States of America.

Q. How long have you resided in the Burman dominions?—*A.* I arrived at Rangoon in the month of July 1813, and have resided in the Burman dominions ever since, with the exception of two short visits made to Bengal and Madras.

Q. How have you been generally occupied during that time?—*A.* For the first six years of my stay, I was entirely occupied in studying the Burmese language, and framing a dictionary of it; and for the next four in preaching the Gospel to the natives, translating the New Testament into the Burmese language, with the other duties of the Mission. For twenty-one months I was a prisoner, out of which I was seventeen in irons.

Q. Have you resided any time at the Burmese Court?—*A.* I have visited Ava, or Amarapura, three times, and resided there in all near three years.

Q. Had you, during that time, any intercourse with any of the members of the Royal family, or the principal officers?—*A.* In my second visit to Ava, in 1822, I had frequent intercourse with the Palace, knew almost every member of the Royal family, and both the public and private officers of State, the Woonghees and Attawuns. I have spent whole days at the Palace, and five or six times attended the morning levees, which is considered a matter of especial privilege. I arrived at Ava, the third time, in the beginning of 1824. I then visited the Palace, and renewed my acquaintance with the Chiefs, but was received coldly by his Majesty. I continued, as in my former visit, however, to visit at the houses of the King's brothers and sisters, the Queen's brother, and other principal officers.

Q. What, according to your opinion, was the cause of your being coldly received by his Majesty, during your third visit to the Court?—*A.* I conceive, that the principal reason was, the approaching rupture between the British and Burman Governments.

Q. Was there any distinction made between American and British subjects by the Court of Ava?—*A.* Before the war commenced, it was fully explained to the Burmese Government, that the American Missionaries were not subjects of Great Britain; and under this impression, I thought it safe to visit the Court in 1824, although then of opinion that war was impending. The imprisonment of the American Missionaries, after the commencement of the war, now convinces me that they made no distinction. The Burmese, in fact, are of opinion, that all white men, except the French, are subjects of the King of England. Since the overthrow of the Emperor Napoleon, they even believe that France has become part of the King of England's dominions. The Americans are peculiarly liable to be confounded with the English, from speaking the same language.

Q. On your way from Rangoon to Ava, in 1824, did you observe any hostile preparations making?—*A.* I observed none until reaching Prome, when I heard that troops were levying in all the provinces above that place. As I advanced, I saw in several places the conscripts quitting the villages where they had been raised. Between Sembeguen and Pugan, I met the Bandula proceeding in state to take command of an army assembled at the former place. I was told that the destination of this army was the British frontier.

Q. Did you see the army which you have now mentioned?—*A.* No; I did not; I passed on the opposite side of the river; and at all events, Sembeguen, where the troops would be assembled, is several miles distant from the bank. I saw only the troops in the immediate suite of Bandula, probably not above one thousand.

Q. Were you told, and by whom, that the army of Bandula intended to attack the British dominions?—*A.* I was told that such was the intention, but I cannot specify any particular authority for this opinion: the impression was general among the people: no secret was made of it.

Q. Had you any personal intercourse with Bandula, on the occasion of meeting his fleet on the river?—*A.* No; I did not see Bandula, but my boat was stopped and examined by his orders. I stated that I was proceeding to the capital by orders from the King, and was allowed to pass.

Q. Do you know what became of the army of Bandula, to which you now allude?—*A.* Soon after my arrival in Ava, I heard that Bandula with his army had arrived at the place of his destination, and had sent the Burmese Government a plan of some meditated attack on the British territory. This was stated to me by a person who had heard the King mention this circumstance at one of the morning levees. I cannot recollect the person who gave me this information, but think it was Dr. Price, who was then more in habits of visiting the Palace than myself.

Q. During your residence at the Court, have you ever observed any disposition on the part of the officers of Government to enter into a war with the British?—*A.* From the first visit I made to Ava, such a disposition has always been manifested whenever an occasion

presented itself to express it. I heard such sentiments expressed by the principal officers of Government, but more particularly by the members of the Royal family.

Q. Did such a disposition exist during the late reign?—*A.* I have understood that it did; but cannot speak from personal experience on this subject, not having, although in the country, visited the Court of Ava until the accession of the present King.

Q. What, according to your opinion, led to the late war between the British and Burman Governments?—*A.* A jealousy of the British power on the part of the Burmans, confidence in their own prowess on account of the recent conquests of Cassay and Assam, and a desire to extend their territory.

Q. What opinion did the Burmese Court entertain of the military character of the British nation and power in India, previous to the war?—*A.* They thought the British power formidable to the Hindus only; but considered themselves a superior order of men, whom the British could not withstand in battle, both on account of personal courage, skill in stratagem, and the practice of desultory modes of warfare, which would fatigue and destroy a British army.

Q. Did you hear what was thought at Court when news arrived of the capture of Rangoon?—*A.* It was considered a mere marauding incursion, similar to that which the Siamese frequently made on the province of Martaban—an example quoted at the time. The King frequently expressed his anxiety for the speedy march of his troops, lest the English who had landed at Rangoon should escape.

Q. Who were the persons about the Court that most frequently expressed, in your hearing, a desire for war with the British Government in India?—*A.* The Prince of Sarawadi, brother to the King, a favourite, and the person next to him in rank; the Princess of Taongdwen, the eldest sister of the King, and on that account unmarried, according to immemorial usage; a person of great intelligence, and perfectly well acquainted with the feelings of the Court; and the Seah Wonghee, the King's tutor, and amongst the courtiers next in influence to the Queen's brother.

Q. Can you recollect any particulars of conversations held with any of the individuals now mentioned, on the subject of war with the English?—*A.* I have frequently heard the Prince of Sarawadi expatiate for half an hour together upon this subject. His language used to be to the following purport. I render the expressions from the Burman as nearly as I can recollect them. "The English are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance to dethrone kings, and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern the black strangers with caste (Hindus) who have puny frames and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmans, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we have an opportunity of manifesting our bravery, it will be an example to the black natives, who are now slaves to the English, and encourage them to throw off their yoke." About a month before my imprisonment, the King's sister, already mentioned, said to me in conversation, that it was obvious the English were afraid to fight; that their conduct on the frontier was mean and cowardly; that they were always disposed to treat and not to fight; and that upon some occasions, when the Burman

and British troops met, the British officers held up their hands to entreat the Burmans not to advance. She insisted that the whole conduct of the British for some time past indicated unequivocal symptoms of fear. She added: "We shall now fight certainly, and will no longer be dissuaded. The new Governor-General acts foolishly; he is afraid of us, and attempts to coax us, yet continues the usual course of aggression and encroachment."

Q. Did you ever hear the Seah Wonghee, the King's tutor, express any opinion on the prospect of a war with the English?—*A.* The late Seah Wonghee was a man of few words and of a cautious disposition. I have often heard him talk of the danger to the Burmans of the neighbourhood of the British power, and the necessity of watching their conduct. I once obtained a grant of land for a house through this officer. He took a long time in wording the document, and took especial care to mention to his people, in my presence, calling upon me to understand what he said, that the grant was not in perpetuity, lest it might hereafter be claimed, he said, as the territory of the American Government. In this he appeared to me to refer to the history of British aggrandizement in India. It was through his officers, chiefly, that I learned the sentiments of this individual.

Q. Can you recollect the names of any other individual of consequence who expressed in your presence an opinion on the question of a war between the Burman and British Governments?—*A.* From the nature of the Burman Government, the principal officers of State express themselves with extreme caution on all public questions. The same caution was not so necessary to the King's brothers and sisters, and therefore they expressed themselves more freely. As the war approached, this caution increased; and when the subject, upon one occasion, was introduced before one of the Attawuns, this officer did not hesitate to insinuate, that the American Missionaries were spies of the British Government. I have heard the dependents of the chief ministers, and other subordinate officers of Government, on innumerable occasions, express similar sentiments on a war with the British, to those which I have ascribed to the Prince of Sarawadi and the Princess of Taungdwen.

Q. Did you hear that any proposition for the conquest of the British territories was ever entertained on the part of the Burman Government?—*A.* In the presence of the Princess of Taungdwen, I was once consulted by her officers on the practicability of conquering Bengal. My reply was, that it was as difficult for the Burmans to conquer Bengal, as for the English to conquer Ava; which expression was viewed by the Burmans as affording as strong an affirmation of the impracticability of the scheme, as words could convey. Their answer was, "You do not believe just now,—in a little while you will be convinced." This conversation, to the best of my recollection, took place in March or April 1824, after the march of Bandula's army, which was the subject of discourse when my opinion was asked.

Q. Can you recollect any other circumstance affording an intimation of the sentiments of the Court of Ava on the subject of a war with the British?—*A.* Nothing specific; but I may mention a circumstance which occurred to me one morning, during my second visit to Ava, at the close of the year 1822. I met one of the officers of the young Heir-apparent, the only son of the King, then a child of about eleven years of age. I asked this person some questions respecting his young master. In the course of the conversation, he used the fol-

lowing expression :—" This is the Prince who, when he arrives at manhood, is to rule over all your Kula countries." This prediction in favour of the young Prince was a matter of general belief among the Burmans, and could refer only to the British territories, being the only Kula countries accessible to the Burmans.

Q.—What is the meaning of the term Kula?—*A.* Its original meaning was, men having caste, or Hindus; but now it is extended to all the nations lying west of Ava, who are divided by the Burmans into *black* and *white* Kulas.

Q. Have you understood that any of the Asiatic strangers residing in Ava were instrumental in exciting the Burmans to a war with the British?—*A.* I have uniformly understood that the Brahmins of Cassay, Munnipore, and Upper India, residing in Ava, from hatred of the British rule, were active in instigating the Burmans to war.

Q. Are there many Brahmins residing at the Court of Ava?—*A.* A great many; and they are particularly favoured by the King, and often consulted.

Q. Did you ever hear any person connected with the Burman Government complain of any specific act of aggression on the part of the British?—*A.* I have always heard that the principal complaint, was the refusal on the part of the British to deliver up refugees. This had been a subject of complaint during my whole residence in the Burman dominions. At the commencement of the war, I also heard it stated that the British had forcibly seized an island in the Naaf river, belonging to the Burmans. Mr. Lanciego, a Spanish gentleman in the Burman service, who was imprisoned with me, informed me that he had told the King, that the dispute concerning the Naaf island might be settled, and war avoided. The King answered, " We have gone too far, and must proceed." This expression, according to Mr. Lanciego, was pronounced by his Majesty in a tone which seemed to indicate that he personally regretted the prospect of war with the English.

Q. Does Mr. Lanciego understand the Burman language, and on what terms was he with the King?—*A.* Mr. Lanciego understands the Burman language perfectly, and was a great favourite of the King. He had high titles, and was Collector of the Port of Rangoon.

Q. What sensation was produced at Ava by the success of Bandula at Ramoo? —A strong sensation, as I understood from others; for when the news came I was a prisoner. I saw, from the place of my confinement, the prisoners, their baggage, arms, and ammunition, carried in public procession, and the King himself came out to view the spectacle.

Q. Have you ever heard that the Burman Government has felt displeasure at the British power being an obstacle to the extension of its territories to the westward?—*A.* When I was at Court, for the first time, in 1819, the year of his present Majesty's accession to the throne, the late Mr. Gibson, who afterwards went on a mission to Cochin China, was engaged by the King's orders in constructing a map of the Burman dominions, together with the adjacent countries of Hindostan, Siam, and Cochin China: Mr. Gibson had exhibited this map to the King, and came to me from the palace, mentioning what had taken place. The King, on seeing the map, used the following expression: " You have assigned the English too much territory." Mr. Gibson said that the map gave a correct representation of the extent of the British dominions. The King answered,

with evident feelings of dissatisfaction: "The territory of the strangers is unreasonably large." This was before the conquest of Assam, and it was observed that this country would be a desirable acquisition to the Burmans.

Q. Are you of opinion that the late war might have been avoided on the part of the British by negotiation?—*A.* I am of opinion that war was ultimately inevitable, but might, perhaps, have been delayed for a short time, by the British Government yielding to all the demands of the Burmans, especially the restitution of the refugees. The next demand would have been for Chittagong and Dacca.

Q. What reason have you for believing that Chittagong and Dacca would have been demanded?—*A.* The Burmans considered that they had a good claim to them, as having once been dependencies of the kingdom of Aracan. I have heard this claim frequently urged, and, to the best of my recollection, on one occasion by the Prince of Sarawadi. The claim to these parts of the British dominions was so generally maintained by all classes of public officers, that if I had introduced the subject, I might have heard it insisted upon every day of my life.

Q. Did you ever see any royal proclamations, edicts, or other public documents of the Burman Government concerning the late war?—*A.* It is not generally the custom of the Burman Government to publish proclamations on such occasions. There was no declaration of war, which is also not customary. The people in general know nothing of war, but by the levy of troops and contributions. When in prison, I heard a royal edict repeated by one of the town-secretaries within the prison-yard. It was when the British army had reached Sarwa. It stated that, whereas "the rebel strangers" had taken possession of Rangoon, and issued their orders, in defiance of the King's authority in the lower countries, his Majesty would take the field in person, with 100,000 Burmans and 100,000 Shans; and it proceeded to make arrangements for his temporary absence. This was one of five or six edicts of the same nature, respecting his Majesty's departure from Ava to conduct the war in person.

Q. What was the reason of his Majesty not proceeding in person, in conformity with these edicts?—*A.* I do not believe that he ever seriously intended to march. The proposal to do so was intended to encourage the people, and an artifice to get some of the courtiers to volunteer their services.

Q. Did you ever hear what took place between the King and the Prince of Sarawadi, when the latter was proceeding to take the command of the army to oppose the English?—*A.* It was generally stated and believed, that the Prince said to his Majesty, that after driving the English out of the country, he trusted he would not be stopped, but allowed to pursue them into Bengal. This was thrown out with the hope of getting a favourable answer from the King, who only smiled, however, without giving any direct reply.

Q. What opinion did the Burmans entertain of the British Sepoys previous to the war?—*A.* They had a contemptible opinion of the Hindus, and the Mohammedans of Hindostan also, but did not understand what a Sepoy meant. I was frequently asked by the Government officers, who and what the Sepoys were, after the commencement of the war, and while in prison—whether they were slaves of the British Government, or

persons employed on pay, or what? Mr. Lanciego, the Spanish gentleman already alluded to, informed me, that when once consulted by the King, respecting the prospect of carrying on a war with the English, he persuaded his Majesty against it, and particularly mentioned that the British had 200,000 Sepoys, well armed and disciplined. Upon that occasion, neither his Majesty nor his courtiers seemed to understand what a Sepoy meant. His Majesty, on hearing what Mr. Lanciego said, retired abruptly; and the courtiers expressed their displeasure at his saying any thing to discourage the King from entering upon a war with the English.

Q. What opinion did the Burmese entertain of the Sepoys after the commencement of hostilities?—*A.* They entertained a poor opinion of them, and thought they could easily beat them, after their success at Ramoo, and in an affair which, I understand, took place at Rungpore. It was confidently stated by the Burmans, that while operations were going forward before Rangoon, the Sepoys were amicably disposed towards them, were anxious to spare them, and frequently warned them of the European troops. All this was very generally believed, and I myself entertained no doubt of it at the time. It was also stated, that an amicable traffic was carried on between the Sepoys and Burmese troops, in which the former, among other articles, occasionally disposed of muskets to the latter.

Q. Where were you when Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowall's detachment was repulsed from Wattigong, and that officer killed?—*A.* I was a prisoner in the Burman camp at Mellun.

Q. What brought you there?—*A.* I was sent from Ava to act as interpreter to the Prince Memiabo.

Q. When were you sent back from thence to Ava?—*A.* Immediately on news being received at Mellun of the British army having advanced from Prome.

Q. While encamped at Mellun did you see any prisoners of the British army?—*A.* I saw Lieut. Scott and twenty Sepoys, the latter taken at Wattigong.

Q. Do you know what was their conduct when brought before the Burman chiefs?—*A.* Yes. I was present when the Sepoys in question were brought, first before the Prince Memiabo, and afterwards before Kaulen Mengi, and interrogated by the latter, through a Hindustani interpreter, with my occasional assistance

Q. What questions were put to them?—*A.* They chiefly regarded the strength of the British army, and the effects likely to result from the death and defeat of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowall, who was supposed by the Burmans to be a general of high rank.

Q. How did the Sepoys reply, and what was the nature of their demeanour?—*A.* They answered with spirit, and the tendency of all their replies seemed to be for the advantage of their own Government. As far as I could judge, they purposely exaggerated the numbers and resources of the British army; and in reference to the death of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowall in particular, they explained the organization of the British force, stating that the death of a superior officer, even of the Commander-in-chief, would be attended with no disorder, as the next senior officer always took his place. The loyalty displayed by them gave offence to Kaulen Mengi, who got out of humour on hearing their replies.

Q. Did the Sepoys address you, or did you speak to them?—*A.* They recognized me with emotion, as an European, the moment I presented myself, and seemed to think that I

could afford them protection. By direction of Kaulen Mengi, I spoke to them in English, but they did not understand me, and I do not speak any of the languages of Hindostan. In giving the tenour of their answers, I go upon the translations of them rendered to Kaulen Mengi by the Hindustane interpreter.

Q. What impression did the conduct of the Sepoys upon this occasion make upon you? —*A.* From the unfavourable reports I had heard before, I thought the Sepoys lukewarm in the cause of the European Government. The conduct observed by them on the present occasion shook that opinion.

Q. Were the Sepoys in irons when brought before the Burman chiefs?—*A.* No; they were not in irons, but they had wooden yokes about their necks. They were afterwards put in irons, and sent to Ava.

Q. Did you meet, during your stay in Ava, any of the Sepoy prisoners taken on the Bengal frontier?—*A.* Yes; a number of the native officers were confined with me in the same prison, but, from the want of language, no intercourse took place between us. I only heard their sentiments occasionally through Mr. Gouger, an English gentleman who was one of my fellow-prisoners. I think they all died from hard treatment, with the exception of one person, whom I brought down with me to the British camp at Yandabo.

Q. What opinion did the Burmese, previous to the war, entertain of the European troops of the British army?—*A.* They had a better opinion of them than of the Hindus; but considered them luxurious and effeminate, incapable of standing the fatigues of war, and therefore unable to contend with a people hardy like themselves, who could carry on war with little food and no shelter.

Q. What is their present opinion of the European troops?—*A.* They consider them nearly invincible, fierce, and blood-thirsty, and discovering almost supernatural prowess. I have heard them compare them in action to a particular class of demons, called Balú, that, according to Burman notions, feed on human flesh. They have compared the rapidity of their movements to a whirlwind. The skill of the Europeans in the use of artillery, and especially in that of rockets and shells, astonishes them, and is incomprehensible to them. I should add, that the forbearance and moderation of the European troops after victory, and their obedience to command, and regularity of discipline, is a subject of admiration with them. In comparison with the Sepoys, they also observed that they were indifferent to plunder.

Q. Are you aware when this revolution in regard to the character of the European soldiery took place with the Burmans?—*A.* The first circumstance of the war which made a deep impression on the Burman Court, was the sudden and complete destruction, to use the language of the Burmans themselves, of the Thongba Woonghee and his party of about one thousand men, in a stockade near Rangoon. I heard from a Burmese who was present in the action, and who, for some political offence, on his return to Ava, became my fellow-prisoner, that this was effected by about three hundred Europeans. The Court being displeased with the procrastination of Ki Woonghee, had sent Thongba Woonghee, a brave but hot-headed man, to supersede him. This person was determined to fight. He sent, I think, an Armenian as a spy to Rangoon, who brought back news that the English were preparing to

attack his stockade. The messenger was put to death for bringing accounts tending to discourage the troops; but the execution was hardly over, when the British troops presented themselves before the stockade. My informant, and other persons, afterwards gave a most appalling account of the attack of "the Balús," as they called them. The gate of the stockade was choked up by the runaways, and almost every man in it put to death by the bayonet. Thongba Woonghee was killed in the fight by one of his own people. This mode of attack was totally contrary to all that the Burmans knew of war, and struck them with consternation. They stated, that when one of the assailants was killed, another immediately took his place, and that they were not to be discouraged from advancing, even by wounds; so that it was in vain to contend with such an enemy. Their imaginations were so wrought upon, that to these particulars they added many fabulous ones,—such as, that the Europeans continued to advance, after their hands had been chopped off in scrambling over stockades; that the arms and legs of the wounded were carefully picked up and replaced by the English surgeons, who were represented to be as skilful as the warriors were bold. The next circumstance which brought about the revolution in question, was the defeat of Bandula in his lines before Rangoon, and his flight to Donabew; an event which struck the Burmans dumb, and for a time made them consider their affairs desperate. They thought the British army would then immediately march upon Ava. The Princesses of Pugan and Shwadong, with the Queen-mother, when the news arrived in Ava, sent for Mrs. Judson, and communicated to her the particulars of Bandula's defeat. The Princess of Pugan said on that occasion: "The Bandula's troops have piled up their arms for the use of the foreigners. They have all dispersed, and the enemy has nothing to do but to march to Ava, clapping their hands." Mrs. Judson's advice was asked by the Princesses. They wished to know whether they ought to run away or stay; and if they stayed, whether there was any chance of safety for them. They entreated her protection and good offices with the English. Upon the failure at Donabew, the Burmans again somewhat recovered their spirits, and Bandula was supported by all the strength the country could afford. The death of Bandula again threw the Court into consternation.

Q. What, in your opinion, prevented the Burmans from negotiating during the war?—*A.* All idea of negotiation is repugnant to the pride of the Burmans, and contrary to their custom. They believe the conquering party will always keep what it has got, if it can; and that negotiation is therefore useless. Overtures to treat are always looked upon either as a mark of weakness, or they are considered as an artifice to gain time.

Q. Do you know what was said of the first overture made by Sir A. Campbell to treat from Prome?—*A.* The nine Europeans who were imprisoned were sent for to translate the letter of Sir A. Campbell, which perplexed the Court extremely; the idea of treating in the commanding situation in which he was then, appearing so utterly unaccountable to them. They endeavoured to explain it in various ways. Sometimes they imagined that he was induced to treat from the prevalence of great sickness in the army; at other times, they imagined that the King of England had disapproved of the war; then, that the Seiks had risen against the English in Upper India; but the most prevalent opinion was, that the King of Cochin China had sent a fleet of fifty ships to assist the Burmans. The King went the

length of sending a dispatch-boat to the mouth of the Rangoon river, to ascertain whether the Cochin Chinese fleet had actually arrived or not.

Q. Do you think the Burmese Government now understands the nature of a negotiation with an European Government.?—*A.* I think they certainly do; but nothing but actual experience could convince them. After the negotiation which led to the peace, they were still incredulous of the good faith of the British, and could not bring themselves to believe that they were sincere until the first retrograde movement of the army. The payment of the money was a desperate experiment on their part, for they thought that the British would take it, and still march on. I was questioned a hundred times over on this subject by the Woongees, and other principal officers of the Government, having been sent for at all hours of the day and night, by different parties, for this purpose. I was asked what pledge I would give, and particularly if I was willing to leave my wife and child behind, in order to be put to death, should the English take money and still advance upon the capital.

Q. Do you consider the Burman Government very faithless?—*A.* Utterly so. They have no idea either of the moral excellence or the utility of good faith. They would consider it nothing less than folly to keep a treaty if they could gain any thing by breaking it. The fidelity hitherto observed by the British Government in fulfilling the stipulations of the late treaty, stupified the Burmans. They knew not what to make of it; but some of them have now begun to admire it. I heard many make use of expressions like the following: "These Kulas, although they drink spirits and slay cattle, and are ambitious and rapacious, have a regard for truth and their word, which is quite extraordinary; whereas, in us Burmese, there is no truth." The first circumstance in the conduct of the British which struck them with surprise, was the return of Dr. Sandford on his parole; and next, Sir A. Campbell's returning the six lacs of rupees offered, after it was within his power.

Q. Has not the conduct of the British towards Burman prisoners produced a favourable impression?—*A.* This produced a favourable impression on the lower classes, but not on the Government, who viewed it as a piece of policy practised by the British to conciliate the people, and seduce them from their allegiance.

Q. While at the Court of Ava, did you ever hear of any intrigue going on between the Burmese Government and any of the native Princes of Hindostan?—*A.* I heard on three or four occasions, that the late Bandula boasted that he maintained a secret correspondence with several native Princes of Hindostan, who, according to him, would rise against the British, as soon as the Burmans would set them a good example. Reports of such insurrections were frequently propagated and received with avidity by the Burman Court. There arrived in Ava, I think in 1823, eight or ten Seiks, purporting to be a mission from the Rajah of their country. They stated, that they had suffered shipwreck in crossing a river, and lost the letter and presents which they had from their master for the King of Ava. I understood that the object of their mission was a treaty, offensive and defensive, to drive the British out of India. For a long time they were honourably received, but during the war they became suspected, and were for a short time imprisoned. They were finally sent back with letters, and a sum of money given to each individual. I heard officers of Government

state, that the alliance would be very desirable, particularly as the King of the Seiks had never been subdued by the English.

Q. Do you know any thing of the object of the late Burman Mission to Cochin China?—*A.* I have understood that the object of it was an alliance, offensive and defensive, by which the two powers were to attack the Siamese, from the East and West, conquer the country, and partition it between them.

Q. Do you know of any political connexion between the Burmese and Chinese Governments?—*A.* An Embassy arrived in Ava in 1823, which I have understood to be from the Emperor of China. A white elephant and a princess were demanded in strong language, which occasioned some alarm to the Burman Court, under an impression that the Chinese wanted to quarrel with them. The white elephant and the princess, there being none to spare, were refused, and a number of common elephants and other presents were sent.

Q. Have you ever heard that the Burmese claimed the assistance of the Chinese in their war with the English?—*A.* I never heard any mention of such a thing in Ava.

Q. Did you ever hear any of the officers of the Burman Government express regret that the Burmese had entered into a war with the English?—*A.* I have, in innumerable instances. During my imprisonment, a great number of public officers, falling under the displeasure of the Government, were imprisoned along with me; and, gaining the good opinion of some of them, I conversed intimately with them on the subject of the war. As early as November 1824, twenty Stewards of Townships, belonging to various Princesses, and other ladies of the palace, got into disgrace, and were imprisoned. These stated to me, that the King was good-natured, and unwilling to disoblige any one; had been teazed and over-persuaded into a war with the English, through the intrigues of certain ambitious military leaders, particularly Bandula and Maongkyaio; that, in an evil hour, they induced him to do that which they all now would give the world could be undone. I said to one of the persons in question, "suppose the English were now to retire, and leave matters as they stood before the war." His answer was, "Oh! how good that would be!" This feeling became more general as the British army advanced; and latterly, it was universal from the King downwards; for, from the destruction of Thongba Woonghee and his force, and the retreat of Bandula from the lines before Rangoon, they perceived that they were no match for the British. I may add, that after these two affairs, their efforts were made with scarcely any hopes of success. Still they went on, because their astrologers continued to predict success, and their wounded pride forbade them to make any concessions.

Q. Are you of opinion, from what you know of the character of the Burman Court, that the present peace will be lasting?—*A.* The Burmese have been so severely punished, that I think it will be a long time before any courtier will have the hardihood to propose another war with the British Government.

Q. What do you consider the most effectual means for the British Government to pursue, in order to maintain peace with the Burmans?—*A.* I think, that since the Burmans are now so thoroughly convinced of the superiority of the British power, that what is chiefly necessary, is to observe towards them a fair and upright course of dealing, and to insist upon their

side on a strict maintenance of the Treaty. By showing them that you religiously observe the Treaty, they will, in their turn, take up the same idea, and follow your example.

Q. Do you consider the appointment of a British resident at the Court of Ava, in conformity with the Treaty, as necessary, or likely to be useful?—*A.* I do not consider the presence of such an officer at the Court of Ava absolutely necessary towards the maintenance of peace; but I am of opinion that it will be highly useful in maintaining and extending your commercial relations.

Q. Do you consider that the presence of a consul, or other British agent, at Rangoon, is necessary, or likely to be useful?—*A.* If a resident be appointed at Ava, an inferior agent, depending upon him, will be necessary at Rangoon, as well for the purpose of protecting British commerce, as for maintaining a free intercourse between the resident and the British possessions.

Q. Do you consider that an annual mission from the Governor-General to the Court of Ava would be equally useful as a permanent resident?—*A.* No; I do not. A public officer, coming in this manner, would gain no knowledge of the country or people, and therefore would have less influence, and of course be less useful than an agent residing permanently. The Court also will have no knowledge of him, a matter equally necessary. I am of opinion that the residency should, at all events, be permanent; and that when the chief authority is not present, a subordinate one should be there acting for him.

Q. Are you of opinion that a public agent of the British Government residing at Ava, is likely, with good management, to obtain an influence beneficial to his own Government at the Court?—*A.* Yes; I am fully of that opinion. Every thing, however, will depend on the character of the individual. I can conceive that the conduct of many men in that situation might, with the best intentions, be mischievous, rather than beneficial.

Q. What sort of demeanour, on the part of the British officers residing at Ava, do you consider would tend most to conciliate the Burmans, to maintain peace, and to promote the legitimate interests of the British Government?—*A.* I think the demeanour of the British resident and other officers ought to be mild and unassuming. The Burmans have been conquered, and know it. They should not be reminded of it by haughtiness of conduct, or assumption of superiority on the part of the British officers. Stickling for rank or precedence is generally not necessary at the Court of Ava, or, at least, more is to be lost than gained by entering into a contention with the Court upon such minute points. Should the Burmese discover that the British envoy is disposed to contend on questions of etiquette, it would arouse their jealousy. They will imagine that he has been set over them as a master, and will be disposed to dispute every point with him. It should be recollected, that the present King is himself generally impatient of forms, of an open and playful disposition, easy of access, and disposed to admit familiarity of intercourse. I do not say that this will be the case in the beginning; it is very probable that he will at first consider it necessary to be reserved until he knows the terms on which he is to stand with the representatives of the British Government. The Burman Court will certainly, for some time, be suspicious concerning the motives of his appointment.

Q. You have read the depositions of John Baretto, and of Jeronimo De Cruz, which I have handed to you?—*A.* Yes; I have.

Q. What do you think of them?—*A.* There are some points to which I cannot speak, but in general they appear to me to be very correct.

Q. Are you acquainted with these two individuals?—*A.* I know John Baretto slightly; the other, not at all.

Q. Are you of opinion that there will be war between the Burmese and Siamese?—*A.* Immediately before leaving Ava, I heard it frequently asserted by the public officers of the Government, that a war with Siam would, under present circumstances, be highly desirable. They stated that a soldier could not be obtained to fight against the "White Kulas" for one hundred and fifty ticals of flowered silver; whereas, if called upon to fight the Siamese or Talains, or any such people, they would "go forth dancing."

Q. Have you been frequently admitted into the presence of his Majesty the King of Ava?—*A.* During my second residence in Ava, of five or six months, I saw his Majesty almost every day. I sometimes saw him at his public levees, but at all times had free access to the palace, and have frequently conversed with the King on subjects of geography, religion, and history, for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour together. His Majesty was incapable of giving his attention to any subject for a longer time.

Q. What is his Majesty's personal appearance and character?—*A.* He is a man about forty years of age, of rather a dark complexion, and in person small and slender. His manners are graceful, and in public dignified. In private, he is affable, and playful to boyishness. His disposition is obliging and liberal, and he is anxious to see every one around him happy. His mind is indolent, and he is incapable of any continued application. His time is passed in sensual enjoyment, in listening to music, or seeing dancing or theatrical entertainments; but, above all, in the company of his principal Queen, to whom he is devoted even to infatuation. His personal activity is remarkable for an Eastern Prince, and scarcely a day passes that he does not go on the river in boats, or ride on horseback or an elephant. He is partial to Europeans. No person of this description comes before him without receiving some marks of kindness. The safety of the European and American prisoners is chiefly to be ascribed to this partiality. His Majesty is not bigoted to his own religion. From conversations which I had with him on religious subjects, I am inclined to think that he believes in the existence of one God eternal, which is not a part of the Buddhist religion; but, in truth, he is indifferent to all religions. I never saw him perform an act of devotion but once. A handsome image of Gautama stands in a recess in the audience chamber, before which, after the levee, many of the courtiers perform their devotions. His Majesty never does, on such occasions; but one day, while I was in the audience chamber alone, his Majesty came walking in in his usual brisk and lively manner. He looked about him, and, appearing to have nothing else to do, knelt before the image, made a hasty prayer and obeisance to it, and jumped up again, proceeding straight to the stables to see his favourite horses fed.

Q. Have you ever been in the presence of her Majesty the Queen?—*A.* No; never. I was never presented to her Majesty; but have seen her three or four times in the palace, passing and repassing. One day, I was sitting in the hall of audience, when the King and Queen came out together from the inner apartments: his Majesty attempted to introduce me, saying, "This is the teacher I mentioned to you;" but the Queen looked another way, and

would pay no attention, pulling the King along with her. She is much more haughty than his Majesty; and her character in all other respects differs widely from his, for she is reported to be avaricious, vindictive, intriguing, and bigoted. She was the daughter of a petty officer, a superintendent of gaols. She was first the King's concubine, when he was heir-apparent. Her influence with his Majesty is so unbounded, that the Prince of Sarawadi and others of the Royal family have convinced themselves that she is a sorceress. No one dares hint at the obscurity of her origin. She has convinced the King, in accordance with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, implicitly believed by all the Burmans, that she was his chief Queen in a former state of existence, and that for some peccadillo she was punished by a low birth.

Q. Is her Majesty a woman of great personal charms?—*A.* She is about one year older than his Majesty. Her face is not handsome, but her person is rather tall and well-formed. Her manners are dignified and becoming her station.

Q. Has his Majesty any family?—*A.* Yes; one son by his first Queen, now about fifteen years of age and a daughter by her present Majesty, about four or five years old, the idol of her parents. When the Queen experiences any difficulty in getting the request of a petition granted, the paper is put between the child's hands, and she is thrust in the King's way. This artifice never fails.

Q. Do you know any thing of the Queen's brother?—*A.* Yes; I have been presented to him, and visited him in all, perhaps, half a dozen times; but he is of too haughty and reserved a disposition to encourage approach.

Q. What is the character of this person, and in what estimation is he held at Court?—*A.* In character he bears a close resemblance to his sister. He is cruel, rapacious, and a great intriguer. He is in the entire confidence of his sister, and through her rules the kingdom. Since the death of the Seah Woonghee, he has no rival with the King, unless his Majesty's favourite brother, the Prince of Sarawadi.

Q. You have stated, that shortly after the commencement of hostilities between the British and the Burman Governments, you were imprisoned at Ava by the latter?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Were any grounds assigned for your imprisonment?—*A.* Nothing beyond its being stated that it was the will of the King.

Q. Were you ill-treated in the act of being arrested?—*A.* Nothing perhaps beyond what is usual in similar cases. I was tightly bound with cords, and thrown down and struck with the knees and elbows in the act of being secured. The cords were so firmly bound round my arms, that the skin was cut. By a bribe of ten ticals, the officers somewhat loosened the cords; and when I was brought before the governor of the town, or chief of the police, he reproved them for treating me so harshly.

Q. Were you put in irons?—*A.* Yes; immediately.

Q. What prison were you lodged in?—*A.* That in which all malefactors condemned to death are lodged.

Q. What description of persons were confined with you?—*A.* Burman thieves and robbers; state prisoners; deserters from the army, of an aggravated description; a few prisoners

of war taken from the British; and the different European gentlemen, like myself, arrested in Ava.

Q. How were you treated in prison?—*A.* At first with great severity; but after we had bribed the governor to the extent of about one hundred ticals each, and the gaolers and other subordinate officers in proportion, we were treated with more lenity.

Q. What sort of severity was exercised towards you at first?—*A.* We were placed in the inner prison, and put in a sort of stocks, forbid a mat or pillows to sleep on, as well as all intercourse with our friends.

Q. Were you allowed food or clothing by the Government while in prison?—*A.* No; never. No prisoners are fed by the Government. They must starve unless supplied by their friends. An exception was sometimes made in favour of British prisoners of war. The King ordered each a basket of rice a month (56lbs.), but they never got one-half of it.

Q. How long did you continue in the prison at Ava?—*A.* Eleven months: nine months, with three pair of irons on; and two, with five.

Q. Where were you imprisoned after being liberated from your incarceration at Ava?—*A.* I was sent, along with the other European prisoners arrested, to a place about ten miles from Ava, and four from Amarapura, called Aongbenlé, and there imprisoned.

Q. What was the cause of your removal to Aongbenlé?—*A.* It was generally stated and believed, that the American and European prisoners were removed to that place for the purpose of being put to death, as a kind of sacrifice, previous to the Pakan-Wun taking the field against the English.

Q. Who was this Pakan-Wun?—*A.* An officer raised to the rank of Woonghee, and placed in the command of the army upon the death of Bandula, and the failure of the other chiefs who had acted against the English.

Q. Were you personally acquainted with him?—*A.* I had met him occasionally in the palace, and saw him for a few days in the same prison with myself, during a short confinement, when he had incurred the temporary displeasure of the King.

Q. You state, that it was intended to put you and the other prisoners to death; what do you suppose was the reason that this intention was not put in execution?—*A.* The intention of putting us to death was at the instigation of the Pakan-Wun. This person, after being about a month or six weeks in power, fell into disgrace, was charged with treasonable practices, and executed at an hour's notice. The idea of putting us to death was then dropped.

Q. What character did the Pakan-Wun bear?—*A.* Of all the chiefs of rank, I think he was the worst man.

Q. Was the intention of putting you to death entertained at any other time than the occasion now alluded to?—*A.* We were assured that the Queen's brother had given orders several times to have us secretly executed.

Q. How do you consider that you escaped on these occasions?—*A.* The governor refused to execute the order without the express consent of the King. He hinted it to myself in prison, and told Mrs. Judson and the wife of Mr. Rodgers so, more explicitly.

Q. Were the prisoners' properties confiscated?—*A.* They were seized with a view to confiscation; but not formally confiscated. I afterwards received the value of what was taken from me, at the instigation of the British Commissioners.

Q. How did the natives of Hindostan in your employ behave to you during your imprisonment?—*A.* I had two Mohammedan natives of Bengal, who adhered to me faithfully throughout.

Q. Do you know any thing of a Mohammedan native of Bengal, a baker in the service of Mr. Gouger, one of your fellow-prisoners?—*A.* His conduct was beyond all praise. He adhered to his master at the risk of threats and punishment, and often fed him from his own labour.

Q. Were your Indian servants imprisoned?—*A.* They were confined to the house for a few days, and afterwards liberated, and allowed to attend upon us.

Q. How many Native officers of the British army were confined with you?—*A.* Seven or eight.

Q. What has become of those persons?—*A.* They all died in the prison, but one.

Q. What was the cause of their death?—*A.* The want of a regular supply of food. Sometimes they were two or three days without food. When they were supplied, they eat to excess, which brought on bowel complaints, that proved fatal to them.

Q. Do you know what has become of the bulk of the Sepoys of the British army taken prisoners by the Burmans?—*A.* They were sent to a place called Monai, in the country of the Shans, which I suppose to be not less than two hundred miles from Ava. I was informed, before leaving Ava, that on the demand of the British Commissioners, they were ordered back, for the purpose of being delivered up.

Q. What was the reason of their being sent to so great a distance?—*A.* The Government, on the advance of the British army, was apprehensive that the prisoners might make a disturbance, and therefore sent them off for security.

Q. Have you read over the depositions which you have made before me, and which I handed over for your perusal?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Are they correctly recorded?—*A.* I have made two or three slight alterations with my pen, and they are now correct.

Q. Are you prepared to swear to them on oath?—*A.* In answer to this question, I beg to explain, that I object, from religious motives, to taking an oath on any occasion. For fifteen years, and since entering upon my present calling, I have not taken an oath. I do not object, however, to making a solemn affirmation of the truth of what I have deposed before you, and beg leave to say, that such affirmation was received from me, in lieu of an oath, by Governor Farquhar, of the Mauritius, in the year 1813.

(Signed) A. JUDSON.

JERONIMO DE CRUZ.

Q. What is your name, and of what country are you a native?—*A.* My name is Jeronimo de Cruz. I was born at Rangoon, and educated at the Portuguese school of that place.

Q. Where did you learn to speak English?—*A.* I made several voyages to Bengal, Madras, and Penang, as a Secunnie, or Quartermaster of an English ship, and in that situation learned a little English, Hindustane, and Malay.

Q. Do you understand the Burman language?—*A.* Yes; and can read and write it with facility: I also understand the Siamese, and a little of the Talain language, for I once resided nine months at Martaban, superintending the construction of a ship.

Q. What was your employment after you left off a sea-faring life?—*A.* I acted as a linguist to strangers at Rangoon.

Q. When the English arrived at Rangoon, where were you?—*A.* I had been at Ava sometime before; but when that event took place, I was on my way to Rangoon with the Sakia Woonghee, appointed Governor of Pegu, having then been nominated a King's Linguist.

Q. Are you acquainted with any of the principal officers of the Burman Government?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Who are they?—*A.* Mendagi, the Queen's brother, the Prince of Sarawadi, Memiaboo, the King's half-brother, the Ki-Woonghee and several others. I also knew the late Bandula.

Q. How long were you at Ava before the commencement of the war?—*A.* A few months.

Q. Did you ever hear any of the principal officers of the Burman Government express their sentiments respecting a war with the British before its commencement?—*A.* After the conquest of Assam, I heard Bandula say to his Majesty, "I will also make over Bengal into your hands." The King asked Mr. Lanciego's opinion on the subject. I was then in that gentleman's employment. Mr. Lanciego replied, "The conquest of Bengal is not practicable: the English are very powerful." To which the King said, "You know nothing about it; are you afraid of losing the duties of the port of Rangoon: although the English do not come to trade, the French, the Chinese, the Telingas, the Parsees, and other people, will come." Upon another occasion, at the house of Bandula, this officer, speaking to Mr. Lanciego respecting a war with the English, said, "You must go and prepare twenty ships at Rangoon for an expedition against Calcutta. I will attack Bengal from the side of Chittagong." Mr. Lanciego answered, "How am I to build twenty ships; it takes a year to build one?"

Q. Were you present when this last conversation took place?—*A.* Yes.

Q. How soon before the war did this take place?—*A.* About two months before Bandula marched to Aracan.

Q. Have you heard that Bandula marched with an army to attack Bengal before the English arrived at Rangoon?—*A.* Yes; I have. I came down from Ava to Rangoon, in 1823, with Mr. Lanciego; and after staying a month at Rangoon, returned with that

gentleman with the King's duties. In going up, I saw the army of Bandula at Sembeguen. Mr. Lanciego stayed one day there, and had an interview with Bandula.

Q. Do you know what took place on that occasion?—*A.* No; I do not. Bandula took Mr. Lanciego into a private apartment, and I was not allowed to follow him. Mr. Lanciego appeared to have been persuading Bandula not to go to war; for he said, "I will petition his Majesty not to go to war; and in the mean while you must march slowly." Bandula answered, "Yes; do you petition the King, and I will march slowly."

Q. Do you know what became of that army afterwards?—*A.* Before my arrival at Sambeguen, two detachments belonging to it, under the Attawuns Maonza and Maongkaing, had marched for Aracan.

Q. Do you know when Bandula himself marched?—*A.* Shortly after I arrived in Ava, a petition from Bandula came to the King, giving the news of the arrival of Maonza and Maongkaing at Aracan, and requesting orders. The King issued a royal order to Bandula, which directed him to march upon Chittagong to take that place, and then proceed for the capture of Calcutta.

Q. How did you hear this?—*A.* I was in daily habit of proceeding to the palace with Mr. Lanciego; and what happened at the Nilagang, or morning audience; I heard repeated in the evening.

Q. Did you hear any thing of the operations of Bandula's army on the Chittagong frontier?—*A.* No: when these operations took place, I was on my way to Rangoon, accompanying the Sakia Woonghee, who was going to take charge of his government.

Q. Have you heard any thing respecting the cause of the war between the Burmans and the English?—*A.* Yes; I heard that the Aracanese were in the habit of stealing men and cattle from the English country; and that the English, in consequence, put a guard upon a certain island in the Naaf river. The Governor of Aracan reported this last circumstance to the King, who sent him an order to drive the English out, if they did not retire peaceably. I also heard that two chiefs, called Maha Raja and Dubrajah, had fled from the Burman to the British territories, and that the English would not deliver them up.

Q. What did the Sakia Woonghee do when he heard of the arrival of the English at Rangoon?—*A.* He was at the time a little above Yandabo, and proceeded immediately to Rangoon. He afterwards fought at Kemmendine.

Q. Did you accompany him?—*A.* No; I was in a heavy boat, and did not reach Rangoon until a month afterwards.

Q. Were you present in any of the actions before Rangoon?—*A.* No; I was wandering about in the jungles for three months, looking for my wife and children, and only heard occasionally of what took place.

Q. What did the Burmans say when they heard of the arrival of the English at Rangoon?—*A.* They were very glad, and said they would soon kill them all. The English, they said, fought with their whole bodies exposed. They themselves would dig trenches, lie down in them, and, suddenly getting up, shoot all the strangers. A soldier at this time could be got for five ticals.

Q. What did the Burmans say when they heard of the destruction of Thongba Woon-

ghee and his force?—*A.* They were much terrified, and could not be brought to fight. A soldier then could not be got for one hundred and fifty ticals.

Q. What opinion did the Burmans entertain of the British troops?—*A.* They were very much afraid of the Europeans. They said they fired straight at them; and in scaling the stockades, if one of them was killed, another took his place; and when a man's hand was cut off, he scrambled over with the other. They were not much afraid of the Sepoys, who, they said, fired over their heads, and warned them to be off. They said the Sepoys were friendly to them and did not wish to hurt them: they were good men.

Q. Do you know what opinion the lower orders of Burmans and Talains entertain of the English Government?—*A.* They would be pleased if the English were to stay at Rangoon.

Q. Why would they be pleased?—*A.* Because the English have acted fairly towards them, committed no acts of extortion, and they can trust what they say.

Q. How long is it since you left Ava?—*A.* I left Ava twenty-five days ago, and have been here four days.

Q. Were you ever in the presence of his Majesty the King of Ava?—*A.* Before the war, I used to see his Majesty daily, and was a favourite with him. He used to play with me, knock my hat off, pull my hair, and jest with me. During the war, I never went near the palace, because I was afraid of being put in irons, like the Europeans and others.

Q. Did you ever hear the Burmans express regret for having entered into a war with the English?—*A.* Yes, very often. A person from the palace told me, that three months after the arrival of the English at Rangoon, he heard the King say, "He was in the predicament of a man who had got hold of a tiger by the tail, which it was neither safe to hold nor let go."

Q. Who was the person who told you this?—*A.* John Christian, a Portuguese, a chief of the King's artillery, who was in the habit of carrying his Majesty's sword, and was always about his person.

(Signed) JERONIMO DE CRUZ.

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Q. WHAT is your name, and of what country are you a native?—*A.* My name is *** *******† I am a native of ******* in ******.

Q. When did you first come into the Burman dominions?—*A.* In the year 1822 of Christ.

Q. Have you ever quitted the country since your first arrival?—*A.* Never.

Q. Have you ever visited the capital of the Burman country?—*A.* I stayed forty days in Rangoon on my first arrival, when I proceeded to the Burman capital, where I continued until the termination of the war between the English and Burmese.

Q. What is your profession?—*A.* I am a merchant; and brought to this country English and Madras piece-goods, and English broad-cloth, to the amount of about 40,000 rupees.

† The name of this person is omitted, as he is supposed to be still residing under the Burmese Government.

Q. Were you acquainted with any of the Burman Princes or principal Officers of Government?—*A.* I was acquainted with them all, but never saw the King but once, when I presented a petition to him, which received no attention. He was proceeding at the time to a temporary palace which he had on the river-side.

Q. Do you understand the Burman language?—*A.* Very imperfectly.

Q. What other languages do you speak?—*A.* The Persian is my native tongue. I also speak Arabic, Hindustani, and the Telinga language. I resided sixteen years at Masulipatam, where I acquired the two latter languages.

Q. Through whom did you communicate with the native inhabitants?—*A.* I kept three linguists in my employment, Mohammedans of the country, who spoke the Burman and Hindustani language.

Q. Do you know any particulars concerning the cause of the late war between the Burmans and the English?—*A.* Yes; I have heard as follows. There was a desert island between Arracan and Chittagong: the English built a house upon it: the Burmans drove them away, killing one or two persons. The Governor-General wrote a letter to the King of Ava, complaining of the aggression, charging the Governor of Arracan with misconduct, and requesting he might be removed. The King was highly indignant at this letter. He gave orders to Bandula to proceed to the Chittagong frontier, saying, "That a number of his slaves had run away into the British dominions; that he, Bandula, must demand them, and that if he did not find them at Chittagong, he must proceed to Calcutta with his army, and take them by force."

Q. From whom did you hear this?—*A.* It was the common talk of the town, about the end of 1823 or beginning of 1824.

Q. Did you hear that Bandula marched from Ava for Arracan with an army shortly after the time you have just alluded to?—*A.* Yes; I saw myself the army of Bandula quit Ava. It did not then exceed two thousand or three thousand men. I understood it was to be recruited on the way.

Q. Did you understand what was the destination of Bandula's army?—*A.* It was universally said that it was destined for the British frontier, with orders to demand the refugees in the first instance peaceably, and, if they were not surrendered, to follow up his demand even to Calcutta.

Q. Can you recollect in what month and year Bandula quitted Ava for Arracan?—*A.* I will consult a journal which I have kept, and give you the exact period as nearly as I can.

Q. Did you hear what the army of Bandula did, after its march from Ava?—*A.* It arrived on the British frontier, fought a battle, and gained a victory, as it was said, over 2000 or 3000 British troops. Bandula sent accounts of this victory, with particulars, stating that he had killed great numbers, and that those who escaped alive were sent to his Majesty. Ten or fifteen days after this account, two or three hundred Sepoy prisoners arrived. The prisoners were brought before the King, who caused them to be interrogated. The report was, that they stated to his Majesty, that they had not fought, but had been

seduced by a Pattan, who had come over into the British lines, and represented to them that such were the numbers of the Burman army, that it was useless to fight.

Q. Do you know who this Pattan was?—*A.* Yes; he is now at Ava, and I have spoken to him on the subject. I do not know his proper name, but he was commonly called Khan Sahib, and was taken prisoner by the Burmans at the conquest of Assam, being in the service of the Rajas of that country as a soldier.

Q. Previous to the commencement of the war, were the Burmans, according to your observation, desirous of continuing at peace with the English, or otherwise?—*A.* They were very anxious for war; otherwise, why collect an army? When people are desirous of peace and friendship, they use soft words, and not harsh language, as they were wont to do.

Q. Were they of opinion they could beat the English?—*A.* Certainly; the Burmans thought that all the world ought to be slaves to the King of Ava, and that it was presumption to contend with his armies.

Q. What was said by the Burmans at Ava, when news reached that place of the arrival of the English at Rangoon?—*A.* I was told that it was considered fortunate news. The Ki Woonghee immediately called upon His Majesty, and said that a net should be thrown over the English, and not one should escape.

Q. When did they begin to alter their opinion on this subject?—*A.* After the retreat of Bandula from before Rangoon. From that time there was but one opinion that they could not contend with the English.

Q. Are the Burmans at present much afraid of the British troops?—*A.* Yes, of the European troops. They said, there was no withstanding a people who were not to be discouraged from advancing by death or by wounds. They also thought well of the Sepoys, but considered them inferior to the European troops.

Q. Have you ever heard that any of the Native Princes of Hindustan sent Vakils, or emissaries to the Court of Ava?—*A.* About two months before I reached Ava, ten or twelve Seiks arrived, declaring they were a mission from Runjeet Sing of Lahore. They said they had lost their letters and presents. No notice was taken of them by the Court until the commencement of the war with the English, when they were sent back with presents, and a letter to the Seik Raja, requesting that he would attack the English from the westward, while the Burmans attacked them from the eastward. These people departed by the route of Sylhet. I saw them two or three times, and am under a firm impression that they were impostors. Some time before my arrival in Ava, some Mahomedans of Hindustan came there, declaring they were Envoys either from the Nabob of Bengal or Oude, I forget which. They were certainly impostors, and the Court considering them so, imprisoned them. One of the individuals in question, a Moonshee, is still in Ava, having settled in the country.

Q. Have you ever heard that the King of Ava, since the commencement of the war, sent an embassy to China, craving assistance against the English?—*A.* I have heard some say that a mission was sent, and others that it was not: I know nothing certain on this subject.

Q. Are you aware whether the Burman Government experienced much difficulty latterly in recruiting its armies?—*A.* Yes, the utmost difficulty. It was almost impossible to

assemble five hundred or one thousand men, and when they were got together, they were rogues and vagabonds, picked up about the streets of Ava. The King heard that the English paid their troops monthly, and considered that this was the reason why they fought so well. Latterly a bounty of one hundred and one hundred and fifty ticals was given, but few troops obtained. The soldiers purchased fine cloths, eat opium and ganja, but at the first sight of the European troops ran off.

Q. What is your opinion of the Burmans as a people?—*A.* They are stupid and uncivilized: among the courtiers there is not to be found one man of common understanding.

Q. Were you imprisoned by the Burman Government during your residence in Ava?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Who was imprisoned along with you?—*A.* Five Persians, a Turk, a Jew of Constantinople, and four Natives of Hindustan.

Q. Why were you and your companions imprisoned?—*A.* For the purpose of extorting money from us, because it was stated we were subjects of the British Government.

Q. What reason had they for considering you a British subject?—*A.* They said I had a fair skin and a red beard, and therefore must be related to the English.

Q. How long were you in confinement?—*A.* Eight days.

Q. What treatment did you receive when in prison?—*A.* Six of us were put into the stocks, and eight tortured, to extort a confession.

Q. Was your property taken from you?—*A.* Yes.

Q. By whose orders were you imprisoned?—*A.* By those of a chief called the Pakanwun, who was afterwards put to death by the King, upon which occasion we were liberated.

Q. How long is it since you were imprisoned?—*A.* About eleven months ago.

Q. Was your property restored to you?—*A.* A small part of it was, but the greater portion was plundered by the officers of Government and therefore lost.

(Signed.) *** *******.

JOHN BARRETTO.

Q. WHAT is your name, and of what country are you a native?—*A.* My name is John Barretto, and I am a native of Rangoon.

Q. Was your father also a native of Rangoon?—*A.* No; my father was a native of Holland, and by profession a surgeon. He was taken prisoner by the Burmans in Siam, along with my mother, a native of that country, and they were brought to Rangoon.

Q. Where did you learn the English language?—*A.* My father sent me to Madras for education, where I continued eight or nine years, having been employed as a clerk in the Custom House for three years.

Q. When did you return to Rangoon?—*A.* About twenty-two years ago.

Q. Have you resided in the Burman country ever since?—*A.* No; I have visited Bengal, Madras, and Penang, in command of ships, and was once absent about two years.

Q. Do you understand the Burman language?—*A.* I speak and read it correctly, but cannot write it fluently.

Q. Have you ever been in Ava or Amarapura?—*A.* I have visited both several times, and resided at the capital occasionally, from one to four months at a time.

Q. How have you been lately employed?—*A.* I was employed in conveying goods to and from Ava, as the agent of English merchants.

Q. How have you been employed since the commencement of the war between the Burmans and English?—*A.* When news reached the Court of the arrival of the English at Rangoon, the Prince of Sarawadi, brother to the King, was ordered down to Donabew, and directed me to accompany him as an interpreter.

Q. Where were you when the war broke out, and some time before?—*A.* I was at Ava when the war broke out, and for five months before.

Q. Were you acquainted with any of the principal officers of the Burman Government?—*A.* I was not acquainted with any of the principal officers, except the Prince of Sarawadi.

Q. Had you any means of becoming acquainted with the sentiments of the Burman Government respecting a war with the British?—*A.* No; no particular means.

Q. Did you hear that Maha Bandula had marched with an army toward Arracan?—*A.* Yes, I heard so. The army had left Ava before my arrival there. The Bandula's army was at Sambeguen, as I went up the river, and at a distance I saw their huts and flags.

Q. Did you hear where the Bandula's army intended to march?—*A.* I merely heard that the army was to march to Arracan.

Q. Did you afterwards hear any thing of the operations of this army?—*A.* Yes; I heard that it beat the English at a place called Pangwa, and took it from them.

Q. Did you ever hear the Prince of Sarawadi express his sentiments respecting the war with the English?—*A.* Yes; I have often heard the Prince say, that it was impossible for the Burmans to cope with the English, because they made such very "*rough* war."

Q. Was the Prince ever personally engaged with the British troops?—*A.* No, never. When the British army was at Rangoon, the Prince was at Donabew. He had been commander-in-chief of the army, and was superseded by Maha Bandula.

Q. Was there any personal intercourse between the Prince and Maha Bandula at Donabew?—*A.* Yes.

Q. Do you know what passed upon this occasion?—*A.* Yes; the Prince said to him, "Take care what you are going to be about, the Kulas, or strangers, whom you will meet at Rangoon, are very different from the Kulas you met on the Western frontier." Bandula replied, "In eight days I will take my dinner in the Rungdau, or public hall, of Rangoon, and afterwards return thanks at the Shwedagong Pagoda." The Prince answered, "In a few days I shall hear of your running away, for you have a very rough people to deal with."

Q. Did you hear all this yourself, or were you told of it by others?—*A.* I was not present during the conversation, but was told what took place the same day by those about the person of the Prince.

Q. What did the Prince say when he heard of the defeat of Bandula?—*A.* When he heard of this event, he was at a small island immediately above Donabew. I was present

when the news came; the Prince clapped his hands and laughed heartily; his courtiers also laughed. The Prince observed, "I told Bandula how it would be, but he would not take my advice, saying, it was an easy matter to beat the Kulas."

Q. Were any prisoners of the British army brought to the Prince?—*A.* Yes; four Europeans, one Sepoy, and ten or twelve ship Lascars.

Q. How did the Prince treat his prisoners?—*A.* They were put in one pair of chains each,—questioned, and had plenty of food given to them. The Europeans were sent to Ava, and the natives taken out of chains and kept.

Q. What opinion did the Burmese in general entertain of the British troops?—*A.* They did not think any thing of the Sepoys, but thought the Europeans very brave and strong. They said the Sepoys fired over their heads, and often waved to them to go away. The Europeans fired, they said, directly at their bodies. They were very much afraid of the Europeans, but not of the Sepoys. They said that the Sepoys were friendly to them, and good men.

Q. Do you know what opinion the Burmans in general entertained of the British power in India before the war?—*A.* They all thought they could beat the English, and often talked of invading Bengal, chiefly on account of the plunder they would get.

Q. What do the Burmans now think of the British power?—*A.* About a month ago, when I parted with the Prince of Sarawadi, I heard him say to an officer belonging to the King, "The Burmans and English formerly thought nothing of each other; now the English have shown their pride, and the Burmans will not play with them hereafter."

Q. Have you heard what it was that gave rise to the war between the English and Burmese?—*A.* I have heard that the Burmans were much offended because the English would not deliver up two chiefs of Munnipore, called Maha Raja and Duma Raja.

Q. Have you heard that the Burmans were anxious to try their strength with the English?—*A.* I heard, a year before the commencement of the war, that unless the English delivered up the two chiefs, whom I have just mentioned, the Burmans were determined to go to war with them.

Q. From whom did you hear this?—*A.* It was a thing of current belief in Ava.

Q. Did you ever hear the Prince of Sarawadi express his opinion on this subject?—*A.* No; I never did.

Q. What opinion do the lower orders of Burmans and Talains entertain of the English Government?—*A.* They are well pleased with the treatment they have received, and would be glad if the English took the country. This opinion prevails all the way to Ava.

Q. Did you ever hear any regret expressed on the part of the Burmans for the war with the English?—*A.* Yes; it was a subject of general regret.

(Signed) J. BARRETTO.

Mr. Henry Gouger.

Q. What is your name, and of what country are you a native?—*A.* My name is Henry Gouger, I am a native of London.

Q. How long have you resided in the Burman dominions?—*A.* I arrived at Rangoon in the year 1822,—to the best of my recollection, in the month of June. I have resided in the Burman dominions ever since, with the exception of two short visits to Calcutta, of about two months each.

Q. How have you been employed during your residence in the Burman dominions?—*A.* As a merchant and agent.

Q. Did you reside any time at the Burman capital?—*A.* Yes; in all about two years and a half, including my period of imprisonment (twenty months).

Q. Had you during that time any intercourse with the members of the Royal family, or any of the principal officers of the Government?—*A.* Yes; I had considerable intercourse.

Q. Who were the individuals of rank with whom you had most intercourse?—*A.* His Majesty the King, the Prince of Sarawadi his brother, and several of the Woonghees and Attawuns.

Q. How long were you in Ava before the late war between the British and the Burmese broke out?—*A.* About seven months before the capture of Rangoon by the British.

Q. During that period, did you observe any hostile preparations making by the Burman Government?—*A.* Yes; I saw troops levied and sent off in various directions.

Q. Do you know against what object the march of these troops was directed?—*A.* Three armies marched from Ava during the time I have alluded to, viz. one under Bandula, one under the Saya Woonghee, and one under Moung-Kayo. Bandula's army marched towards Bengal, via Arracan, to make, as I was informed, certain claims upon the British Government. The object held in view by the march of the other two armies was not known to me at the time, there were various rumours on the subjects.

Q. Do you recollect in what month the army of Bandula marched from the capital?—*A.* Yes; on the first day of January, 1824: it is in my recollection, because it was new year's day.

Q. Do you know where the army of Bandula rendezvoused?—*A.* I believe at Sembeguen. I was told his head-quarters were there for a considerable length of time.

Q. Do you know what claims Bandula was authorized to make upon the British?—*A.* I was told they were the following: first, to demand the refugee Princes who had fled into the British dominions; second, to demand all the natives of Arracan who had settled within the British boundary; and third, to demand certain British provinces as far as Moorshedabad.

Q. From whom did you receive this information?—*A.* The two first claims were the subjects of such general conversation, that at this distance of time I cannot recollect where I received my information. I was told of the third by a person very high in rank, but whose name, from prudential motives, I wish to decline stating.

Q. Upon what occasion did the person of rank in question communicate this intelligence, and what was the language in which it was conveyed?—*A.* It was mentioned to me during a visit I paid to him at his house. The intention, as it appeared to me, was to impress me with a high idea of the superiority of the Burmans over the British.

Q. On what pretext did the Burmans lay claim to the territories east of Moorshedabad?—*A.* They claimed them as having formerly belonged to the kingdom of Arracan.

Q. Did you hear what became of the army of Bandula, which marched, as you have stated, towards Bengal?—*A.* I heard of their passing the British frontier, and capturing Panwa.

Q. Did you hear of the affair at Ramoo?—*A.* I heard of the affair during my imprisonment.

Q. In what terms was it mentioned to you?—*A.* It was called by the Burmans a glorious victory gained by Bandula.

Q. During your residence at the Court, have you ever observed any disposition on the part of the officers of the Government to enter into war with the British?—*A.* Yes; I have frequently heard such sentiments expressed by several officers under Government, particularly by the late Saya Woonghee.

Q. Do you recollect any particular occasion on which this officer expressed his sentiments on the subject?—*A.* Yes, one occasion particularly, when I took to him a Calcutta newspaper, containing a conciliatory paragraph, respecting the dispute concerning the Island of Shaparee, or Shemabero.

Q. What did he say upon the subject?—*A.* At the time alluded to, I was not well versed in the Burman language, but what was said by the Saya Woonghee was afterwards explained to me by an European gentleman who accompanied me, and who understood it perfectly. The expressions he used were to this effect, as far as my memory serves me: that the newspaper paragraph alluded to, was a proof of the timidity of the English; that he was of opinion that the Burmans were superior to the British in military prowess; and that unless every demand made upon the latter was yielded, war would certainly ensue.

Q. Do you know what became of the army of the Saya Woonghee, to which, in a former part of your deposition, you have alluded?—*A.* The army, as I was informed, marched to Cassay, where it suffered dreadfully from sickness. The Saya Woonghee himself, an old man, fell a sacrifice to the climate: on his death the command devolved on his Chekao Moungyit, an Attawun, and shortly afterwards dispersed. A small part of it returned to Ava, under his command, and, as I was informed, without having seen the face of an enemy.

Q. What, according to your opinion, led to the late war between the British and Burman Governments?—*A.* In my opinion, it may be attributed primarily to a desire, on the part of the Burman Court, to try its strength with the British. The counsels of Bandula, on his return from the conquest of Assam to the capital, about the month of December, 1822, hastened the event, and I believe it is chiefly owing to his advice that the war was so soon determined upon.

Q. What opinion did the Burman Court entertain of the military character of the British nation and power in India previous to the war?—*A.* The Burmese had no idea either of

our numbers or strength. When I mentioned the amount of our military force, they would never believe me. They, in fact, thought themselves in war the most courageous and cunning people in the world; they frequently talked of their skill in stratagem. They ridiculed the idea of soldiers advancing to battle with the noise of drums and music, and exposing their whole bodies.

Q. Did you hear what was thought at Court when the news arrived of the capture of Rangoon?—*A.* The Burmans thought that the British had fallen at length into a snare, and that they were a sure prey. They were only afraid the marauders would escape before their armies could reach Rangoon. Throughout the town of Ava there was nothing but rejoicing at the event. I was told that the King said the arms which the English brought would be useful in his meditated conquest of Siam.

Q. Have you understood that any of the Asiatic strangers residing in Ava were instrumental in exciting the Burmans to a war with the British?—*A.* I can, from my own experience, produce no instance of their actually exciting the Burman Court to war; but of their hostile feelings towards us I have had repeated examples, and have but little doubt that, as far as their influence at Court extended, it was exerted to the prejudice of British interests.

Q. Are there many Brahmins residing at the Court of Ava?—*A.* Yes, a great many.

Q. Did you ever hear any person connected with the Government complain of any specific act of aggression on the part of the British?—*A.* Yes; I have heard the occupation of Shapuree imputed to us as an act of aggression.

Q. By whom did you hear this stated?—*A.* By several members of the Lotoo: at the time of translating the paragraph of the newspaper before alluded to, and shortly after my arrival in Ava, the King one day desired me, when I was in his presence, to furnish him with the particulars of this affair. This, from my want of the requisite information, I had it not in my power to comply with.

Q. Are you of opinion that the late war might have been avoided on the part of the British Government by negotiation?—*A.* I am distinctly of opinion, that the war could not have been avoided on the part of the British Government, except by concessions discreditable to its character, and injurious to its interests.

Q. What concessions do you conceive would have satisfied the Burman Government?—*A.* I am of opinion, that yielding to all the claims I have before stated, would have satisfied the Burman Government, at least for the time; viz. the surrender of the fugitive Princes, the restoration of the refugees from Arracan, and the cession of the provinces Eastward of Moorshedabad.

Q. What opinion did the Burmese entertain of the British Sepoys previous to the war, and during the progress of hostilities?—*A.* I do not believe that they knew much about the Sepoys previous to the war; but during its progress, and down to the last moment, every one whom I have heard speak on the subject, expressed the greatest contempt of the Native troops, and affirmed, that were it not for the courage of the Europeans, it would be an easy matter to drive the British army out of the country.

Q. By whom did you hear these opinions expressed?—*A.* By many, but chiefly by those who had returned from the war, and had been engaged with them.

Q. What opinion did the Burmans entertain of the British troops during the progress of the war?—*A*. They acknowledged their own inferiority to the European troops, and openly confessed that they could not withstand them. They were most astonished at the impossibility of breaking their line, or arresting their advance in action.

Q. Did the moderation of the British towards their prisoners produce a favourable effect on the minds of the Burmans?—*A*. It had no effect on the Government that I am aware of, but it was a subject of general discourse and a theme of admiration among the common people.

Q. What, in your opinion, prevented the Burmans from negotiating during the war, when overtures of peace were made to them?—*A*. Chiefly the pride of the Court, which would not allow it to make concessions. Down to a very late period, they were of opinion that no other overtures than those of perfect reciprocity would be tendered to them; besides this, they never believed that our proposals could be sincere. To the very last moment; indeed, on the very day of my departure, I was asked by one of the Woondocks, whether the British would not take the cash tendered, and afterwards march upon the capital.

Q. Do you consider the character of the Burman Government to be faithless?—*A*. Very faithless indeed; the Burmans pride themselves upon this character.

Q. Are you of opinion, from what you know of the Burman Court, that the present peace will be lasting?—*A* Yes; I am of opinon it will be lasting: as much will depend on the conduct of the British as of the Burmans in this matter.

Q. What course of conduct, on the part of the British Government, do you consider most likely to conduce to the maintenance of peace?—*A*. A strict observance of the treaty, and the maintenance of a political resident at the Court of Ava.

Q. In what manner do you consider that the residence of a political agent will tend to this object?—*A*. In many ways. The Burman Court is fickle and capricious, and easily acted upon by intriguers. A British agent, therefore, will have it in his power to counteract the bad effects of machinations and evil counsels; besides, he will have it in his power to explain satisfactorily many little disputes and misapprehensions which might arise, and which might be followed by serious consequences, if not early adjusted.

Q. Do you conceive that the presence of a British agent at the Court of Ava will be useful towards the protection of our commerce?—*A*. Yes; most certainly. Heretofore, British merchants residing at Rangoon have possessed no means of getting their grievances redressed, except by personally repairing to the Court, at an enormous loss of time and money. Over the Viceroys of Rangoon there was no control whatever, and they could proceed to acts of oppression which they would not dare to venture upon, were a British agent residing at the Court, who could make known to their Government any acts of injustice committed on the persons or properties of British subjects.

Q. Do you consider that the presence of a consul, or other British agent, at Rangoon, is necessary or likely to be useful?—*A*. Yes; I concieve such an appointment would be very useful.

Q. Have you had extensive means of gaining information respecting the trade of the Burman dominions?—*A*. Yes, I have.

Q. In what branch of the trade were you chiefly engaged?—*A*. I imported British cotton-goods, and made returns to Calcutta chiefly in timber.

Q. What quantity of British piece-goods did you sell from your first arrival in the Burman dominions, in June, 1822, until the breaking out of the war?—*A.* I sold, to the best of my recollection, to the value of about two hundred and twenty thousand ticals of flowered silver, equal to about two hundred and seventy-five thousand sicca rupees.

Q. What quantity of teak timber did you export during the same period?—*A.* I exported teak timber, in all, to the extent of about five thousand four hundred tons. Of this, one or two cargoes were sent to Bombay, one to Java, and all the rest to Calcutta.

Q. What other articles did you export besides teak?—*A.* Chinese hurtal, or orpiment, Chinese raw silk, stick-lac, terra-japonica, and horses.

Q. Are you of opinion that the trade of piece-goods in the Burman dominions is capable of much extension?—*A.* Yes; very great extension.

Q. Do you know any thing regarding the inland trade carried on between the Burman dominions and China?—*A.* Yes; I made inquiry into the nature of it, and several times visited the Chinese camp or fair at Maday, which is distant about twelve miles from Ava, in a north-easterly direction.

Q. What articles do the Chinese import, and what do they export?—*A.* Their importations consist of silk, hurtal, vermillion, gold, copper, quicksilver, Chinese spirits, tea, hams, dry and a few fresh fruits, fans, umbrellas, shoes, and sundry wearing articles. They export little else than cotton.

Q. Is the importation of silk considerable?—*A.* It forms by far the largest article of import, and is very considerable. Upon inquiry at the Custom House of Maday, I learned there were two thousand seven hundred bundles of silk, which, at the rate of a tithe, had been collected as duties. This, supposing it, as I believe it was, one year's collection, would make the imports twenty-seven thousand bundles, each bundle worth, at an average, about thirty ticals of flowered silver.

Q. Is the price reasonable, and the quality good?—*A.* The quality is generally coarse, but the thread is round and even. It is dirty from long land-carriage, and not well crossed on the reel; it is likewise generally cased; I sent some of it to England, but have not yet received account sales.

Q. What description of tea is generally imported by the Chinese?—*A.* It is made up in cakes, and is of various qualities; I used to drink some of the best and found it very palatable. It is all black tea, and bears no resemblance to the varieties exported from Canton. The result of my inquiries is, that this tea is not the produce of China, but of the Shan country, or Lao; the Burmans always informed me this was the case.

Q. Can you state the prices of this tea?—*A.* I cannot exactly recollect, but it is very cheap.

Q. Do you think it would answer for the European markets?—*A.* The taste is peculiar, and I think would not, at first at least, suit the European market. Its cheapness, however, would be a great recommendation to it.

Q. What is the quality and quantity of the cotton exported by the Chinese?—*A.* In quality, the cotton is short in the staple, but fine and silky. This was the character given in the Bengal market to some musters which I carried round to Calcutta. Considerable quantities are taken to our province of Dacca yearly by Burman boats, where, I understand,

it fetches a higher price than ordinary Bengal cottons. Respecting the quantity, my inquiries lead me to think that it does not exceed twenty thousand bales yearly, each bale of one hundred viss, or three hundred and sixty-five pounds: this cotton is always cleaned from the seed.

Q. Do you know what is the usual price of this cotton?—*A.* Between fifty and sixty ticals of flowered silver per hundred viss, or from seventeen to eighteen sicca rupees per maund.

Q. Have you any idea of the general amount in value of the whole Chinese trade?—*A.* Nothing beyond what can be collected from the amount of the silk and cotton, which are the principal articles of importation and exportation.

Q. What number of Chinese do you suppose compose the yearly caravan?—*A.* In my opinion, the number of Chinese is very small; I should think some few hundreds; as far as I can recollect, one man to about thirty horses or mules, both of which are numerous.

(Signed) H. GOUGER.

APPENDIX XI.

Note to page 489.

THE term used by the Budd'hists to express the highest state of felicity after death, and which is corrupted by the Burmese into "nibban," and by the Siamese into "nirpan," is, in the original Sanscrit, correctly written nirvánâ. The Christian Missionaries, and other popular writers, have incorrectly translated it "annihilation;" an expression which throws an unmerited share of obloquy on the worship of Budd'ha. Mr. Colebrooke, in an acute and learned dissertation on the Philosophy of Indian Sectaries, has, for the first time, given its true explanation in the following passages:—"But the term which the Baudd'has, as well as Jainas, more particularly affect, and which, however, is also used by the rest, is nirvánâ, profound calm. In its ordinary acceptation as an adjective, it signifies extinct, as a fire which is gone out; set, as a luminary which has gone down; defunct, as a saint who has passed away: its etymology is from *va*, to blow as wind, with the preposition *nir* used in a negative sense: it means calm and unruffled. The notion which is attached to the word, in the acceptation now under consideration, is that of perfect apathy. It is a condition of unmixed tranquil happiness or ecstasy (ananda). Other terms distinguish different gradations of pleasure, joy, and delight. But a happy state of imperturbable apathy is the ultimate bliss to which the Indian aspires: in this the Jaina, as well as the Baudd'ha, concurs with the orthodox vendantin.

"Perpetual uninterrupted apathy can hardly be said to differ from eternal sleep. The notion of it, as of a happy condition, seems to be derived from the experience of ecstacies, or from that of profound sleep, from which a person awakes refreshed. The pleasant feeling is referred back to the period of actual repose."

Colebrooke on the Philosophy of Indian Sectaries, Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I. 566.

APPENDIX XII.

EXPLANATION OF THE SOUNDS OF THE BURMAN ALPHABET IN ROMAN LETTERS.

THE Burman alphabet follows the arrangement of the Deva-nagari. It reckons twelve vowels and thirty-three consonant characters. The first six vowels correspond exactly with the first six of the Sanscrit alphabet, and represented in Roman letters, according to the orthography of Sir William Jones, are as follow: a, á, i, í, u, ú. The seventh vowel corresponds with the eleventh Deva-negari, and is represented by e. The eighth vowel is intended to correspond with the diphthong ai of the Deva-negari alphabet, but, in truth, is a simple vowel expressing a very different sound, and which will be found in the English word *hair*. Although a simple vowel, I can find no better substitute for it than ai, and accordingly have written it so. The characters corresponding in the Burman alphabet to what are called in the Sanscrit the diphthongs o and au, are simple vowels, of which the second is but the long sound of the first. They are found respectively in the English words *paucity* and *audience*. Another vowel, not enumerated as such by the Burmans, is of not unfrequent occurrence. This corresponds with the sound of o in *note*. In writing, it is a compound character, formed from the vowels a, i, and u. A twelfth vowel sound, corresponding with the short sound of e in pen, is of frequent occurrence, though not written. The true diphthong sounds in the Burman language are the combination of the Roman vowels ai and au, according to Sir William Jones's orthography.

The first, or gutteral class of consonants corresponds exactly with that of the Deva-nagari, viz. k, k'h, g, g'h, n. These would be pronounced nearly the same by a Burman and a Hindu. Most of the letters of the second, or palatal class, however, are pronounced very differently. The ch and its aspirate have a pronunciation approaching to s. The j and its aspirate approach nearer to the sound of z. The Burmans, in pronunciation, make no distinction between the cerebral and dental classes of consonants, pronouncing them both as dentals, and writing the former in words derived from the Sangscrit only. The labials correspond exactly with the same series in the Sanscrit. The greatest deviation from the Hindu pronunciation exists in the liquids and sibilants. R, although frequently used in writing, is almost invariably pronounced as y. S is invariably pronounced as the common th of English orthography; thus the Sanscrit word desa is always pronounced in Burman detha. The Deva-nagari sibilant, corresponding to the English sound of sh, has no existence in the Burman alphabet. The aspirate differs in no respect from that of the Deva-nagari. The last letter of the Burman alphabet corresponds with the Welsh l of the Sanscrit. It is seldom written, and when it is, its pronunciation differs in no respect from that of the common liquid.

APPENDIX XIII.

Geological Account of a Series of Animal and Vegetable Remains and of Rocks, collected by J. Crawfurd, Esq. on a Voyage up the Irawadi to Ava, in 1826 *and* 1827. *By the Rev. William Buckland, D.D. F.G.S. F.R.S. F.L S. Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in the University of Oxford. (From the Transactions of the Geological Society.)*

FOR the specimens and notes which form the subject of the present communication, the Society is indebted to the zeal and activity of J. Crawfurd, Esq. one of its Fellows, who having occasion to traverse the Burmese Country, on an embassy to Ava, in the years 1826 and 1827, discovered an extensive deposit of organic remains in that unknown and distant region. He has brought home specimens of these remains, both animal and vegetable, as well as of the strata in which they were found, and has with much judgment and liberality presented them to the Geological Society of London, and to several other scientific Societies. It is on an examination of these specimens, and of the notes contained in Mr. Crawfurd's daily journal, that the observations and descriptions that make up the present memoir are founded.

Before I proceed to the details of this interesting subject, it may not be amiss to refer to the state of our knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the geology of these regions, antecedently to the discoveries of Mr. Crawfurd; an ignorance which our frequent and extensive intercourse with India has but recently and in a very slight degree tended to dispel; since, with the exception of two Memoirs in the Geological Transactions,*—the one a paper by Mr. Colebrooke on the North-east border of Bengal, the other a description of a collection of specimens made by Mr. Fraser, on a journey from Delhi to Bombay; and of two brief notices in the same volume,—no description of the secondary, tertiary, or diluvial formations of central and southern Asia, as compared with the similar formations of Europe, has been given to the public.

In the year 1823, in the following passage of my *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*,† I quoted the opinion of Mr. Weaver on the importance of instituting a comparison between the organic remains which might be discovered in the diluvium of tropical countries, and the similar remains found in the diluvium of the temperate and frigid zones of the northern hemisphere:—

"Another interesting branch of enquiry is, whether any fossil remains of elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus and hyæna, exist in the diluvium of tropical climates; and if they do, whether they agree with the recent species of these genera, or with those extinct species whose remains are dispersed so largely over the temperate and frigid zones of the northern hemisphere."

It could scarcely have been anticipated, that within so short a period as has elapsed since the date of this publication, the zealous investigations of a single individual should have gone

* Vol. I. Part 1. New Series. † p. 170.

so far as those of Mr. Crawfurd have done, to supply an answer to the questions then proposed.

The evidence which Mr. Crawfurd has imported, is derived from no less than seven large chests full of fossil wood and fossil bones, and of specimens of the strata that are found along the course of the Irawadi, from its mouth near Rangoon up to Ava, being a distance of nearly five hundred miles.

The larger portion of the fossil wood is beautifully silicified, and displays most delicately the structure and fibres of the living plants: in other specimens of it this structure is more obscure, though sufficient to show that the trees in which it exists were dicotyledonous. This obscurity arises from the fact of most of these dicotyledonous plants being impregnated with carbonate of lime, whilst all the monocotyledonous stems are silicified, as are also a few of the dicotyledonous: in these latter also the vegetable structure is more distinct than in the calcareous fossils, and in some of them it much resembles that of the tamarind wood. These plants were found most abundantly in the same region with the fossil bones, but occur also along nearly the whole course of the Irawadi from Ava to Prome. They were principally collected from a tract of country extending over a square of more than twenty miles on the east bank of the Irawadi, near the town of Wetmasut, about half-way between Ava and Prome, between lat. 20° and 21°. N. The occurrence of bones was most abundant in a small space near the centre of this district, occupying about one-third of the above-named area, the surface of which is composed chiefly of barren sand hills mixed with gravel; beneath these are strata containing shells and lignite, through which they sink wells about two hundred feet to collect petroleum.

In examining the bones, I have had the advantage of the co-operation of Mr. Clift, to whose anatomical description I beg to refer my readers. And though we are still without proof as to the existence of fossil elephants in Asia, there being no remains of these animals in the collection now before us; we have bones and teeth of the Pachydermata which are usually associated with them in Europe, America, and Siberia; viz. of rhinoceros, hippopotamus, mastodon, tapir, and hog; also several species of Ruminantia, resembling oxen, antelopes or deer; with the addition of the gavial and alligator, and species of the two genera of fresh-water tortoises, viz. Trionyx and Emys.

The occurrence of such reptiles in the same deposits with the Mammalia, has, I believe, not yet been noticed in the diluvium of Europe, America, or Northern Asia; and it deserves remark, that the gavial, and several of the Pachydermata found by Mr. Crawfurd, do not now inhabit the Burmese Country; for the gavial is now limited almost exclusively to the waters of the Ganges and its confluents; the hippopotamus exists no where but in the rivers and lakes of Africa; and the mastodon is utterly extinct. There is, however, no greater anomaly in supposing that all these animals inhabited the Burmese Country at the period preceding the deluge which overwhelmed it, than that at the period preceding the similar catastrophe which befel the North of Europe, the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus and hyæna were co-inhabitants of England,—a point which in another work* I have endeavoured to establish from the evidence of the bones found at Kirkdale and in other caverns.

* Reliquiæ Diluvianæ.

Judging from the number and proportion of bones in the collection made by Mr. Crawfurd, the most abundant fossil animal in the valley of the Irawadi is the mastodon, then the crocodile and tortoise, and lastly the rhinoceros and deer. Of the hippopotamus, parts only of two jaws have been yet identified; and of the tapir and hog, one fragment only of a lower jaw. It is not however possible to deduce any certain conclusions as to the relative abundance of these animals, from the proportion of bones in any single collection.

The following may be given as a rude approximation to the numerical proportion of bones and fragments of bones we have now before us.

	No. of bones.		No. of bones.
Mastadon	150	Ox, Deer, and Antelope	20
Rhinoceros	10	Gavial and Alligator	50
Hippopotamus	2	Emys	20
Tapir	1	Trionyx	10
Hog	1		

At the head of this list stand the remains of the genus Mastodon, not only because they so much exceed in numbers the aggregate of all the rest, but because they establish the fact, that at least two species of these gigantic animals were among the antediluvian inhabitants of the southern parts of Asia, and because they add, to the six species of this extinct genus already ascertained by Cuvier, two new and strongly characterized species, one of which, from its approximation to the elephant in the structure of the teeth, Mr. Clift proposes to designate by the name of *Mastodon elephantoides:* to the other he has given the name of *Mastodon latidens.*

In the collection before us, there must be fragments of at least a dozen skeletons of mastodons, many of them equal in size to the bones of the largest modern elephant, and some exceeding them; the fragments of femur and tibia equal those of the largest fossil elephant, whilst in another specimen we have the milk-tooth of a sucking mastodon. In other specimens of the teeth we observe various stages of advancement from youth to extreme age.

Of the ivory tusks of this animal, there are many small but decided fragments, of one of which a section is given showing the intersecting curved lines, like the engine-turning on a watch, by which the ivory of the elephant's tusk also is characterized.

Of Ruminantia we have evidence to establish at least three species; viz. three different sized condyles of the femur of three full-grown animals; also teeth of at least two species of ox or deer or antelope; and fragments of the solid bony base or core of three horns of antelopes; and two different tibiæ, with two different scapulæ of full-grown Ruminantia.

The bones of gavial in this collection afford, like the hippopotamus, another example of the occurrence of fossil animals in a different locality from their recent analogues. Mr. Clift considers this species to resemble the existing gavials of the Ganges; but the frequent discoveries of fossil gavials in tertiary strata, and even in secondary strata, down to the lias,

show, that in an earlier and different state of our planet, this genus also has been dispersed abundantly and widely over its surface.

The specimens of alligators' bones also are scarcely sufficient to allow Mr. Clift to pronounce decisively as to their identity with existing species. From the magnitude of the fragments, their size must occasionally have been very great.

The fossil emys and trionyx of Ava we can scarcely identify, from our imperfect fragments, either with species that now inhabit the rivers of that country, or with the fossil tortoises which extend through nearly all tertiary and secondary strata; occurring in the tertiary sand-rock of Brussels, and in our London and plastic clay, in our Hastings-sand and Purbeck lime-stone, as well as in the Kimmeridge clay and Stonesfield oolite, in the lias of Glostershire, and transition slate of Glarus. In the modern rivers of India there are tortoises which attain a considerable size, and are cherished and fed by the natives.

It cannot but occur to us in this stage of our enquiry as remarkable, that not one fragment is found in all this collection, either of the elephant, tiger, or hyæna, which now abound so much in India; whilst the mastodon, whose living analogue exists not upon earth, must probably at one time have swarmed in the districts bordering on the Irawadi. The same analogy which emboldened me, in my first paper on the Cave of Kirkdale, to anticipate the discovery which was speedily made of hyænas' bones in the diluvium of England, arguing on the fact of their existence in the diluvium of the European continent, at the present moment encourages me also to anticipate the future discovery of the elephant, tiger, and hyæna in the diluvium of Asia. I would also argue, on the same grounds, that it is highly probable we shall hereafter find the mastodon in our own diluvium and most recent tertiary strata.

The state of preservation of all these bones from Ava is remarkably perfect, from the circumstance of their being almost entirely penetrated with hydrate of iron, to a degree that has converted many of them to a rich mass of iron ore, and has given them a hardness which caused them, at first, to be considered as silicified; and they have been erroneously so described in some printed notices on this subject in the Calcutta Gazette, March 21st, 1827, and in other publications. Such, however, is not the case with any specimen I have seen in the whole collection; the cancelli of the bones are filled either with hydrate of iron or carbonate of lime, and their weight and strength thereby increased, but no other kind of change or injury to their external form has been produced.

It is, in fact, to the strength and indestructibility resulting from the mineral impregnation above-mentioned, that we owe the discovery of these remains on the shores of the Irawadi. An accident that delayed for some days the steam-boat in which Mr. Crawfurd was descending this river, allowed him to land, accompanied by Dr. Wallich, and to investigate the structure of the country for some miles on the north-east of Wetmasut. The accident arose from the shallowness of the water, when the steam-boat was descending, which, fortunately for geology, caused it to run aground near the wells of petroleum, where the left bank of the river presents a cliff of several miles in length, generally perpendicular, and not exceeding eighty feet in height. At the bottom of this cliff the strand was dry, and on it were found specimens of petrified wood and bones, that had probably fallen from the cliff in the course

of its decay; but no bone was discovered in the cliff itself by Mr. Crawfurd and Dr. Wallich; nor were they more fortunate in several places where they dug in search of bones in the adjacent district. This district is composed of sand-hills that are very sterile, and is intersected by deep ravines: among the sand are beds of gravel, often cemented to a breccia by iron or carbonate of lime; and scattered over its surface at distant and irregular intervals, were found many fragments of bone and mineralized wood, in some instances lying entirely loose upon the sand, in other cases half buried in it, with their upper portions projecting, naked, and exposed to the air: they appeared to have been left in this condition, in consequence of the matrix of sand and gravel that once covered them undergoing daily removal by the agency of winds and rains, and they would speedily have fallen to pieces under this exposure to atmospheric action, had they not been protected by the mineralization they have undergone.

On examining many of the ravines that intersect this part of the country, and which were at this time dry, the same silicified wood was found projecting from the sand-banks, and ready to drop into the streams; from the bottoms of which the travellers took many fragments, that had so fallen during the gradual wearing of the bank, and lay rolled and exposed to friction by the passing waters. Some of these stems were from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and five feet in circumference. These circumstances show, that the ordinary effect of existing rains and torrents is not only to expose and lay bare these organic remains, but wash them out from the matrix to which some other and more powerful agency must have introduced them.

Of the total number of bones in this collection, about one-third have suffered from friction; and of the remainder, nearly all appear to have been broken, more or less, before they were lodged in the places where Mr. Crawfurd found them irregularly dispersed. Many fragments also of the ivory have been rolled considerably; but no one specimen of that substance, or indeed of any bone in this collection, has been reduced to the state of a perfect pebble: from this circumstance we may infer, that the waters which produced the rolling they have undergone, were not in violent action during any very protracted period of time.

Many of the larger bones, and some of the small ones, have masses of stone adhering to them, which afford specimens of the matrix in which they were imbedded; these are composed of small round grains and pebbles of white quartz, and various quartzose and jasper pebbles, strongly united together by a cement of carbonate lime, and sometimes by hydrate of iron: where this iron is very abundant, it affords concentric ocherous concretions, resembling Aetites, dispersed irregularly through the breccia. The masses of calcareo-silicious conglomerate that adhere thus to the bones, do not appear to have been separated by violence from any mass or stratum of solid stone, but to be merely small local concretions attached to these bones. There are other calcareous concretions that contain no kind of organic nucleus, but are composed of precisely the same materials as those which are formed around the bones, and present many of the irregular shapes of the tuberous roots of vegetables; some of them also have the elongated conical form of slender stalactites, or clustered icicles, a form not unfrequently produced in beds of loose calcareous sand by the constant descent of water along the same small cavity, or crevice, to which a root or worm-hole may

have given the first beginning: some of these appeared in the cliffs just mentioned, near Wetmasut. I have seen similar elongated and pseudostalactitic concretions disposed at right angles to the beds of sand, and descending vertically by the side of each other, like the roots of carrots and parsnips, to a depth of nearly two feet, displayed in the section of the cliff near Finale, between Genoa and Nice; and I have also a collection of the same kind from the calcareous sand-beds of Bermuda: their form and position in the sand caused them to be sent home, under an idea that they were petrified roots.* Neither the insulated concretions from Ava, nor those adhering to the bones, contain traces of any kind of shell; they also differ mineralogically from all the specimens of tertiary and fresh-water strata in this collection.

Among the most remarkable of these strata is a fresh-water deposit of blue and marly clay, containing abundantly shells that belong exclusively to a large and thick species of Cyrena; a dark-coloured slaty limestone, containing shells, which Mr. Sowerby has identified with some of those that occur in our London clay. There is also, from the hills opposite Prome, granular yellow sandy limestone, containing fragments of marine shells, and much resembling the calcaire grossier of the environs of Paris; and from the same neighbourhood, and other places higher up the Irawadi, are several specimens of soft and greenish sandstones resembling those of our plastic clay formation. From all these, it appears highly probable, that some of the most important component members of our tertiary strata occur along a great part of the course of the Irawadi, between Ava and Prome, near which latter place the alluvial delta begins, which extends from thence, by Rangoon, to the Gulf of Martaban.

Throughout this district also we seem justified, by the notes of Mr. Crawfurd, in establishing the existence of the same distinctions between diluvial and alluvial deposits that are found in the valleys of all our European rivers. To the alluvial belong not only the immense deltas just mentioned as occurring from Prome downwards to the sea, but also a number of islands, that are continually forming and shifting at various places along the whole extent of the actual bed of the Irawadi, more particularly at Rabakyoaktan, and also between the latitudes of 20° and 21° N. about half way from Prome to Ava, between the towns of Wetmasut and Salè, in the neighbourhood of the fossil bones; to the diluvial deposits we may probably refer the sand and gravel beds containing the mineralized bones, which, as Mr. Crawfurd has observed, it is impossible to attribute to the waters of the Irawadi, because they occur in a district where the stream is pent up within steep banks which it never overflows, and within which it never rises above twenty feet, while the average elevation of the ossiferous sand and gravel beds is at least sixty feet above the highest floods of this river. He further observes, that whilst the bones and wood of these comparatively elevated plains are mineralized, and converted the one to iron and the other to flint, the remains of

* Dr. Fitton, in his excellent account of some geological specimens from the coasts of Australia, (London, 1826,) describes many similar examples of stalactite-shaped and other irregular calcareous concretions, in the sandy strata that occur on many parts of those coasts. He also gives references to authors who have described similar cases in other countries; viz. to Dr. M'Culloch, who has described them as existing in Perthshire, Dr. Paris in Cornwall, Captain Lyon in Africa, and other writers.

modern trees and modern animals that are stranded on the alluvial islands of the existing river, (particularly on an island near Rabakyoaktan,) undergo no such change, but are seen daily falling to decay and crumbling to dust: and he also mentions, for the purpose of disproving its correctness, that it is a popular notion among the natives, who have long observed the existence of this fossil wood, that it has been turned to stone by the waters of the Irawadi: such opinions are very natural on the shores of rivers and lakes where fresh pieces of fossil wood become continually exposed by the wearing away of the banks in which they were imbedded and received their mineral impregnation; the waters of Lough Neagh in the county of Antrim are in the same way believed by the Irish peasants to possess the property of converting wood to stone.*

The facts in such cases are, that a succession of fresh pieces of silicified wood is found after storms exposed along the shores, being washed out of the banks that are continually wasting by the waves. The evidence before us then is such, that I believe no practical geologist will be disposed to assign the origin either of the wood or bones under consideration, to the comparatively impotent exertions of existing causes. The question reserved for him is, whether some of these remains may not also occur in the most recent tertiary strata, as well as in the diluvium of Asia:—the analogy of Europe would lead him to expect the same Mammalia in both; we have however in the specimens before us not one shell of any kind adhering to the bones, or in the agglutinated sand and gravel attached to them; and in Mr. Crawfurd's notes, there is no evidence to show that any bones were found, except in the deposits of sand and gravel near Wetmasut, and these differ materially from every specimen in his collection which we recognise as identical with the tertiary strata of our own country.

It is of course impossible for any person who has not been on the spot, to decide with certainty on a question which requires so much minute local investigation by a very experienced observer. I shall therefore conclude with recapitulating the only three speculations that I conceive can be proposed, to explain with probability the date and origin of the bones before us.

I. Either they were lodged in the most recent marine sediments of the tertiary formation, like the elephant in the crag of Norfolk, the rhinoceros of Placenza, and the mastodon of Dax and Asti;

II. Or in antediluvian fresh-water deposits, analagous to those which contain the rhinoceros, elephant, hippopotamus, and mastodon in the Val' d'Arno;

III. Or in diluvial accumulations more recent than either of these formations, and spread irregularly, like a mantle, over them both.

Now, as we find on careful examination of the matrix adhering to these bones, that it contains neither fresh-water nor marine shells, and is wholly different in character from all

* The idea is probably alluded to in the cry, which is said to have been at one time common in Dublin:

"Lough Neagh! buy my hones,
Once were wood, and now are stones."

the specimens which contain such shells, and which thereby enable us to refer them respectively to fresh-water or marine origin; the most probable conclusion we can arrive at is, that the bones belong to neither of these formations, and that their matrix is of the same diluvial character with that in which the greater part of the fossil bones of Mammalia have been discovered in Europe.

Having proceeded thus far in our consideration of the nature of the bones before us, the time when the animals lived to which they belong, and the most probable causes that brought them to their actual place and condition,—we may now consider the evidence on which it has been asserted in the preceding pages, that the strata subjacent to the Burmese diluvium, along nearly three hundred miles of the course of the Irawadi, from Prome to Ava, present a repetition of the geological structure of Europe.

From the examination of the specimens, compared with the notes in Mr. Crawfurd's journal, the following formations may be recognised with a greater or less degree of certainty.

1. Alluvium.
2. Diluvium.
3. Fresh-water Marl.
4. London Clay and Calcaire Grossier.
5. Plastic Clay, with its sands and gravel.
6. Transition Limestone.
7. Grauwacke.
8. Primitive Rocks, Marble, Mica Slate.

There are also indications (but less certain) of new red-sandstone and magnesian limestone.

The Alluvium and Diluvium (Nos. 1. and 2.) have been already spoken of.

3. The Fresh-water formation (No. 3.) occurs a little north of the Petroleum Wells, and of the district in which the bones were found near Wetmasut, and is at an elevation of 150 feet above the Irawadi. The specimens of it consist exclusively of marly blue clay, containing fresh-water shells of the genus Cyrena: the shells are very thick and heavy, nearly three inches in diameter, and judging from the great quantity imported, must be extremely abundant; and, though accompanied by no other organic remains of any kind, are sufficient to establish an analogy, in the strata containing them, to the fresh-water formations that occur associated with the tertiary strata of Europe. There is, however, no evidence to show any connexion between these fresh-water deposits and the fossil bones or wood: from the portions of iron and gravel adhering to many of the remains of tortoise, crocodile, and hippopotamus, it should seem that they had no connexion with the fresh-water deposit: still the abundance and size of such animals, show that there must have been large rivers or lakes at the time and place in which they lived; though it would not justify our assigning them, without further examination, to the period in which these fresh-water strata were formed that contain the shells of Cyrena.

4. We have from the hills near Prome a coarse-grained yellow shelly and sandy limestone, scarcely distinguishable from the calcaire grossier of Paris; and from several places higher up the Irawadi, particularly at Pugan, we have a dark bituminous slaty limestone, in which Mr. Sowerby has recognised the following fossils as identical with those of the London clay.

Ancillaria, Murex } Lamarck, Environs de Paris. Only found in London clay and calcaire grossier.

Cerithium, Oliva } London clay

Astarte rugata. (Min. Conch.) London clay and calcaire grossier.

Nucula rugosa. London clay and calcaire grossier.

Erycina.

Tellina. London clay:—shell figured by Brocchi.

Teredo. In blocks of calcareous wood: the same as in the London clay.

Teeth of Shark. London clay.

Scales of fishes. London clay.

Pebbles of rolled black bone.

Unknown radiating fossil, resembling coral.

This recognition of a stratum so nearly resembling the London clay in respect of its peculiar shells and other fossils, in so distant a part of Asia, receives still further interest when viewed in conjunction with the information that has been afforded to us by Mr. Colebrooke, as to the existence of a similar formation at Cooch-Behar in the N.E. border of Bengal, where the Brahmputra emerges into the plain. Here Mr. Scott discovered strata of yellow and green sand alternating with clay, that lie horizontally at the height of about 150 feet above the level of the sea, and contain organic remains resembling those of the blue clay of the London and Hampshire basin.

Mr. Scott has also discovered at Robagiri, in this same district, a stratum of white limestone containing nummulites and vertebræ of fish, surmounted by beds of clay which contain the same nummulites, and also bones of fish, with shells of Ostrea and Pecten.

Near Silhet the Laour Hills, composed of white limestone loaded with nummulites, form another example of tertiary formations in the eastern extremity of this province. And the section near Madras, given by Mr. Babington, shows the same tertiary formations to exist also on the western shores of the Bay of Bengal.

All these circumstances taken together, leave not a doubt of the important fact that the tertiary strata, which a few years since had been noticed only in the basins of Paris and London, are most extensively distributed over the surface of the globe. Their existence is now familiar to us in almost every state in Europe, particularly in the sub-Apennine formations, where they have been so ably described by Brocchi, and are now receiving further illustration from the able hand of Professor Guidotti of Parma. Again, we trace them round the shores and in the islands of the Mediterranean, at Montpellier and Nice, at Savona, Volterra,

and Rome,—in the fish-beds of Mount Lebanon,—and the nummulite limestone that forms the foundation of the Pyramids of Egypt. We recognise them also along the northern shores of Africa, and in Malta, Sicily, and Sardinia. Mr. Strangways has traced them largely in the Steppes of southern Russia, and on the shores of the Black Sea and the Caspian.* The Russians in their expedition to Bokaria have found them on the borders of Lake Aral; and now, on the authority of Mr. Crawfurd's discoveries, we establish them in a considerable district of the Burmese empire beyond the Ganges.

5. In many of the specimens from near Prome, we find a soft green and yellow sandstone resembling that of our plastic clay formation. Mr. Crawfurd describes these as associated with reddish clay intermixed with sand and pebbles, in words that are almost equally applicable to our English plastic clay-pits at Reading or Lewisham. He found them in many places where he landed along the shores of the Irawadi; and near Pugan † and Wetmasut they were associated with brown coal and petroleum, precisely as we find them containing brown coal all over Europe, and connected with wells of petroleum near Parma, and also in Sicily, and near Baku on the west coast of the Caspian. Near the petroleum wells of Wetmasut, Mr. Crawfurd also found large selenites resembling those that occur at Newhaven in our plastic clay. In Ava, as in Europe, they seem to be co-extensive with the clay-beds of the tertiary formation.

6. The transition limestone appears, from the few specimens we possess, to be of the same character with that of Europe, but in these specimens there are no organic remains. At a small hill four hundred feet high, called Manlan Hill, near Wetmasut and the petroleum wells, it is associated with grauwacke. There are also specimens of grauwacke much charged with carbonate of lime from so many distant points along the Irawadi, that, in the absence of better information, we may conjecture the fundamental strata of this region to belong to the transition series, and that they are covered more or less by the tertiary strata and diluvium which we have been considering.

7. From the mountains of the Sakaing Chain, a little above Ava, we have much pure mica slate and statuary marble in its usual connexion with mica slate and hornblende rock; this marble is of the finest quality, and extensively employed by the natives in making images of Buddha.

The specimens afford no decided example of secondary rocks in this district‡; but a reddish sandstone, which is used for architecture in the construction of thrones to receive the images of Buddha, and a limestone which resembles the magnesian limestone of England, may, I think, with more probability be referred to the new red sandstone than to any other formation.

* See his Map of European Russia, Geol. Trans. 2nd Series, vol. i. plate II.

† On the west shore of the Irawadi, opposite to Pugan, springs of petroleum ooze from hills composed of immense masses of blue clay; and if wells were dug, it might be collected as at Wetmasut.—*Mr. Crawfurd's Notes.*

‡ Near Pukangyi.

The extent and relative position of all these strata it was impossible to ascertain from the few opportunities afforded to Mr. Crawfurd of landing from the steam-boat in which he made his voyage; these may become the subject of future investigations. The grand point is, however, established, of the occurrence of formations in the south-east of India, analogous to the tertiary and diluvial formations of Europe, and containing respectively the remains of animals the same which the formations of Europe contain, or very similar to them: these animals must therefore at some time or other, and most probably at the same time, have existed in regions whose climate and inhabitants now differ so widely as those of India and Europe.

It must be confessed, in concluding, that the result of these discoveries, though intensely interesting, and a splendid example of what may be done by the skill and activity of one zealous individual, is rather to stimulate than fully gratify our curiosity; and to excite our hopes for more detailed and more extensive information from the future investigations of the most intelligent among our countrymen, whose professional duties call them to the eastern world.

APPENDIX, XIV.

Account of the Materials of the Map 1.

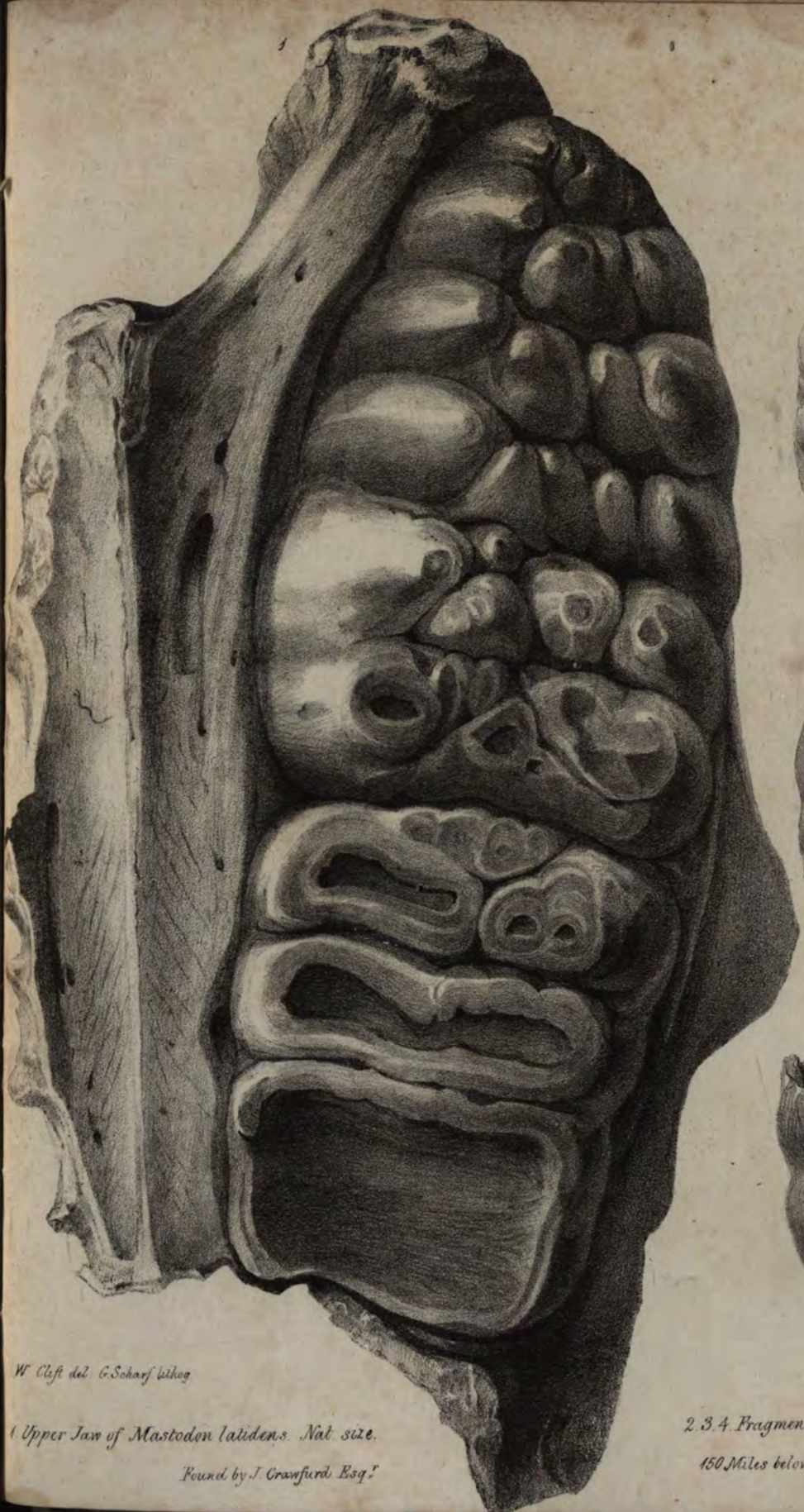
THE following is a brief account of the documents from which the map accompanying the present work has been compiled. The river Irawadi is delineated from the survey of Colonel Thomas Wood, with a few corrections, by the late Captain Grant. The survey of Colonel Wood, although executed above thirty years ago, when this officer accompanied the late Colonel Syme in his mission to Ava, is still, and after several more recent ones, the best extant,—a sufficient proof of the skill and accuracy with which it was originally executed. The country forming the delta of the Irawadi, from Bassien to Rangoon, is taken from a sketch by Captain Alves, whose name I have frequently mentioned in the body of the work. The Saluen River and the province of Martaban generally, are taken from the surveys of Captain Grant. Much of the interior of the Birman dominions is from the sketches of Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, who, like Colonel Wood, accompanied Colonel Syme in the first mission of that officer to Ava. Recent and actual inquiries have, in many cases, confirmed the geographical speculations,—for, from the circumstances of his situation, they generally amounted to nothing more,—of this gentleman; a decided test of the care and sagacity with which they were conducted. Arracan is delineated from Colonel Wood's surveys; and the sources of the Burhampooter and Irawadi are laid down from the reports of two enterprising young officers, Lieutenants Burlton and Wilcox. Cassay, or Munipoor, is delineated from the surveys of Lieutenant Pemberton, another enterprising and intelligent

W. Clift del. G. Scharf lithog

Printed by C. Hullmandel

Upper Jaw of Mastodon latidens, found by J. Crawfurd Esq.r 150 Miles below Ava.

1/4 the Natural Size



W Clift del G.Scharf lithog

Printed by C Hullmandel

1 Upper Jaw of Mastodon latidens Nat size.

Found by J. Crawfurd Esq.r

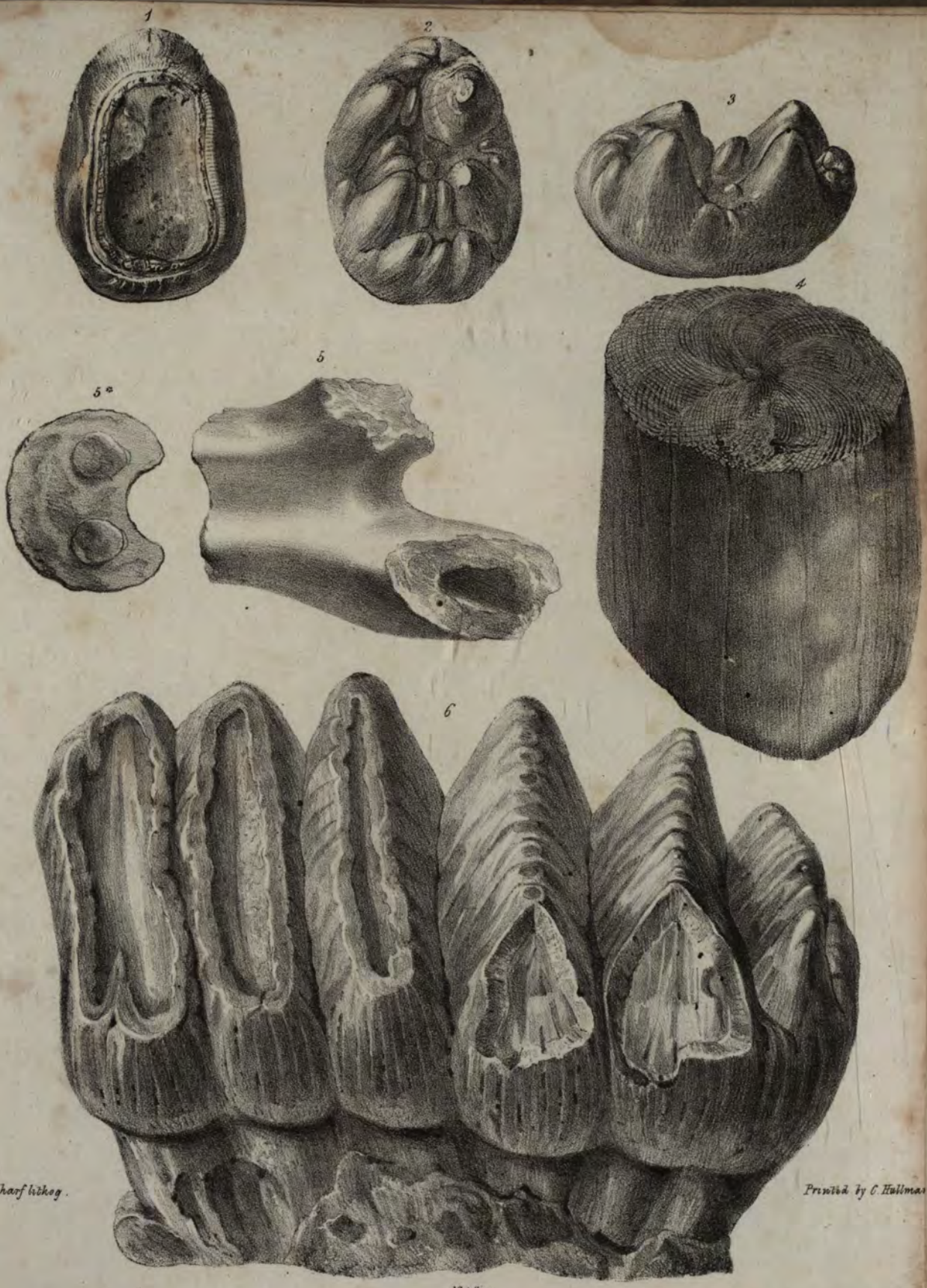
2.3.4 Fragments of Teeth of Mastodon latidens ½ Nat.

150 Miles below Ava

W. Hyatt del. G. Scharf lithog.

Printed by C. Hullmandel

1. Right Lower Jaw, Mastodon latidens. 2. Left Lower Jaw, Mastodon Elephantoides. ½ Nat. size.



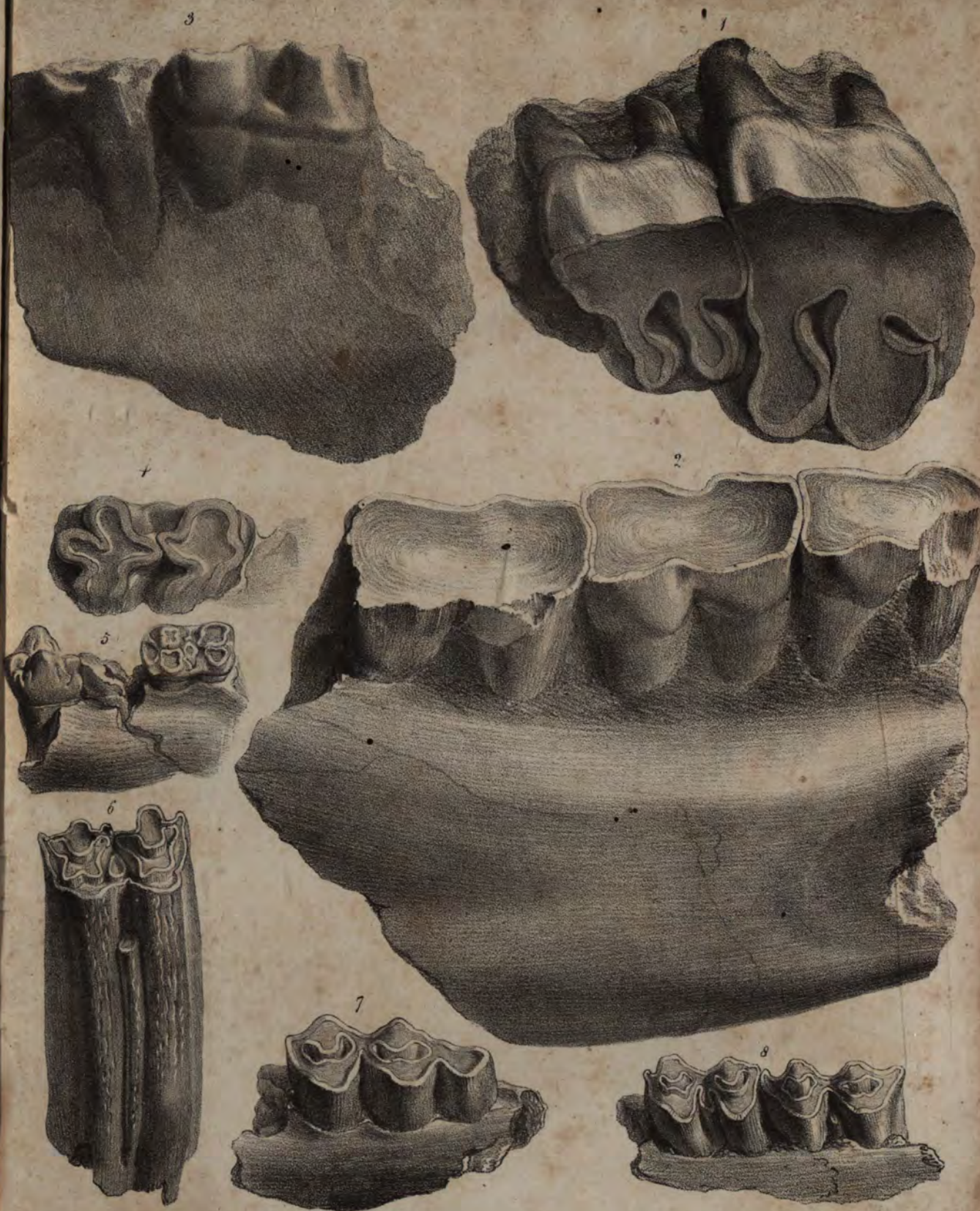
Clift's del. G. Scharf lithog.

Printed by C. Hullmandel

Nat. Size

1.2.3. Milk Tooth of Mastodon. 4. Tusk of Mastodon. 5. Lower Jaw of Tapir. 5* Front view of the same. 6. Upper molar of M. Elephantoides

Found by J. Crawfurd Esq.r 150 Miles below Ava.



Lithographed from Nature by G. Scharf. Nat. Size Printed by C. Hullmandel.

1 Upper Jaw of Rhinoceros. 2. Part of under Jaw of the same. 3. Under Jaw of Hippopotamus. 4. Tooth of ditto. 5. Jaw of Hog.

[illegible] 150 Miles below Ava.

officer. The coast of Arracan is delineated from the chart of Captain Crawford, a skilful and experienced marine surveyor, well known for his surveys of the China Seas and Straits of Malacca. The country of Assam is taken from the surveys of Colonel Wood; and that between Arracan and Bengal from those of Lieutenant Fisher.

The map has been compiled by Mr. John Walker, of the Admiralty, a gentleman skilled in every branch of Eastern geography; and as the author had no share in its execution, he may say, without vanity, that it will be found to exhibit the best view of Birman geography, a branch of knowledge, however, as yet extremely imperfect, which has been offered to the public.

THE END

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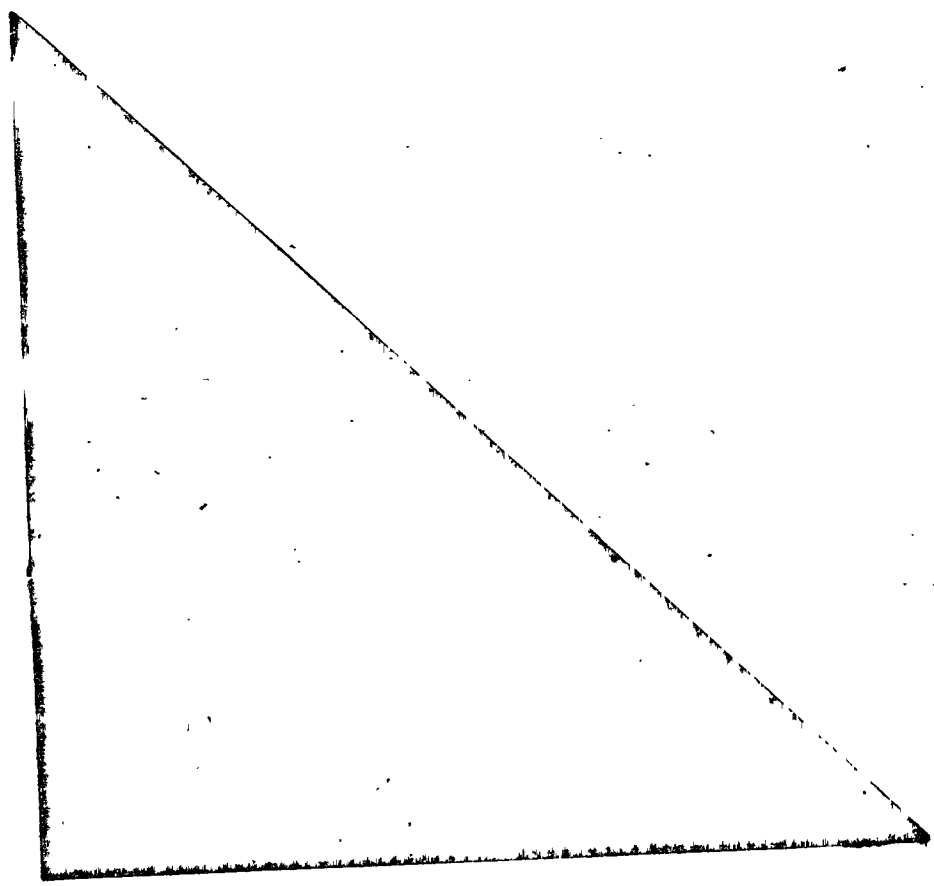

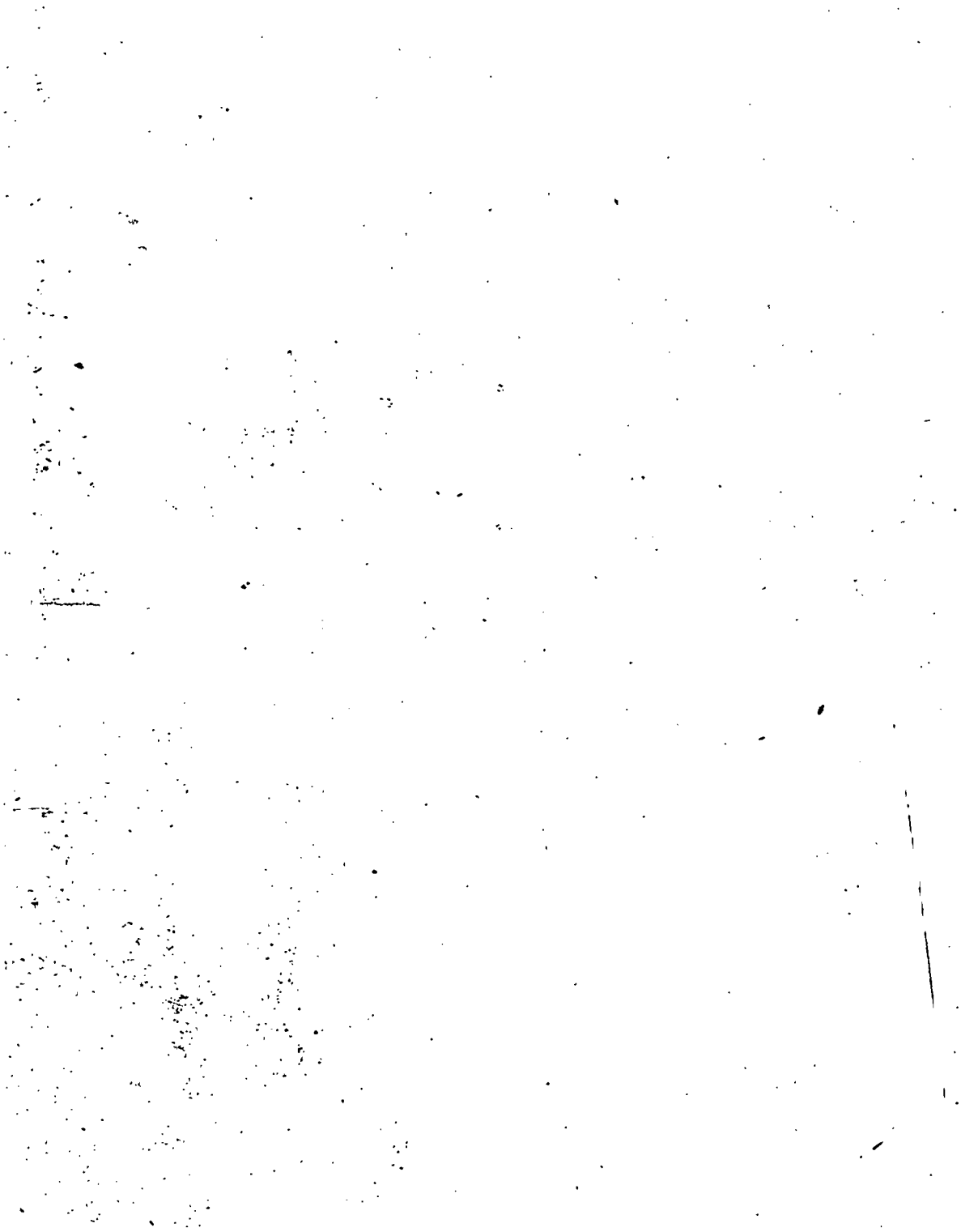

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